

# NEW MILITANT

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## N. West Militants Meet

### Seeks Link with A.F.L. Industrial Unionists; Cannon Speaks

AUSTIN, Minn., Dec. 7.—An unqualified stand for industrial unionism and a move to coordinate the independent unions in the north-west with the movement for industrial unionism in the A.F. of L. were the outstanding features of an enthusiastic meeting of the Northwest Labor Unity Conference held here today. Forty delegates from various northwestern points were in attendance. Local 574 was represented by Ray Dunne and Farrell Dobbs. A strong delegation was present from the Independent Union of Packing House Workers at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Other delegates representing independent packing house workers' unions were present from Austin, Albert Lea and Mason City.

After a speech by James P. Cannon of New York City, who had been specially invited to address the conference on the subject of progressive labor policy, a thorough discussion took place in which the majority of the delegates participated. Unanimous opinion was crystallized that the conference must push its campaign for a policy of class struggle and for industrial unionism as a necessary modern form of labor organization.

#### Hall Movement in A. F. of L.

The movement for industrial unionism which has developed in the A. F. of L. was hailed as a big step forward, which must be supported and encouraged by all progressive unionists, whether affiliated to the A. F. of L. or not. Emphasizing that progressive independent unions must on no account give up their demand for industrial unionism and the democratic right to regulate their own internal affairs, the Conference unanimously recommended that, on these conditions, independent unions should declare their readiness to affiliate to the A. F. of L.

It was pointed out in the discussion that the independent auto workers unions of Detroit, now on strike, had taken this position, and the action of the Detroit independents was hailed with approval in the adopted resolution. The resolution also calls for a coordination of efforts and activities of the progressive independent unionists with the industrial union movement in the A. F. of L. in order to hasten the day when we will have a truly unified trade union movement organized on an industrial basis.

A motion was unanimously carried to send a wire of greeting to the Packing House Workers now on strike at Oklahoma City, pledging support in their struggle and asking for the establishment of closer communication and co-operation. Organizations represented at the meeting ordered 450 subscription cards to the Northwest Organizer.

It was decided that a full conference be held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on Saturday, February 1. The resolution adopted for consideration by all the affiliated organizations pending the next conference is as follows:

#### RESOLUTION ON POLICY OF THE NORTHWEST LABOR UNITY CONFERENCE

1. The Northwest Labor Unity

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## L.D. Trotsky's Wife Makes New Appeal for Son Sergei

From Norway where she shares the exile of her famous Bolshevik husband, Nathalie L. Trotsky has issued a new appeal for her 27-year old son Sergei and his wife who have been imprisoned in Russia and with whom she has been unable to communicate since last summer when news of their incarceration first leaked out.

Received here by many prominent liberals, Nathalie Trotsky's letter reveals that remittances sent to her son's wife to aid in securing his release and attending to his needs were returned after long intervals marked: "RECIPIENT NOT AT ADDRESS INDICATED."

This was the first intimation that Sergei Trotsky's wife was also being held by the Soviet authorities.

Neither young Sergei nor his wife have ever participated in politics and their arrest is stigmatized by Nathalie Trotsky as a sheer piece of persecution impelled by Stalin's vindictive hatred for Leon Trotsky.

Young Trotsky is a teacher at a technical school in Moscow and his wife, suffering from tuberculosis, is a librarian. First news of their arrest became known last June. Protests made by foreign liberals elicited the reply from the Soviet authorities that young Trotsky was not in prison but "under surveillance."

Failure of all attempts to communicate with him and his wife has aroused the fear that he has been killed. Mme. Trotsky renews in her letter an appeal for the formation of an impartial international committee to investigate the fate of her son and his wife.

The text of Nathalie Trotsky's letter follows:

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# Sanctions End in Scandal

## LEAGUE POWERS PLAN PARTITION OF ETHIOPIA

ANGUISHED walls were sent up by pacifists, liberals, social democrats and Stalinists throughout the world last week over the proposal for giving about half of Ethiopia to Italy, which Sir Samuel Hoare, British Foreign Minister, and Premier Laval of France advanced as a basis for peace negotiations between the Fascist aggressor and the last of the independent nations of Africa, fighting to escape just such partition. The League of Nations had been "betrayed" especially by the Baldwin cabinet in Great Britain. The "honor" of Britain had been sullied. This was no way to break into the preparations for the celebration of Christmas, and more of the same kind.

If the Hoare-Laval proposals teach the middle-classes, and what is more important, the workers, who have been led into confusion by them, something about the true role of the League of Nations, the real character of the modern capitalist state and the anti-working class character of the policy of dependence on the League of Nations which has been followed by the bureaucrats in control of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, Messrs. Hoare and Laval will indeed have rendered a service!

The League of Nations was never anything but a tool by which certain great powers, especially France and Great Britain, carried out their imperialist designs, an idealistic screen behind which their war preparations could go on. For months after Haile Selassie first appealed to the League against Italian aggression, the League machinery served precisely this function of a screen behind which Italy poured troops into Africa and accumulated supplies for a war. At one point in these negotiations France and Great Britain advanced proposals which in principle were no different from the present ones though offering Italy much less territory than now. The full application of League sanctions, as the NEW MILITANT pointed out, meant imperialist war against Italy. If now the great powers have decided that they are not ready for a general showdown and that therefore the Italo-Ethiopian conflict must somehow be stopped, how else will it be composed except on such terms as the imperialist powers may agree on among themselves? And what should be the function of the League

except to give a cover of legality and idealism to this "gettlement"? This will still be the underlying truth of the matter even if the Hoare-Laval proposals should be considerably modified or even shelved altogether for the time being.

It is nevertheless quite evident that the plans of the French and British governments, whatever they may have been, did not work with the smoothness which the respective cabinets would undoubtedly have liked. The fact that such abrupt maneuvers are necessary is in itself an indication of how acute the imperialist tensions are at present. Some new threat may have developed from an unexpected quarter about which we shall learn as the plot of the great drama develops. It may well be also that certain "statesmen" have become involved in a particularly juicy bit of intrigue which will not see the light until the workers gain control of some capitalist government and give its secret documents to the world, as Lenin and Trotsky did in Russia in 1917.

The main factors in the situation are sufficiently clear. The application of oil sanctions to Italy might produce an "incident" which would lead to open warfare between Italy and England; but England is none too certain just how prompt and efficient French support would be in such a case. Probably a general conflagration would then be well nigh inevitable and the powers are probably not ready to face that. Whether or not Stanley Baldwin deliberately maneuvered to outsmart the Labor Party in the recent elections over the issue of sanctions and League support, the fact is that the National government is in power again, that need of British imperialists has been met, and the government can now turn with more freedom to guard British interests at the most vital points in disregard of "peace sentiment." Possibly the steady progress of Japan in China requires the release of British ships from the Mediterranean.

The recent revolt in Egypt which compelled the British government to restore the constitution of 1923, giving at least a semblance of independence to that country, is only one of many indications that England and France may

face serious situations with their colonial possessions and other dependencies if the disturbance does not soon die down. Another ominous (for all imperialists) specter is raised by the fact that the Italian campaign in Ethiopia, what with transport and other difficulties, is not proceeding too smoothly. What dangerous thoughts its collapse would put into the heads of "backward peoples"! In Italy, too, the pinch of sanctions and war expenditures are being felt, and unrest is mounting.

Should Mussolini fall, who and what is to succeed the Fascist regime in Italy? Complications which might flow from that eventuality might shake the entire European capitalist structure. In particular the French Right has probably made it clear to Laval that it will not accept this eventuality without bitter opposition. It is no surprise, therefore, to read coincidentally with the announcement of the Hoare-Laval proposals that diplomatic conversations aimed at an agreement between Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, are under way. From their own point of view these powers might do worse than come to an understanding among themselves, and to quiet things in Western Europe so as to leave themselves free to carry out their imperialist policies in Asia and Africa and against the Soviet Union.

To the Workers Party the recent developments did not constitute a shocking surprise, a miracle for which there is no explanation, a case perhaps of a bad attack of flu on the eve of a badly needed vacation in Switzerland causing Sir Samuel Hoare to make a regrettable personal mistake. Our policy remains the same:

Exposure of the role of the League of Nations!  
Opposition to League sanctions!  
Against imperialist war measures!  
Defense of Ethiopia and resistance against Italy by the independent action of the working class and its allies!  
Struggle against imperialist war by building the movement for the overthrow of capitalism!  
Defense of the Soviet Union through building the Fourth International!

## Ill. Unions Aid IWA Walkout

### Conference Sets Date for Tie-up on All Projects in State

By a W.P.A. Worker  
GIRARD, Ill., Dec. 9.—Delegates from twenty organizations were present at the Macoupin county conference of the Illinois Workers Alliance today in preparation for the state-wide W.P.A. strike Dec. 16.

Another conference was held last week at Marion, Ill., where thirteen counties were represented to discuss the strike problems. The conference here decided to place the matter to a referendum vote. In the meantime the I.W.A. organizers are organizing hundreds of men working on dozens of projects.

The Macoupin county conference was attended by delegates from the Progressive Miners, Progressive Trades and Labor Union, International Hod Carriers' Union and the I.W.A.

#### Support from Many Workers

Al Hemmer, O'Fallon, state representative of the Hod Carriers' Union, decided that all members of his union would be called off W.P.A. jobs Dec. 16 unless the prevailing union wage was paid.

John Fisher, Gillespie, representing local 1, P. M. of A., comprising a membership of 2,400 mine workers, stated that the movement for strike action had the financial and moral support of his union. Andrew McFarlane, state chairman of the Progressive Trades and Labor Union stated that he would join with the A.F. of L. unions in calling his men off the projects not paying the union scale of wages.

#### To Meet WPA Administration

A committee from the various organizations present are to appear before the Labor Relations Board of the W.P.A. at Vandalla this week for a last minute conference. The Labor Relations Board has agreed to raise wages ten per cent if the strike is called off. The offer to date has been rejected. The Illinois Workers Alliance, the big push behind the strike, is standing pat for the original demands.

