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# Powell Framed; Scottsboro Boys In Peril

## "Tell the Workers the Truth About Stalin's Hounding Mass Protest Only Means of Revolutionists in the Soviet Union! -- Trotsky Urges For Freedom Smash the Bourbon by Mo-

## Cablegram from Leon Trotsky Hits Hearst and Daily Worker Lies

Just before going to press we received the following radiogram from comrade Trotsky in reply to

PUBLICATION OF TAROV ARTICLE BY HEARST COMMON PRESS GANGSTERISM STOP BUT IMPUDENCE OF HEARST NO EX-CUSE FOR CRIMES OF STALIN CLIQUE STOP GAVE STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS UNDERSIGNED

## Pen **Prostitute** NO. 1

Louis F. Budenz has been rewarded for his craven capitulation to Stalin and Browder.

Decorated with shame, he will be known to the revolutionary workers as Pen Prostitute Number One of the Daily Worker.

In the late edition of the Sunday Worker and in Monday's edition of the Daily Worker appears a "scoop" by this new convert to Stalinism and twice converted American patriot.

Its title reads: "Militant Gives Hearst Permission to Reprint Trotsky's Articles-New York American Is Non-Committal on Cash Payment."

And the proof: the word of Hearst's agent himself! Yes, the very institution the Stalinist rag never tires of denouncing for its lies about and against the working class movement.

Frenzy at Revolutionists In their mad hatred of those who

tell the truth to the working class. who excoriate the Stalinist recruiting sergeants of American imperialism, who throw a searchlight upon the crimes of the bloodhounds who persecute Lenin's co-workers, the hired liars of the Daily Worker achieve a touching confidence in the hired liars of William Randolph

Budenz is shameless enough to write this scurrilous attack on Leon Trotsky and the NEW MILITANT on the basis of an alleged telephone conversation with a certain "Mr. Frank Cullen of the 'March of Events' section of the N. Y. Amer-

Mr. Cullen on the Phone You see, the editor of the "March of Events" section, Mr. T. V. Ranck, was conveniently "out"

when Budenz phoned! And what is Cullen's position on

the American? Has he the authority to speak officially for the Hearst press? Will be repeat its telephone answers to a court of law?

"go" he trusted Mr. Cullen like a history of the American labor move brother.

What does Budenz say that Cullen told him?

1. That the Trotsky articles were reprinted from the NEW MIL-

Great discovery! Hearst's introduction to the articles specifically masquerading under the banner of stated that they were reprinted Lenin. from the NEW MILITANT.

Who Gave This "Permission"? 2. "Permission," Mr. Cullen is reprint them from that paper . . whatever von call it."

(Continued on Page 4)

## 'Socialist Call' on "Hearst are subjected to forced feeding, only in order to be placed later under even worse conditions. When Trotsky & the Communists

(Editor's Note: The following editorial is reprinted from the Socialist Call for Feb. 1, 1936.)

"HEARST, TROTZKY AND THE COMMUNISTS

Hearst is a journalistic whore-monger who has not the slightest conception of honesty in publishing. His latest venture in the realm of

larceny, stealing a series of articles by Leon Trotzky, first published in the columns of the American Trotzkyite weekly organ, deserves universal condemna-

"But it is quite as shocking to find the Daily Worker seizing upon this and interpreting it as evidence that Trotzky has sold out to Hearst. We are not concerned with the truth of the statements in these articles; but even the Daily Worker must recognize in Trotzky a man of high principles who has suffered personally for his loyalty to his revolutionary ideals.

"The Daily Worker owes Trotzky an apology. Or are we to assume that the Stalinists, too, have lost any idea of journalistic

### NEXT WEEK!

Another installment of comrade Anton Ciliga's searching exposure of Stalin's repression against revolutionists, dealing especially with the shambles made of the Jugoslav C.P. by the bureaucrats of the C.I. will appear in the next issue of the New Militant

## **TROTSKY**

"It is no news to readers of the Call that William, Randolph

R. P. Farriss, Tampa business murder case, is dead. The Tampa newspapers are frankly sceptical murdered. When found, he had in his pocket a receipt for a postoffice box, which is the official box fo the Ku Klux Klan, who had a and in the murder of Shoemaker.

Farriss was probably murdered of Police Tittsworth and other case. Tittsworth was bailed out by

turers of Tampa. (Continued on Page 2) By L. D. TROTSKY

The letters and documents recently published by comrades Tarov and Ciliga have served to stimulate highly the interest in the repressions of the Soviet bureaucracy against the revolutionary fighters. Eighteen years after the October revolution. at a time when, in accordance with the official doctrine, Socialism has conquered "finally and irrevocably" in the U.S.S.R., revolutionists who are unwaveringly devoted to the cause of communism but who do not recognize the dogma of the inare clapped into jail for years; incarcerated in concentration camps; compelled to do forced labor; subjected, if they attempt to resist, to physical torture; shot in the event of real or fictitious attempt to escape; or deliberately driven to suicide. When hundreds of the prisoners, in protest against the intolerable hounding, resort to the terrible means of a hunger strike, they are subjected to forced feeding, individual revolutionists, finding no other means of protest, cut their veins, the G.P.U. agents, i.e. the agents of Stalin, "save" the suicides only in order then to demonstrate with redoubled bestiality that there is no real salvation for

The Comintern—G.P.U. Terror Into this horrible picture, comrade Ciliga's account introduces an element that is especially tragic. He was one of the former leaders 700 at Tampa of the Yugoslav section of the Comintern. Under any other conditions the differences of opinion between the leaders of this party would nave been settled by means **of di**s cussion, by a Convention, and in extreme cases, by a split. But not man and an important witness in in the Comintern. That section of the Shoemaker police-vigilante the national C.E.C., which at any given moment executes the instructions of the Moscow clique, transabout the police claim that he was it of the opposition. Stalin orders mits a request to the latter to rid the oppositionists to Moscow, where, after a brief attempt to "convince" them, they are placed under arrest, clapped into solitary confinement and subjected to other forms of physical extirpation by Klausmen in order to "cover up" Among the hundreds who were their role in the murder of Shoe-killed, as "implicated" in the Kirov maker, unemployed organizer. Chief case, i.e., in the majority of cases those who are in no way involved members of the hooded gang are in this case, a number of Bulgarian were shot. The right of asylum

## Bring the Slanderers Out Into the Open!

New Militant Editor Calls for Impartial Committee to Pass Judgement on the Stalinist Frame-up

The following letter, proposing the setting up of an impartial committee to investigate and pass judgment on the charges of the Stalinists has been sent to the Amfallibility of the Stalinist clique, erican Civil Liberties Union by James P. Cannon, editor of the NEW MILITANT.

> January 27, 1936 Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union 100 Fifth Avenue

New York, N. Y. Dear Comrade Baldwin:

The Daily and Sunday Worker have