The United Mine Workers of America and the State Federation of Labor have been asked to cooperate in strike preparations and negotiations with the W.P.A. officials for the demands laid down at the Auburn conference Dec. 1.

#### Bergdoll Men in St. Louis

A committee representing the striking warehouse workers of St. Louis reported their struggle against the Kroger Grocery and Baking Co., who have imported the midwestern section of the Bergdoll strikebreaking agency into the situation. The conference voted to cease patronizing the Kroger and Piggy-Wigly stores. The St. Louis warehouse strike is important for labor at this time as it is one of the few sections of the country where an attempt is being made to organize the food industry.

A state-wide conference is to be held Sunday, Dec. 15, at Staunton, Ill., where over a thousand delegates are expected to attend. Dec. 16 is the dead line for W.P.A. scab wage in Illinois.

## 600 in Newark W.P.A. Protest

NEWARK, N. J.—Over 600 Newark W.P.A. workers crowded into every available inch of sitting and standing room in Newark's City Hall auditorium on Monday, Dec. 9. The meeting, called by the Project Workers Division of the Association for Adequate Relief, Newark section of the National Unemployed League, gave expression to the tremendous dissatisfaction with the \$55 a month slave wage among the project workers.

The speakers, Moore, Gilhard, Thompson and Rosenberg, received a rousing hand when they pointed out the need for rapid organization and the fact that the workers have already won victories over the W.P.A. administration in other sections of the country through strike action.

Tony Ramaglia, President of the N.U.L., spoke and told of the successful two and a half week strike in Lehigh County, Pa.

A committee was elected to call on the W.P.A. County administrator and present the demands of the project workers which were: "A minimum of \$12.00 a month for a work month of no more than 120 hours; recognition of all project workers' organizations" (Continued on Page 2)

# Where Is Roosevelt's Relief Program Going?

## FACTS AND POLICIES FOR WPA WORKERS

By HERBERT CAPELIS

From the bombastic scheming and prattling that accompanied the introduction of the Works Progress Administration, the naive observer would have been led to believe that the problem of unemployment in the United States was about to be liquidated.

In line with its propaganda campaign, the government acted with startling suddenness. Between Sept. 1 and Sept. 15, 1935, the abolition of the Federal Transient Bureau began and was completed. Relief to roving workers in search of employment was wiped out to the last penny, leaving tens and tens of thousands of people destitute far from their home towns.

On the heels of this move, Federal relief terminated in 26 states by Nov. 15. On that date, also, the remaining states received their final unemployment "dole," thereby casting the unemployed entirely on the tender mercies of the state and municipal relief agencies. As bad as had been the situation of the unemployed before, it now struck new and horrible depths. Worse than in any other section of the country, the conditions in the South fell to unbelievably low levels. Numerous FERA surveys (many of them existed only as secret documents and so entitled) were taken which reveal appalling conditions. Witness: In Atlanta, Georgia, a typical survey of 133 cases at random—only ten were eating "regularly"; 16 existed on one meal a

day; dozens were actually found ravaging garbage pails and dumps! For the month of July 15 to August 16, 26 of the families had an income of less than \$6 per family for the month! Noted in the survey was the following astonishing statement: "that these conditions are general in the larger cities and yet much better than conditions in the rural communities." One could cite such examples indefinitely—the daily papers carry a fraction of them. Such were the pre-conditions and background upon which flashed the star of the WPA.

### II. FACTS

In April, 1935 the Works Progress Administration of the FERA was set up with an appropriation close to \$400,000,000. On Nov. 30, the FERA ended, having run out its \$370,000,000 appropriation as of May, 1935. By Dec. 1, the WPA nationally had taken on 2,225,000 workers; with the largest single section, over 225,000 concentrated in New York alone. (One might add ironically that 40,000 out of 240,000 applicants in New York were turned down as unfit physically for work—glorious tribute to the effects of the crisis on the unemployed!)

The overwhelming bulk of projects put into effect were "labor projects," public works, highway construction, parks, playgrounds, reforestation, etc. While the Roosevelt opposition in the ranks of the capitalists has shouted of "grandiose" boom-dogging at exorbitant rates of pay, the fact is that only 6 per cent of the total number of projects nationally fall into the "white collar" class. Swiftly and chaotically, 2 and a quarter million workers of every sort and variety were transferred from relief rolls over to the WPA—primarily on so-called "unskilled labor" projects (following Roosevelt's formula of "putting the unemployed onto 'useful' work projects").

Conditions? 120 hours a month at wages ranging from \$19 to tops of \$93 per month. (A small, insignificant fraction, such as foremen, certified accountants, apparatus people, etc. receive higher pay—and generally work more hours.) The South again offers the worst picture: Seven states, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and the Carolinas offer the magnificent pay of \$19 per month on the so-called "unskilled labor" projects. Magnificent pay indeed! 30 hours a week at a little over \$4 per week to support a family—and there are complaints that the men do not work hard enough and "there ought to be stricter discipline!" Hovering on the Mason-Dixon line, Baltimore, Md., sev-

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## Direct Relief Remains Central Issue for Unemployed; Workers' Organizations Must Demand Large-Scale Public Works

By JOHN WEST

The new stage in the Roosevelt relief program began during the first weeks of the last session of Congress, and has now reached its culmination. The publicity agents of the Administration explained their idea as follows:

At the beginning of 1935 there were approximately 5,000,000 persons receiving direct relief (the dole), at least part of which came from the Federal Treasury. Direct Federal relief was to be eliminated. 1,500,000 of these 5,000,000 could be classified as "unemployable" because of illness, old age, or some similar reason. These were to be transferred entirely to the relief rolls of the states and municipalities, and cut off from Federal relief. The remaining 3,500,000 were to be given temporary work at a "security wage" by the Works Progress Administration. This temporary work was to continue for the most part until some time during 1936. By then, the majority of the "employables" would be re-employed by reviving private industry. The rest would be transferred to "heavy" and more permanent public works projects along the lines of the WPA.

### Program Not Fulfilled

To accomplish this program \$4,880,000,000 was appropriated by Congress. \$880,000,000 was to be used to continue direct relief until the WPA program was fully running, and the unemployables sent back to the states and cities. The

original announcements promised that the WPA would be at maximum operation by July 1, and that at that time the full 3,500,000 would be on its payroll.

Naturally, none of this program has been fulfilled. The July 1 date was successively advanced until it became December 1. The \$880,000,000 for direct relief grew into a billion and a half. The WPA was to "put 3,500,000 to work"; but actually more than 500,000 were merely transferred to it from the already operating CCC, and even with these the December 1 figure is considerably below the full 3,500,000. How much below it is not yet possible to say, since the publicity from Administrator Hopkins' office is not noted for accuracy.

Nevertheless, Hopkins has announced that the program is "essentially completed," without, of course, offering any explanation of what happened to delay completion from July to December. He has "officially" cut off direct Federal relief grants to the states and through them to the cities. Meanwhile, however, he made some additional allocations to the states, to aid them in "completing the transition to the new program"—though this is a little confusing when we remember that he has also at the same time announced that the transition to the new program is completed.

What are we to make of all this? (Continued on Page 2)

## Texas Jobless Face Hunger

### Spur Demand for General WPA Strike in State of L.

(Special to the New Militant)

By JAMES EVANS  
DALLAS, Texas—One million people, out of a total population of six million, face eventual starvation in Texas. These work relief clients and their families are in addition to the thousands who are being shunted on the barren subsistence farms, described in a previous article. After the WPA—what? This question becomes increasingly important in view of the recent attack upon workers' relief by James P. Buchanan, Texas Congressman and chairman of the House appropriations committee.

Even now, final preparations are being made for "getting out of this business of relief." Since September 1, there has been a progressive series of attacks upon the meager living standards of the destitute. Free lunches for school children have been abandoned with the result that thousands of pupils are contracting anemia induced by malnutrition. Medical service for relief families has been discontinued, and women are bearing infants with no attendance except that of unskilled midwives. The 200,000 "unemployables," casualties of capitalist industry, have been reduced to \$5 in direct relief per month; and they will be turned over to the grafting ministrations of local community chests after February 7. Meanwhile rations for other direct relief clients have been cut until they are grossly insufficient.

#### No Relief for Paupers

"Reduce the case load." This is the ultimatum of Adam R. Johnson, state relief director, to his county administrators and case workers. Families are being dropped from the rolls because one of the daughters may have a job cooking or washing dishes for three dollars per week. I know of one incident where a case worker told a young man that \$5 per week was sufficient to support his wife and baby. It so happened that the rent paid by this family for a leaky apartment in an old store building amounted to \$16 per month.

Nor has the state legislature appropriated any funds to provide for the destitute after the final expenditure of present funds. The Federal government has cut off Texas with a final million dollars—a New Deal stake of one round dollar for each person who has been forced on the dole. Congressman Buchanan has promised his masters that the present \$4,000,000,000 will be the last that the unemployed of the nation will receive. (Continued on Page 2)

## Pa. Jobless Organizations Unite in Statewide Action

HARRISBURG, Pa., Dec. 9.—A conference of representatives of various state-wide organizations of the unemployed in Pennsylvania met in the capitol building over the week-end and decided on several important steps for joint action. Delegates from the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, the Pennsylvania Security League, the Allegheny Unemployed Citizens League, the Unemployed Councils and several inter-county alliances agreed on the following systematic and militant program of united front activities:

1. A Joint Action Committee to present the demands adopted before Governor Earle, the State Emergency Relief Board and the Works Progress Administration.
2. Joint picketing of the capitol and the Governor's mansion for the convocation of a special session of the legislature to consider the demands of the unemployed arising out of the discontinuance of federal relief.
3. Joint picketing of the Works Progress Administration building against the anti-labor activities of Administrator Edward N. Jones, demanding his removal and the establishment of collective bargaining procedure.
4. A state-wide march on the capitol to force the calling of a special session and to exert mass pressure for the enactment of necessary relief legislation.
5. The preparation of a state-wide strike on WPA projects for higher wages and improved conditions of work.

The Joint Action Committee, consisting of two representatives of each organization, will be convened again to determine on the exact date for the march as well as the strike.

The conference lasted for two whole days. In protest against the

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### WORLD OF LABOR

#### Congress of Dutch R.S.A.P. Overwhelmingly Favors 4th Int'l; Defeats S.A.P. Splitters

The convention of the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.) held at Utrecht November 16 and 17 overwhelmingly endorsed the steps which had been taken by the leadership of the party in recent months in furthering the cause of the Fourth International.

The Political Committee of the R.S.A.P. on behalf of the party signed the Open Letter for the Fourth International in August of this year. It has participated, together with the other signatories—the International Communist League, the Workers Party of the United States and the Workers Party of Canada—in the preliminary work of establishing a Contact Commission for the Fourth International. The secretaries of the R.S.A.P., H. Sneevliet and P. J. Schmidt, are, in fact, the provisional secretaries of this Contact Commission.

Opponents of the P. C., associated with and largely under the influence of the German Socialist Labor Party (S.A.P.) living in exile in Paris today, conducted a campaign in the party against the P. C. on the ground that in taking concrete steps along with the co-signatories of the Open Letter for the organization of the Fourth International they were violating the fusion agreement which last year brought together the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland and the Independent Socialist Party, the latter being affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau and working there for the Fourth International. The S.A.P. leaders, while paying lip-service to the cause of the Fourth International, have consistently refused to take any concrete steps for its realization and by their criticism of those who were taking these steps, including Trotsky, have sabotaged the movement.

Unquestionably for 4th International The Political Committee of the R.S.A.P. had contended that though the party maintained a connection with the London-Amsterdam Bureau for the purpose of working openly within it for the Fourth International, the fusion congress had clearly placed the party in the ranks of those who were unequivocally committed to the building of the Fourth International, and that all steps taken by the P. C. had flowed politically and organizationally from this basic position of the party.

The Utrecht convention endorsed this position of the leadership by a vote of 2,500 for, with 250 against and 200 abstentions. The convention decided that the party in the future would establish direct and specific organizational ties only with such parties and groups as stand on the platform of the Open Letter; though fraternal relations will be maintained with any groups which are moving in the direction of the Fourth International. Organizational ties with the emigrant leadership of the German S.A.P. are definitely broken off by action of the convention because of the role played by this leadership in seeking to create turmoil within the Dutch party.

When both the representatives of the opposition who were given equal time at the convention and those of the Political Committee had presented their case to the membership, the membership was so incensed at the political bankruptcy and the organizational measures which had been employed by the opposition that they voted overwhelmingly, against the advice of the Political Committee, for more stringent regulations with regard to taking back into the party those who had been expelled or had left it than the P. C. resolution had recommended!

Of special interest is the fact that, as the organ of the R.S.A.P. puts it, a "crushing majority of precisely those branches mainly composed of former O.S.P. members," namely, the party which had been affiliated with the London-Amsterdam Bureau, voted for the P.C. resolution and solidified themselves in unmistakable fashion with the leadership of the fused party.

The leading editorial in the issue of De Nieuwe Fakkel which reports the convention, concludes with the statement that the convention has cemented the fusion of the former R.S.P. and O.S.P. and in brilliant fashion ratified and strengthened this fusion and the independent party of the Fourth International based upon it.

It is interesting to note that the one voice raised in recent weeks in the parliaments of the European nations for the full Leninist program against war and sanctions was that of H. Sneevliet, Secretary of the R.S.A.P. in a remarkable address in the Dutch parliament.

**NOMAD LECTURE POSTPONED**  
Max Nomad's lecture on "Intellectuals and the Class Struggle" will be postponed until Friday, Dec. 27, 8 P.M. It will be held at Branch 1 headquarters, 320 East 14th Street, N. Y. C.

**PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.**  
**DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.**  
5 Washington Square North  
1-2 and 6-8 Except Sundays and Holidays.

### 600 in Newark WPA Protest

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Protestants and their grievance committees; skilled workers to receive prevailing trade union wages and where willingly employed at work other than trade they are registered for, to be paid wages for their trade; and no Saturday work.

On Friday, Dec. 13 a second mass meeting was held and when it was reported that the county administrator would give no definite answer, another delegation was elected to see the State administrator. Plans were made at the meeting for the election of delegates from all projects to Action Committees to meet this week and bring back recommendations to a mass meeting on Friday, Dec. 20. Over 100 applications for membership in the Association were received at the meeting.

As the meeting was about to be adjourned a member of the Unemployed Councils demanded the floor. It was pointed out that they should have asked to have a speaker prior to the meeting but that if the workers were willing to stay there was no objection. The three hundred workers still in the hall indicated a willingness to listen and he was given the floor. When the Councils' spokesman had concluded, he attempted to introduce a resolution through another speaker. This was objected to by the A.A.R. and the members of the Councils immediately set up a yell to permit the introduction of the resolution. This small group, composed mainly of non-project workers, then raised such a rumpus that a member of the executive board of the Workers Alliance who was in the hall took the floor and condemned the Councils for attempting to break up the meeting.

### Pa. Jobless Organizations Unite in Statewide Action

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relief administration's Jim-crow lodging arrangements, the delegates slept in the capitol building itself Saturday night. One of the delegates, the father of a family of 13 living on the miserable relief orders, died of a heart attack on the second day. The heart attack was brought on by undernourishment.

Considerable progress along the line of united front action was achieved at the conference despite a number of obstacles due mainly to the usual splitting activities of the Stalinists and their Communist Party-controlled organizations.

The first step toward a statewide united front of the unemployed in Pennsylvania was initiated by the Pennsylvania Unemployed League last September. In a perfectly loyal and correct united front procedure the P.U.L. invited the Pennsylvania Security League, the Allegheny County Unemployed Citizens League, the Communist Party-dominated Unemployment Councils and several lesser organizations to sponsor a joint conference in Allentown on September 11. The conference met, decided on a program of action and voted to reconvene in Harrisburg on September 20. On September 20 a joint committee presented the case of the jobless before the State Emergency Relief Board. On September 21 the conference elected Lester W. Heckman of the P.U.L. as its Continuations Secretary. It was agreed upon adjournment that all further united front activities were to be carried on through the Continuations Secretary.

On October 10 the organization again cooperated in a loyal united front before the Works Progress Administration in Harrisburg. All of these steps, besides helping to build up the sentiment for united action, achieved substantial results for the workers in the form of wage increases on the projects throughout the whole state.

These moves toward statewide unity of the unemployed have been supplemented recently by the negotiations for national unity carried on by the N.U.L. and the Workers Alliance of America. At this point the Stalinists began an open campaign to undermine the progress of the national unity negotiations and to disrupt the united front that had been achieved in the state.

A Stalinist Coup  
Through the unemployed organizations they control in Lancaster and York, they pulled off a regular coup d'etat in the "Inter-County Unemployed Alliance and Works Division." The latter organization, composed of unemployed units in several Eastern counties, elected as

### Progressive Meet in NW

(Continued from Page 1)  
Conference has come into existence in order to bring the progressive unionists in the northwest closer together, to provide a common meeting ground for the discussion of problems and the coordination of the educational activities of its members to unify and strengthen the labor movement.

2. The conference stands for a policy of class struggle and for industrial unionism as the necessary modern form of labor organization. All the experience since the formal launching of the conference a year ago has shown the correctness of this position. In the coming year progressive unionists everywhere must work more aggressively and energetically than ever to popularize these ideas and convince the unions of the necessity to adopt them and put them into practice.

3. The struggle for the industrial form of organization conducted at the recent convention of the A. F. of L. and the setting up of a committee headed by the presidents of several international unions to continue this campaign, are developments of the greatest significance and importance. Progressive unionists are bound to support every decisive step for industrial unionism which alone will make possible the organization of the unorganized millions, especially in the mass production industries, and thus strengthen the labor movement everywhere. Progressive unionists are likewise firm advocates of union unity. Wherever progressive organizations are kept out of the A. F. of L. because of craft union restrictions, or because of expulsion by reactionary officialdom, they should continue to work for unification without, however, giving up their progressive policies or their right of internal democracy.

4. The development of the big movement for industrial unionism within the A. F. of L. creates the conditions to coordinate the efforts of industrial unionists outside as well as inside the A. F. of L. The conference recommends that non-A. F. of L. unions follow the example of the independent unions of automobile workers at Detroit and declare their readiness to cooperate with the industrial union A. F. of L. forces and to enter the A. F. of L. on only two conditions: (1) industrial

### Pa. Jobless Organizations Unite in Statewide Action

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its regular Chairman and Secretary Harry Alexander and Daniel Hartman, respectively.

At a regular meeting of the governing body last month, the Stalinist George Wade of Lancaster and the Stalinist Bernard Child of York simply took advantage of the absence of the regular officers and usurped their places. With Communist Party members representing the Unemployment Councils and the Anthracite Workers Alliance present they decided, unauthorized, to call a state-wide conference in Harrisburg on December 7 and 8.

Without any authorization whatsoever, they added the name of the Pennsylvania Security League, some of whose locals belong to the Inter-County Alliance, as one of the sponsors of the call, besides the Councils and the other organizations mentioned. The P.S.L., caught off guard, apparently allowed itself to be so seduced, having in mind to steal a march in this manner on the Pennsylvania Unemployed League—a much more powerful organization and a more serious competitor than the Councils and the other Stalinist controlled organizations. Both of these organizations, the Stalinists and the Security League, thus agreed disloyally to leave the P.U.L. as well as the Allegheny County Unemployed Citizens League (affiliated with the W.A.A.) out of the picture.

Stalinists Alarm Security League  
The Stalinists immediately resorted to their old "united front below" tactic. Individual C.P. members in several of the 86 locals of the P.U.L. brought in the call and moved for the election of delegates to the December 7-8 affair. The Councils displayed frantic activity in a campaign to pack the conference, at which they planned, as was evidenced later, to set up a new state organization. The Security Leaguers became alarmed by this maneuver and at the last minute sent out a hurried call to the P.U.L. and the Allegheny County U.C.L. to come to the conference.

After protesting against the procedure and receiving an apology and an explanation from the P.S.L., the state committee of the P.U.L. decided to send a delegation but informed the locals of the Stalinist maneuver and instructed them not to send any delegates.

The "Daily Worker" of December 6 reported "wide-spread revolt" in the P.U.L. against the action of the state committee, and informed its readers that any number of locals were sending delegates despite the decision. At the conference on Saturday exactly 2 unemployed league delegates, besides the state commit-

### Whither the Relief Program?

(Continued from Page 1)  
And what is the prospect for next year? Is this program going to be fulfilled? It is necessary to answer these questions.

Unemployment Permanent  
In the first place, we must always bear in mind that unemployment, and wide-spread unemployment, is not a temporary but a permanent feature of the remaining years of capitalism. "Private" industry is not going to re-absorb the great body of the unemployed. According to the most favorable estimates (in all probability, much too favorable to be true), a maximum of 5,000,000 workers have been re-employed since the low point of employment in March, 1933. This leaves a minimum of 11,000,000 unemployed at the present time. Moreover, these figures take no account of workers on part-time who are not making during a year even a bare subsistence wage, or of the "new" workers coming from the schools, high schools and colleges. It also leaves out of account the highly seasonal character of employment in many of the great industries such as automobiles and textiles. The unemployment figures may be reduced still further by the continuation of the present upsurge in the business cycle; but they will remain at an enormous figure.

Many of these unemployed still manage to live from savings, assistance from relatives, charity, or odd dollars that they pick up here and there. But these sources have been drying up, and "prosperity" is not returning to an extent sufficient to revive them. Of the rest of the unemployed, it is and will continue to be impossible that they can all or even a major part be taken care of by any "made work" or "relief work" or "public works" plan.

Direct Relief Still Primary  
Direct relief—the dole—will continue as a permanent feature of declining capitalism. In the chaotic, anarchic conditions of capitalism in its death throes, no rational social planning is possible. It is a futile illusion of middle class image-makers to suppose that the dole

industrial union charter, and (2) internal democracy. By taking such a position the independent unions can greatly strengthen the movement for industrial unionism in the A. F. of L. and hasten the unification of the labor movement on an industrial union basis.

tee delegation, actually showed up. They were the Stalinist Dan Slinger from Allentown and the Stalinist Solomon from Easton. The "Daily Worker" lied as usual. The "united front from below" resulted in the usual fizzle.

Conference Opens in Disorder  
The conference opened on the morning of December 7 amid such chaos and tumult as only the Stalinists can create. The "sponsoring" organizations could not agree among themselves on the selection of a temporary chairman, nor even on an agenda to propose to the conference. Every leading Stalinist in the state was present. Besides the familiar faces of Herbert Benjamin and Pat Toohy there were dozens of other C.P. functionaries. Yet on the very first vote taken, the election of the temporary chairman, the Stalinist Bernard Child was badly beaten.

The Stalinists had come there with an agenda prepared for one of their familiar "People's Congresses," with the usual Labor party plank, etc. The Security Leaguers proposed an agenda of "lobbying" and "petition" activities. Their arrangement committee could not even present a coherent report. Amidst a furious uproar, the conference elected a new arrangements committee, composed of three members of each of the organizations represented, to replace the old one. The new arrangements committee, with the participation of the P.U.L. delegates, worked out an agenda for concrete mass action. This agenda was finally accepted and the conference got down to business.

Mass Action Surprises C.P.  
The Stalinists who had come to stage another one of their "people's" masquerades, were consequently entirely unprepared for any proposals for concrete action. This was clearly revealed in the committees, organized by the conference for the detailed work.

In the Special Session Committee, for instance, Anthony Ramuglia, representing the P.U.L., caught them entirely off guard with a proposal for the adoption of the five-point program of action outlined at the head of this article. Despite the fact that mass marches and statewide strikes do not fall in with their reformist line any longer, they were nevertheless not ready to offer any substitute. The Security Leaguers welcomed the lead because such organizations, amorphous in character and loose in policy, cannot help but follow when a positive program is offered. The proposal of the P.U.L. carried unanimously.

In the Resolutions Committee, P.U.L. delegate Sam Gordon offered resolutions in line with the program of action proposed by the P.U.L. The Stalinists Steve Nelson and John Parks argued against the resolution for a mass march, for instance, on the grounds that this was too radical a step. What the work-

can be eliminated, an illusion similar to the older dream that a "co-operative commonwealth" can be built up alongside of and within capitalist society.

Important conclusions follow from these facts. Above all, they demonstrate that the problem of direct relief remains and will remain a central issue for the organized unemployed. The programs of the unemployed organizations must continue to have direct relief demands as a primary focus, and must avoid any perspective in terms of the illusory dream that the dole will shortly be eliminated. Moreover, it must be understood by the unemployed organizations that direct relief will continue to be in large part a Federal institution. Mass pressure against Congress and the Administration must be built up to demand not merely a continuation but an increase in direct Federal relief; and these demands must be coupled with the demand to finance the appropriations out of direct taxes in the form of inheritance, corporation, and income levies directed at the higher brackets.

But direct relief is likewise a problem for the "relief workers" themselves, in a double sense. In the first place, the low wage level of relief work (e.g., the WPA) makes supplementary relief in many cases imperative. Secondly, such institutions as the WPA are temporary in character. The projects extend over comparatively short periods of time, and when they are completed the relief workers are again thrown out of jobs. Thus the unemployed organizations proper must take the lead in promoting the organization of the relief workers, and must closely integrate the relief work demands with the unemployed demands in general.

WPA—Attack on Relief Standards  
In fact, one of the primary purposes of the WPA must be understood as an indirect attack on relief standards. This must be resisted at every point: by fighting against the wage levels of the WPA itself, by preventing lowering of direct relief in shifting the unemployed from one roll to another, by demanding supplementary relief, by insisting on immediate transference to adequate relief when a project ends, etc.

However, from another point of view, not less important, the WPA program constitutes a major attack

on general wage levels, particularly the union levels in the building trades. And in this direction, the WPA, and relief work generally, become a direct problem for the trade unions, as, from the other direction, the WPA is a problem for the unemployed organizations. Thus the trade unions must be brought into the struggle for the organizing and strengthening of the relief workers, and for the lifting of WPA and other relief wages to union levels.

As has already been pointed out, however, the WPA, like any other given form of relief work, is temporary by its very nature. The struggles centering around the WPA, the present feature-point of the Administration unemployed program, must therefore be made part of the broader struggle for the advancement of the position of the unemployed, for higher direct relief, for unemployment and social insurance, and for large scale public works. This last point is of especial importance in looking forward to the next period, and has been seriously neglected by the labor movement generally. It is true that genuine public works cannot be handled in a scientific and large-scale manner by a capitalist state. But sufficient pressure can accomplish at least something in this field. At present, the public works program of the government has receded into the background along with the advance of WPA. The housing program, about which there has been such constant ballyhoo, still remains almost entirely on paper, scattered in confusion among more than a dozen governmental agencies.

The demand for a large scale public works program must be brought forward sharply and forced upon the next Congress. This demand must distinguish public works clearly from temporary relief work, and above all must fight against the conception of "security wages." Its central feature should be low-rental housing directly subsidized by the Federal government. Such a demand, supported primarily by independent class action, will do much to expose the demagogic, hollow and wholly reactionary character of the Roosevelt relief program, and can play a prominent part in a genuine advance for the entire unemployed movement, and through it for the working class as a whole.

### Texas Jobless Face Hunger

(Continued from Page 1)  
Talk of General WPA Strike

Against this latest and most vicious onslaught of Roosevelt the 2nd, the unemployed of Texas are struggling manfully in a rather unorganized fashion. All over this vast area, there are occurring small conflicts on projects which are significant of a growing resentment even if they are ignored by the state press. In Shelby County, on the Louisiana border, the workers refused to dig ditches in the sticky mud until they were provided with longer shovels. When relief was temporarily discontinued in Wichita Falls several months ago, the city officials became so alarmed over the prospects of a mass uprising that they dropped all their duties to rustle food and clothing.

On every project of any size in Texas the workers are muttering of a general relief strike. Strike against the shameful wage scale of \$33 to \$68 per month; reduce the working hours to 70 per month in order that every needy person may have employment—these are the sentiments expressed when the men knock off work to eat their cold, soggy lunches.

Learning Solidarity  
Most revealing of all is the increased solidarity between the unions and the unemployed organizations. During the past year, the unemployed have rallied to the picket-lines, preventing the more backward of their number from breaking a successive series of strikes. Negroes, Mexicans and whites, forgetting for the moment the blinding prejudices inculcated by the ruling class, and fighting a common battle—perhaps the first dim outline of the revolutionary pattern!

The younger group in the Texas Federation of Labor is fighting the old guard in a demand for an immediate general strike on all projects, to be reinforced by the collective strength of the trade unions. Spurred by misery as well as the promise of union support, the unemployed of Texas are becoming less demoralized, less ready to acquiesce in the whims of well-paid case workers. They are looking at the future and determining to live!

HAVE YOU FULLFILLED THE EIGHT PAGE SUB QUOTA?

### L.D. Trotsky's Wife Makes New Appeal for Son Sergei

(Continued from Page 1)  
"On June 1, 1935 I addressed a letter to the press in which I stated that my 27 year old son Sergei was arrested at the beginning of the year by Stalin with the sole aim of persecuting him for the political activity of Leon D. Trotsky. My son is a professor at one of the highest technical schools in Moscow. He has never engaged in political activity. He has been absolutely loyal to the Soviet power. He has never even been in correspondence with his father.

"This letter caused uneasiness even among the so-called 'friends of the Soviet Union.' Some of them sent inquiries to representatives of the Soviet authorities abroad and in Moscow. They were told that my son was 'not in prison' allegedly, but was under special surveillance to prevent him from having relations with his parents.

"As a matter of fact no such relations existed (precisely for Sergei's own safety) unless one counts the rare communications from my son and myself confined to matters of health.

"However, it appears that the information that my son is 'not in prison' is absolutely false. During the last three months I sent to the address of my son's wife a very modest sum in a bank check to aid her, if such were possible, in helping Sergei. Having had no receipt from her, I made several inquiries at the bank, all in vain. On November 6 the Norwegian Credit Bank informed me that 'the orders in question were not executed since the recipient could not be found at the address indicated.'

"So they have also arrested my son's wife, who works in a library, who is utterly free of any political activity, and who in recent years has been struggling

against tuberculosis. 3 months ago this young woman was still at liberty and she was the ONLY person who could have concerned herself with helping Sergei. The only reason for this arrest could have been my attempt to send her money.

"Any international committee of honest and sincere people could establish without trouble that the arrest of my daughter-in-law was due to no other reason.

"I can only ask myself: How to explain this last arrest? Is it purely and simply out of feelings of vengeance, an arrest which does not have the slightest justification or political significance? Or is it that Stalin finds it necessary to hide from public opinion the REAL fate of my son? I cannot free myself of the thought that taking the new circumstances into consideration, the rumor circulated by the Soviet authorities that my son is 'not in prison' takes on a most fatal and irreparable significance. If Sergei is not in prison then where is he? And where now is his wife?

NATHALIE TROTSKY.  
Nov. 15, 1935

CHICAGO MEETING  
"Will the Industrial Unionists Capture the A. F. of L.?"  
Speaker:  
PAUL HERMAN  
MONDAY, DEC. 23, 8 P.M.  
1214 N. Washtenaw Ave.  
Ausp: Branch 2, W.P., Chicago

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Our Revolutionary Heritage:

Dorr's Rebellion

By Leighton Rigby

AMERICAN WORKERS! WE MUST UNITE! The struggle for bread has thrown us together, has molded our several interests into common ones. In our fight against starvation we travel the same road. WE MUST BE COMRADES! Untied we are invincible! Together we can win freedom!

While we are divided, the controllers of wealth are our masters, our rulers. Can we doubt this when city governments always heed the call of the wealthy and send the police to crack our skulls? When the state governments despatch troops to mow us down at factory gates?

They talk of peace on earth, good will toward men. But there can be no peace while workers starve! There can be no good will toward men who force our children to go half naked, half fed!

AMERICAN WORKERS! Our own revolutionary heritage can serve to spur us onward. We have always fought against oppression! Let's shout out: REBIRTH, NOT RELIEF! ONWARD TO THE WORKERS' STATE AND CONSISTENT DEMOCRACY!!

New Oppression, New Revolts

When the workers and farmers who had fought for the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" returned to their homes at the close of the War for Independence, they were not long in grasping their real position. Those "inalienable rights" were theirs only if they were freemen, had no debts and owned property.

Their oppressors were the money lenders, the land owners and speculators, the slavers and the industrialists. The oppressed were jailed for debts, branded for minor crimes, lashed and enslaved. To tell all the "punitive" measures in use would be to fill several columns.

In New Hampshire, several hundred workers and farmers, armed with muskets and clubs, marched on Exeter. They demanded of the general court a reduction in taxes and paper money with which to pay their debts. Troops drove them away.

In Vermont, Thomas Lee, a veteran who returned home to be quickly jailed for debts, led a march on Rutland, demanding that lawyers be excluded from the court. The marchers further insisted upon cancellation of their many debts and other relief measures. Again troops dispersed the oppressed.

Then came Shay's rebellion and, close on its heels, the "venerable" Constitution. It was not until fifty years had passed that the discussion entered into by the framers of the Constitution was revealed. The document was plainly inspired by the ruling classes to be used in their interests. What was said behind locked doors at the constitutional convention was not made public until after the aged James Madison had died. The reasons are obvious.

Freedom for Property Owners But the Constitution failed to put an end to rebellions. Oppression still continued, as it does to-day, even if it was made legal in the prettified of words. Slavery, white and black, was not abolished; debtors went to jail; foreclosures were not diminished; and suffrage was still confined to property holders. In short, the Constitution improved the workers' lot not one iota.

Most of the state constitutions, if not all, spoke of man's "free and equal" creation, but their bodies shamefully covered up the implications in the preambles. Property was the basis for the right to vote and hold office. In other words, all men were free and equal if they belonged to the ruling classes.

Dorr's Rebellion was a manifestation of militancy on the part of the non-landholding class in Rhode Island. Led by Thomas Wilson Dorr, this armed uprising brought about what could not have been accomplished in any other way. It brought the right to vote to the mechanics and cotton mill workers of Providence and Bristol, forcing the property holders to accept popular rule. The ruling class today is as unwilling to surrender its position. There is a lesson in Dorr's Rebellion.

Peaceful Action Unsuccessful At least six peaceful attempts were made to scrap the old colonial charter of Rhode Island in favor of a new constitution. Each time the change was blocked, either by the voters (the property holders) or the legislature. Each try was more militant than the one before it, and by 1841 the workers were fully aroused. Mass meetings were held, and men marched.

Dorr was recognized as the leader of the movement, and it was on his orders that a constitutional convention was held on October 4. A constitution was drawn up and later submitted to the people as a whole. An overwhelming majority of the fourteen thousand who voted on the matter of adopting the People's Constitution cast favorable ballots, and on January 12, 1842, the People's Convention declared the constitution to be in effect.

But the legislature under the charter did not sit idly by through the growing storm. Late in March that body enacted the "Algerine" law, declaring all meetings such as the People's Convention illegal. Fines and imprisonment were provided.

Dual Government in R.I. Disregarding the Algerine law, the workers held an election on April 18 under the People's Constitution. Dorr was elected governor, and on May 3 he was inducted into office. He delivered his inaugural address in an old foundry building which was the seat of the new gov-

only one way out.

The Armed Assault

On May 17, four hundred insurrectionists, led by Dorr, gained possession of two cannons and a few muskets. Late at night, they marched to seize the town arsenal. The guards refused admission to Dorr, and a battle ensued. The cannons proved ineffective, either because of mechanical defects or faulty operation. The fighting was mostly hand to hand, with occasional gunfire. Extreme darkness and a heavy fog made identification of opponents difficult. On the following day, Dorr was driven to Connecticut.

Again the workers tried on June 25. But martial law was declared, and the jails bulged with political prisoners. A price of five thousand dollars was put on the head of the People's governor.

Dorr returned to Providence on October 31 of the following year and was immediately arrested. He was faced by a jury made up of "Algerines," naturally hostile to him, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1845 he was released because of popular resentment, although he steadfastly refused to swear allegiance to the state of Rhode Island. His citizenship was not restored until 1851.

The People's Constitution was maneuvered out of existence. Dorr had the satisfaction, however, of seeing a fairly acceptable substitute put in its place. The Constitution of 1843, replacing the colonial charter, embodied most of the things for which Dorr fought. It was drawn up and submitted to the voters because of Dorr's Rebellion, but it is probable that the manufacturers, rather than the workers themselves, had the busiest hands drafting it.

The Lines Cross Apparently Thomas feels the sharp rightward turn of the Stalinists equally bewildering. "Here we are confused," he said, "we are confused by the nature and the magnitude of the change, by the far point in the arch to which the pendulum has swung." As for Browder, the only thing that can be said in this respect is that he adhered to the present "line." In a bureaucratic system where leaders appear, not in their own rights or by virtue of their own political abilities but simply because they are the most consummate and most servile type of mediocrities, sufficiently flexible, however, to fit into this system, nothing else could be expected.

So Thomas argued for the Socialist road, in reality building up a case, not against Communism, but against its Stalinist emasculation. He quoted profusely from the "third period" position of the Stalinists. Their official declarations aimed to "break-up the reformist unions," and to "destroy the American Federation of Labor."

They "rejected any alliance with Social Democracy." One quotation read: "Therefore, to beat the enemy, the bourgeoisie, we must direct the main blow against its chief enemy bulwark, against the chief enemy of Communism, in the working class, against Social Democracy, against Social Fascism." To this there was no answer from Browder. An honest leader, when departing from such a position and going over to the exact opposite, would, in any case, be obligated to admit the falsity of the past and explain to his following the reason for the change. But Browder made no such attempt. He made no attempt to defend the Communist road and he could not do so since the ideological baggage of Stalinism is now entirely devoid of any ideas of Communism.

IV. ORGANIZATION

Organization! It is indispensable; it is invincible! In the recent strike in early August in New York, its power carried the first strike of WPA workers to speedy victory—against General Johnson's threat and ultimatum: "This is a strike against the government, against the people of the United States." Result: Reduction of hours so as to bring the rates paid to the level of prevailing union scales. Why these results? Because the strike found instant response and spread—and unions supported it! Electrical workers local 3, carpenters local 2090, painters local 605, and bricklayers local 37. The WPA had threatened to set into motion the trade unions. Deeply, immeasurably significant! Even against the will of the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L., the unemployment question makes its way into the unions through the WPA. Allentown; one month later: strike! Twenty-five labor organizations including the Central Trades and Labor Council endorsed the strike in public conference. Result: spread strike and won statewide victory of 10 per cent increase in wages and cut of hours from 140 per month to 120 per month.

Already numerous labor bodies have endorsed the fight for prevailing wage rates on the WPA projects. Thus far, it is true, there has been no national tie-up organizationally between the A. F. of L. and the WPA-Unemployed organizations. But in every strike that has taken place (either those led by unions and supported by unemployed-relief workers or vice-versa) delegates have been seated on Central Labor bodies or conferences that created joint executive organs have served the purpose. The logic and life of the struggles themselves solidified and joined the movements programatically and organizationally; and victor resulted almost invariably.

V. WHAT TO DO

How to organize the field? WPA thus far seems to be confined to the eastern and mid-western sections of the country, mostly in the larger cities. Almost universally the project local is the basis of organization—and seems to be the best for the coming period. They are tied up in the unemployed organizations with the unemployed "proper" through the central bodies. The experiences of the Workers Alliance of America and the National Unemployed League—the two large organizations of WPA-unemployed in the country, and the organizations that have led the past militant strikes—indicate that that is the form of organization.

The Significance of the Browder-Thomas Debate for the Revolutionary Movement

By ARNE SWABECK

The complete stenographic report, printed in the Daily Worker for Dec. 14, fully confirms the unusual character of the Browder-Thomas debate, held in the New York Madison Square Garden on November 27. It reveals in some respects a historical reversal of roles of the two parties: The Communist Party now standing on the platform of social-patriotism while the Socialist Party, endeavoring to rid itself of its right wing ballast, is moving in a leftward direction and its representative presenting the important arguments in the debate.

Norman Thomas defended militantly the position of the Socialist Party. It was, of course, not the position of the Social Democracy of 1914 nor the position of the Old Guard. Thomas spoke from the point of view of the Socialist workers who have moved leftward and attacked the perfidious social-patriotism of Stalinism. Undoubtedly he was more to the left than usual, blithely accused by Browder of using phrases in the style of Trotsky. "It is certainly something new in the world when Socialists find obstacles to the united front in a supposed move to the right by the Communists," said Browder. He was bewildered and unable to understand that Socialists could actually have learned from the disastrous international working class defeats and draw certain conclusions tending in a revolutionary direction.

The Lines Cross

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"Come to Jesus"

Browder had thoughts only for an escape from the pointed charges made by Thomas. Throughout the debate he reiterated continuously in the most garrulous, cringing and grovelling fashion his plea for unity: "Why can't we unite on a wide campaign? . . . Why can't we work jointly in these mass organizations? . . . Why can't we unite forces to begin building? . . . Why don't we do it?" Why, on why—in the style of the evangelist—why don't you come to Jesus tonight? Only the deepest feeling of revulsion could arise from the cringing tone of this supposed spokesman for communism, repugnant and distasteful to upright, conscious workers.

Browder pleaded for a united front not only for the everyday struggles of the workers, but also for the defeat of the class enemy: "Comrades," he said, "let me put the question sharply: Between today and a future victory of Fascism in the United States there stands historically only one thing—a powerful people's anti-Fascist front, a Farmer-Labor Party."

No, this is false to the core: Between today and a future victory of Fascism there stands first of all the historic necessity of a revolutionary party and a revolutionary policy. Only with this essential prerequisite can a united front defeat Fascism. And whatever may be said in favor of one side, it is certain that neither of the parties whose representatives met in this debate present such a policy or constitute such a party.

Some caustic criticism of the people's front was offered by Thomas, motivated in the main by his doubts of the "sincerity" of his opponents. The People's Front in France he considered, however, to be a great achievement. In view of this it seems strange that he should find faults with the New York C. P. election platform from which he quoted the demands for "a people's front, uniting workers, farmers, unemployed, professionals, small business men, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Socialists, Democrats, Republicans." On a small scale, and adapted to the American scene, this platform merely proposed what the people's front in France actually is. The difference is only in magnitude; the policy, with its confusion and deception, is the same. In France the Radical Socialist Party, whose leader is Herriot, one of the senior partners in the Laval government, gives its own peculiar political nuance to the people's front. This party still represents today that political instrument of the big bourgeoisie which is best adapted to the traditions and the prejudices of the petty-bourgeoisie. Its program is the national defense of imperialist France.

The Franco-Soviet Pact Thomas did assert that it troubled him a little to see his "Communist friends make more love to Herriot than to Leon Blum." This love-making, however, flows from definite political considerations and from the kind of political considerations which have now become the guiding line for Soviet foreign policy under the Stalin regime. In this instance, most particularly, the considerations of the Franco-Soviet pact. Its contradiction with the class interests of the proletariat should be apparent, for Thomas was absolutely correct when he complained about the love making to Herriot. To the extent he did, his criticism of the Franco-Soviet pact he was also correct. But he did not nearly say all that should have been said. He reminded the audience of the Stalin-Laval com-

munique to the effect that: "M. Stalin understands and fully approves the national defense policy of France in keeping her armed forces on a level required for security." Thomas called the Franco-Soviet pact a "military pact with that dishonest broker, Laval of France . . . an endorsement of an army which in bourgeois France is still a probable source of Fascist trouble, an endorsement of an army under a Premier who even now is probably double-crossing Russia!" In his rebuttal he exclaimed "a very terrible responsibility was taken by Stalin when he specifically told Communists to stop their agitation within the French army, for that, and only that, was the meaning of his endorsement of French military preparations."

And what did Browder have to say on this question? He brushed it aside in a very simple bureaucratic fashion. To him this criticism had no significance whatever, for had not "the Socialists and Communists registered a tremendously big increase in votes" in the municipal elections? But this, Mr. Browder, entirely begs the question. Big election gains, yes even tremendously big election gains, might very well have been scored without the existence of the Franco-Soviet pact. Moreover, in the final analysis, these election gains can prove only pyrrhic victories because they rest upon a foundation of political solidarization between Stalin and the brigands of French imperialism. This strike-breaking act of Stalin, who "fully approves the national defense policy of France," Browder was unable to explain away or even to cover up.

Turning to the question of the League of Nations and sanctions, Thomas remained aggressively critical. When seeking to dramatize his point by saying he wished he could address himself to the dead amongst the Ethiopian and Italian soldiers who had "fallen because of Italy's use of tanks driven by oil sold by the Soviet Republic," he was greeted with boos and hisses from the largest section of the audience which was made up of Stalinist sympathizers. On the question of an oil embargo he accused the Soviet Union of class-collaboration. Together with this he stressed the necessity of organizing the strength of the workers to impose their own sanctions, which he did not believe could be done by "trailing along with the League of Nations, with British imperialism, with Britain's navy in the Mediterranean and with the sale of oil to Mussolini at the same time."

Unquestionably the Soviet Union could have set a magnificent example and inspired the workers everywhere to struggle against war, if it had refused demonstratively to sell oil to Mussolini. But to Browder this meant nothing. In his opinion such a refusal would mean merely face-saving device for the Soviet Union because Italy could get plenty of oil elsewhere. He insisted the Soviet Union was doing something more practical for Ethiopia, "through its growing international power in diplomacy, to work for a real world-wide embargo, as he called it, against Italy. So far, however, the road of diplomacy has produced nothing tan-

gible outside of the dastardly Hoare-Laval "peace" plan for the dismemberment of Ethiopia. Sanctions, in the thieves jargon of diplomacy, means war. And the League of Nations, to which the Soviet Union is affiliated, is beginning to assume its proper function as the general staff of world imperialism.

What were the positions presented on the question of the defense of the Soviet Union? On this point Browder spoke without equivocation. Picturing an attack by Germany and Japan upon the Soviet Union, he asked: "Will the militant Socialists adopt a position of neutrality? Will they advocate the slogan 'Keep America Out of War?' Impossible!" What jingoism! In this exclamation Browder nominated himself as recruiting-sergeant for "Uncle Sam"; and it did not make matters any better that he misnamed this as "patriotism" the cause of the working class, patriotism to the only country of Socialism today."

This only gave Thomas an opportunity to ask: "Since when have Marxists learned the doctrine of the State so as to believe that workers in minority parties can turn capitalist armies into red armies before those armies have been defeated as in Czarist Russia? . . . The chief consideration is to organize the workers against capitalism, against fascism, against war, for world-wide Socialism." Yes, this is the chief consideration. We may ask further, would the United States under any condition enter into a war for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the defense of the country of Socialism? Obviously not. It would enter a war only for its own imperialist purposes, and to take the position, taken by Browder, could mean nothing else but to throw the working class support behind the government controlled by the Morgans and the Rockefeller for the furtherance of these imperialist purposes. These people have entirely forgotten that the enemy is at home. And besides, the only way really to defend the Soviet Union is to fight against one's own bourgeoisie and to organize in the process of this fight the world revolutionary party that will be capable of making an end to capitalism.

On the final question of importance in this debate, namely the proletarian dictatorship, it might be said that Thomas had a certain justification for asking Browder, in view of the latter's boast of "the final and irrevocable victory of socialism on one sixth of the earth," if Russia is still so weak that she cannot extend civil liberties now within her own borders. But Thomas displayed equally the falsity of his own position in regards to this cardinal question of Marxism in arguing against a "party dictatorship." A revolutionary party can have no interests separate and apart from those of the working class and consequently it can have no interests opposed to those of the working class. Nor is this what has taken place in the Soviet Union. On the contrary. The party is strangled by a bureaucracy that has usurped all power to itself. Hence the struggle of the revolutionists is for the rebuilding of the party of Lenin and Trotsky.

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# Defense Forces Rally Against Anti-Labor Repression

## Appeal Denied Cal. Class War Victims

Norman Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San Quentin, and his fellow-workers who were sentenced with him to 14 years for union activities, is being denied the right to appeal his case, according to a statement just issued by Herbert Solow, Secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee.

Mini, who was charged with criminal syndicalism but was guilty only of union activity and opposition to the existing social order, was the victim of an anti-union drive organized by the California State Chamber of Commerce and the Associated Farmers, Inc. These organizations, which, as the N.S.A.C. has proven, have a secret fund to finance the prosecution of union organizers throughout California, are using their influence on the courts to prevent Mini and the other Sacramento prisoners from upsetting the illegal verdict dictated against them by reactionary forces which controlled the Sacramento jury.

**No Transcript Provided**  
The entire Sacramento appeal is now being held up, no copy of the transcript being provided by the state. As a result the attorneys in the case can not prepare their briefs and no date has been set to hear the appeal.

The Sacramento trial ended April 1, with the conviction of eight defendants. Immediately after the conviction, Juror Howard S. McIntire gave to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense an affidavit affirming that the verdict was the result of an illegal horse-trade.

Judge Dal M. Lemmon refused a motion for a new trial and sent the prisoners to San Quentin and Tehachapi. The court reporter failed to prepare the transcript within the time set by law, and the judge gave him several extensions. The appeal attorneys could not begin work on the transcript before the transcript was turned over by the court clerk to the country clerk in October.

The law of California provides that the County Clerk should give one copy of the transcript to the Attorney General, another to the prosecutor, and a third to the defendant or his attorney. The clerk immediately sent out the two copies marked for the state officials, but made no move to send a copy to the defense.

### I.L.D. Splits Defense

Due to the flat refusal of the International Labor Defense to make a joint appeal fight along with the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the appeal is split into two parts. Norman Mini is represented by Attorney Raymond W. Henderson of Bakersfield. California's leading legal fighter against criminal syndicalism prosecution, Henderson is retained by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, which includes not only the N.P.L.D., but also the League for Industrial Democracy, the General Defense Committee and ten other national organizations.

Several of the other prisoners are represented by Leo Gallagher, who has been retained for their appeal by the I.L.D. The situation is additionally complicated by the fact that a number of the prisoners belonging to the Communist Party and advised on defense tactics by the I.L.D., represent themselves rather than have an attorney.

The Sacramento County Clerk refuses to deliver the one available copy of the transcript either to Gallagher or to Henderson, on the grounds that he would then be responsible for not having delivered it to whichever one he omitted. Moreover, he will not deliver it even to Gallagher and Henderson jointly because, he contends, he might then be held responsible by those I.L.D. defendants who are not technically represented by Gallagher.

### Court Nullifies Writ

The court clerk refuses to provide any extra copies of the transcript, and the county clerk, hiding behind the fact that the law says the copy shall be delivered to the defendant (singular) will do nothing to make the court clerk provide extra copies.

With the approval of Attorney Gallagher, Attorney Henderson is now going to the Supreme Court of California in an effort to break open the jam in which the Sacramento Appeal Committee now finds itself.

Henderson recently obtained from the District Court of Appeals in Sacramento a mandamus ordering the county clerk to turn over the transcript to him. The clerk then came to the district court and had the mandamus declared null and void. He argued that he could not determine who is "the defendant" and therefore could not legally turn the transcript over to anybody. The court, conceded to him, and he is sitting tight again.

Unless Henderson wins his fight in the Supreme Court, the whole case is tied up and innocent men must sit in prison because they are being denied the right of appeal.

Such a situation, somewhat similar in a general way to the situation Angelo Herndon found himself in when the U. S. Supreme Court refused on flimsy technical grounds to hear an appeal, would be very much to the satisfaction of the California employers' organizations who plotted this frame-up in the first place and who are now doing all they can to make the illegal, railroadng convictions stick.

Henderson would then go into court and seek to free Mini on the grounds that he is "guaranteed" the right to appeal by the laws of California, but that he is being denied it in effect by the failure of the State to provide Mini or his attorney with a copy of the transcript of trial proceedings.

### Whole Defense Affected

Should Henderson win this legal battle at any stage, it would be a great victory for the entire defense. The I.L.D. and its defendants would benefit along with Mini.

Should the State of California, pressed by the organized employers, refuse to make an appeal possible, the issue will have to go to the U. S. Supreme Court. In any event, the California bosses are compelling a long delay in the appeal, forcing innocent workers to sit in prison even without due process of law. The judge, of course, has refused bail despite the outrageous delay in the appeal proceedings caused by the attitude of the State itself.

It goes without saying that the employers' gratification at this situation could have been prevented if the I.L.D. had agreed to a unified defense. In that case, all the defendants would have been represented either by one attorney or by joint attorneys, and cooperation would have been simple.

As it is, the fact that Gallagher has agreed to cooperate with Henderson in sharing the one copy of the transcript if they can ever get it out of the county clerk's hands, does not help, because even a joint application by Henderson and Gallagher would be futile, since several of the I.L.D. defendants are technically not represented by Gallagher.

### I.L.D. Passive

The obstructive attitude of the I.L.D. is further illustrated by the fact that they play down the news of this hold-up by the State. What little news they print about it is distorted in order to conceal the fact that the N.S.A.C. and Henderson have already gotten busy breaking the log-jam, while the I.L.D. forces remain passive, except for publishing a pamphlet devoted in part to lying attacks on the N.P.L.D., Mini, and his trial attorney, Albert Goldman.

The I.L.D.'s "united front" defense conference does nothing to support Attorney Henderson's fight. In addition to pushing the legal fight on the question of the transcript, the N.S.A.C. continues its work rallying mass support for the Sacramento prisoners. An appeal is being sent to unions throughout the country asking them to adopt resolutions to be sent to the California officials demanding the freedom of the eight Sacramento union organizers.

The Los Angeles branch of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee has just held a mass meeting on the case in Walker Auditorium. A large crowd of workers attended to hear Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the N.S.A.C.

Due to the added legal steps necessitated by the tie-up of the appeal, the N.S.A.C. needs additional funds. Funds and resolutions calling for the release of the prisoners should be sent at once to the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, Room 707, 41 Union Square, New York City.

## Stop Limping! Start Walking!

THE class struggle goes on, and the executive arm of the employing class, the State and all its institutions, cracks down on the workers of America.

Sacramento, Minneapolis, Atlanta, Harlan, Fargo, Brooklyn, from coast to coast, police, judges, vigilantes combine to persecute, not only revolutionists, but union organizers, strikers, unemployed asking for relief, and even "Modern Democrats," who dare to buck a Tammanyized city administration in Tampa. Illegal arrests, frame-up trials, denial of appeals on technical grounds, abduction, beating, murder . . . all in the name of justice, democracy, law and order.

The news reports on this page indicate, not only the need for a powerful unified defense movement, but the fact that for the first time in many years some measure of unity is being achieved on defense issues. Joint committees are functioning in the Sacramento, Tampa, Herndon, Harlan and other cases. Each committee includes several working class currents. Some already have signal victories to their credit.

We greet this development as a heartening sign of progress in the defense field. Credit belongs to the N.P.L.D., which we endorse and support, for the important part it has played in promoting this movement. Unified defense activities were initiated locally in New York by the N.P.L.D. in the victorious Robins-Gras campaign, and on a national scale in the National Sacramento Appeal campaign.

Today there exist a whole series of united defense committees on separate cases. But almost all of them limp a bit organizationally. The I.L.D. is absent from the National Sacramento Appeal Committee because it refuses to unify the defense. The I.L.D. is not on the Tampa Committee because the Socialist initiators of the Committee have refused so far to invite them. The I.L.D. is absent from the Kentucky Miners' Committee because the Harlan prisoners have not yet forgiven the Communist Party its wrecking tactics in Harlan County a few years ago. Both the I.L.D. and the Socialist defense forces are missing from the Ferrero-Sallitto Committee.

The General Defense Committee (I.W.W.) and the N.P.L.D. alone are in all these joint bodies. This is an intolerable situation. The amputated character of most of these committees detracts from their strength and efficiency. The fact that in a number of the committees—Herndon and Kentucky—the control of the policy is vested in only one organization, with the others acting as auxiliaries, has rendered difficult the coordination of the legal work with all the militant mass campaigns.

Despite these and other weaknesses in organization and policy, the new development of joint defense work is a step in the right direction. But it is time these various committees stopped limping along with one leg shorter than the other, and began to march together toward one unified defense organization.

Once all the joint committees include the four defense organizations—the N.P.L.D., the I. and S. D., the I.L.D. and the G.D.C.—everybody with a sense of the practical would begin to think about centralizing the work of these various bodies. If the combined forces of these groups could first be thrown together into the struggle on behalf of these outstanding cases, on the basis of a twin policy of sound legal action and organized mass support along militant lines, the American working class would come a long way forward from the state of internal disunity in the defense field which accompanied "the third period" of Stalinism.

The eventual creation of a militant mass defense organization, embracing all the organized groupings in the labor movement, has been advocated by the N.P.L.D. for almost two years. We have supported their efforts to build such an organization from the very first.

Who, then, is blocking the road? First of all, the Communist Party. Without going into the past, let us look at the present. Last week the Daily Worker carried an editorial hailing the triumph of the united defense movement in the Herndon case and urging the extension of this defense unity to the Tampa, Terre Haute and Scottsboro cases, cases in which the victims are members of the Socialist or Communist parties.

But the Stalinists failed to mention the skeleton in their closet, the Sacramento case, in which Norman Mini, a member of the Workers Party, is involved. Can anyone take seriously the Stalinist call for defense unity so long as they continue to slander and split the defense movement in the Sacramento case?

The Socialist Party must also bear part of the responsibility for the present chaotic state of affairs. In the first place they refuse to admit the Stalinist defense forces into several joint committees. In the second, they violated, without explanation, the agreement they had signed with the N.P.L.D. and other labor groups, for the creation of a non-partisan labor defense, and proceeded to form a partisan "Labor and Socialist Defense Committee."

The drive for industrial unionism, if it is seriously pushed, will bring with it in the not far distant future a new outbreak of labor struggles. Workers will be hounded. Defense will be needed. If the working class is to be in the best possible position to handle these problems, the existing cooperation among the various defense bodies must be extended and the policy tightened up in the direction of militant action.

In the Theatre Union's drama, "Mother," the Russian workers sing:  
"Good! We have the crust,  
But where's the loaf?"

We believe we speak for every class war prisoner when we say just this about the state of the defense movement today.

## Mpls. Labor Protests Jailing of Al Russel

### Resentment Nationwide in Tampa Case

TAMPA, Fla.—With labor protests throughout the country pouring in on him, the mayor of Tampa has suspended six policemen and one fireman in the murder of Joseph Shoemaker, and the sadistic beating of S. D. Rogers and E. F. Poulnot, Socialists and members of the Workers Alliance, unemployed organization.

Organized by the Committee for the Defense of Civil Dignity in Tampa, the labor protests included a warning by President William Green of the A. F. of L. that the next union convention, scheduled for Tampa, would be moved elsewhere if the outrage is white-washed. To put teeth into this warning, the Committee is contacting all internationals and local unions for passage of resolutions directed at the Tampa authorities.

Taking no stock in promises of an investigation by local authorities, the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa has sent its own investigators to the spot.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the General Defense Committee, the Dressmakers Joint Board and other organizations are the constituents of the Committee.

### Reverse Fargo Convictions

FARGO, N. Dakota.—The State Supreme Court has reversed the convictions of three Fargo teamsters' union leaders, but upheld the convictions of fifteen union members, in a long-delayed decision handed down last week.

The eighteen trade unionists had been convicted on the charge of rioting, arising out of a bitterly-fought strike last winter and spring. On the pretext of seeking pickets who had violated the local ordinance, police and vigilantes attacked the union hall with tear gas and guns and arrested over ninety strikers. The North Dakota House of Representatives subsequently adopted a resolution denouncing the raid and those judges who had granted injunctions in violation of the state anti-injunction law.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense provided attorneys and funds to successfully fight the injunctions. Francis Heisler, noted Chicago attorney, was provided by the N.P.L.D. as chief counsel representing the strikers in numerous cases, and carried to the Supreme Court an appeal against the conviction of the eighteen union members.

President William Cruden, Hugh Hughes of Local 173 were those whose sentences were reversed. A new trial has been ordered.

This is the first time in four years in any state, that there have been any reversals in a labor rioting conviction.

FARGO, N. D., Dec. 15.—At a meeting of the Fargo Branch of the N.P.L.D. today it was decided to give full support to the fight of the convicted Fargo strikers for freedom. The fact that the Supreme Court has reversed the sentences against the three leaders of Local 173 does not satisfy the workers of Fargo or the N.P.L.D., which organized the defense fight. An appeal will be made for a re-hearing of the case. Attorney Francis Heisler will have charge of the legal work. It is believed that the prosecution, angered by the resistance of the workers, will try to re-convict the three union leaders freed by the Supreme Court. The union leaders and rank and file, however, are solid in this fight for the liberation of all the strikers.

**NEXT ISSUE**  
**An Answer to Lovestone's Bombast**

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 10.—Al Russel, arrested on the picket line at the Strutwear plant during the attempt to reopen it with federal protection (under guise of a fake replevin suit), came up for trial before Federal Judge Molyneux on Monday, December 9. He had been confined in jail for ten days under heavy bail. He was first held without charges until a writ of habeas corpus sued out by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense resulted in his technical release and immediate rearrest on the charge of criminal contempt. At the request of the United States district attorney, who apparently had no evidence on which to sustain the charge, the trial was postponed until December 19.

Bail was reduced from \$2,500 to \$500. Then later in the day, after this bail had been procured, it was automatically raised again back to the original exorbitant figure of \$2,500. It is evident that powerful influences are at work to keep Alfred Russel in jail and thereby to intimidate other pickets in the carefully prepared and well advertised conspiracy to reopen the Strutwear plant and break the strike of the hosiery workers.

Francis Heisler, the noted labor attorney of Chicago, and Gilbert Carlson appeared in court to defend Russel. This formidable legal battery had been retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense which is in charge of the case.

The persecution of Alfred Russel has become a public scandal and the case is attracting wide attention. This was attested to by the presence in court of a large number of union members and labor leaders, including Alexander McKeown, first vice president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. A large crowd of Strutwear strikers, proudly wearing their union buttons, were in the courtroom in a demonstration of solidarity with Russel.

**Demand Strutwear Show Books**  
Attorneys Heisler and Carlson are turning the defense of Russel into a legal offensive against the maneuver of the Strutwear outfit to break the strike with the aid of the federal courts. They are going into court with a motion for a subpoena duces tecum, requiring the Strutwear company to produce their books for examination by a certified public accountant. The object of this action is to get at the bottom of the ill-smelling "replevin" action under which United States marshals were brought into the situation, and to ascertain whether the writ of replevin was misused or not.

### Order Ferrero-Sallitto Deported

The Department of Labor has made its Christmas present to Vincent Ferrero and Domenico Sallitto. The Bureau of Immigration handed down decisions last week that these men, held since April, 1934, have been given until Dec. 26 and Dec. 27, respectively, to take voluntary departure from this country. No charges stand against these men save that they rented part of their premises to a publication the Administration does not like. The case involves the right of freedom of speech and freedom of the workers' press. The Italian government has refused to give Ferrero his passport; his return to Italy would mean almost certain imprisonment or death.

As time to save these two men grows short, the campaign carried on by the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference has become more intense. Last week a mass meeting at the Rand School, attended by several hundred workers, heard speeches by spokesmen of organizations participating in the case, including a representative of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. A resolution protesting the deportation was sent to the Department of Labor and plans laid for an intensive drive to flood the desk of Frances Perkins, head of the Department, with protests from trade unions and other labor organizations, liberal groups and individuals.

Efforts to save these men will aim also at smashing the growing use of the government of the weapon of deportation, a vicious weapon aimed against the thirteen million aliens and foreign-born in this country, and particularly against the militants in the labor movement.

## United Front Proposed on 'Scottsboro'

Moves are under way toward setting up a new joint committee to handle the Scottsboro case in its next stage.

The boys have been reindicted and will be tried in a short time. It seems clear that all or almost all of them have repudiated the I.L.D. as far as legal work is concerned, and have put their faith in Samuel S. Leibowitz, called into the case two years ago by the I.L.D., which was later kicked out by him.

Leibowitz has had the formal backing of the "American Scottsboro Committee," created by him, a group of Negro clergymen, and Publisher Davis of the scab *Amsterdam News*. The State of Alabama, through its "unofficial spokesman," correspondent John Speke Graces of the *New York Times*, has offered Leibowitz a deal: the boys will not be killed if all radicals, liberals and northerners get out of the case, and if it is defended as a straight rape case which it never was.

Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union has addressed to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense a letter which asks whether the N.P.L.D. will consider an invitation to enter a united front on the Scottsboro case along with the I.L.D., the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the I.L.D. and the A.C.L.U.

The N.P.L.D. National Executive Board had not yet acted on the invitation at the time of going to press, but when interviewed by a NEW MILITANT reporter, George Novack of the N.P.L.D. Board, made the following statement:

"We will certainly go on aiding the Scottsboro boys in any way we can, and that means considering any invitation to sit in a joint committee. We are anxious to see the exact basis of the proposed committee. On our Board are half a dozen people who were active in the Scottsboro case almost from the start.

"More than two years ago they raised their voices on behalf of the idea of broadening the Scottsboro defense to include Socialist,

Negro liberal and trade union elements. We then said that only through broad, militant tactics could this case be won. We still feel the same way, and stand ready to help with all our forces."

## Three Harlan Miners Freed

After a four and a half year's fight by the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., three of the seven Harlan miners serving life sentences in the famous "Battle of Evarts" cases have had their sentences commuted by Governor Laffoon. The three released on parole are eighty-year old Bill Tighower, William Hudson and Elzie Phillips, a Negro miner.

New evidence and affidavits proving the innocence of the men, as well as backed up by a strong pressure campaign upon the Governor, finally forced him to free the prisoners. On announcing the commutations, Laffoon is reported to have said: "I won't do any more on the Harlan miners' cases. I've started the ball rolling by releasing three of the men. Let the next Governor show where he stands."

In other words, Laffoon is passing the buck to his successor. The recently organized Kentucky Miners' Defense Committee, comprising the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners together with the General Defense Committee, has launched a drive to make the incoming governor release the other four miners still in Frankfort Penitentiary by Christmas.

The National Executive Board of the N.P.L.D. sent the following telegram to Governor Chandler Monday:

"One important test of the labor attitude of any new Kentucky Governor is his attitude toward the four innocent Harlan miners now in Frankfort prison. Our members throughout the country join us in calling for an immediate unconditional pardon. We want the Harlan miners out by Christmas."

All labor organizations are urged to send similar telegrams to Governor Harry Chandler, Frankfort, Kentucky. Only further organized effort and persistent mass pressure can turn the partial victory into a complete one.

## Mass Meet to Fight Danger To Herndon

The State of Georgia having filed an appeal against Judge Hugh M. Dorsey's decision upsetting the chain-gang sentence in the Angelo Herndon case, the Negro victim of the Georgia reactionaries, is again in danger.

The fight on Herndon's behalf launched by the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense, of which the N.P.L.D. is an active constituent, is being continued. A mass meeting has been called for Friday night, Dec. 20, in St. Nicholas Arena, Sixth Ave. and 66th St., at 8 P.M. Herndon will be one of the speakers. Julius Hochman, chairman of the Joint Board of Dressmakers, will preside.

The action of the State of Georgia in appealing against Dorsey's decision that, because of "vagueness," the 1896 insurrection law used against Herndon is unconstitutional, reflects the intensity of political differences within the ruling class of Georgia itself.

Dorsey's action took place against a background of mass agitation which became effective after the I.L.D. decided to abandon its monopoly on the Herndon case and call in aid. The Joint Committee brought new elements into action for the first time, and the Herndon issue began to be popular.

Neither the Roosevelt nor the Talmadge faction of the Georgia Democratic Party wants to take the responsibility of Herndon being on the chain gang when the fight for the 1936 Presidential nomination, which each one covets in the name of "liberty," begins seriously. Consequently, Dorsey, while maintaining that there should be a law on the statute books which, because it is the opposite of vague, will put all radicals and labor organizers on the chain gang, let Herndon go.

The State solicitor, representing a rival faction, appeals the case. Each faction is trying to put on the other the onus of keeping Herndon on the chain gang. The liberty of an innocent man is thus potholed by a political football for Georgia demagogues.

His freedom can come only through the pressure of the masses.

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HEAR:  
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HERBERT SOLOW — ANNA DAMON and others  
at  
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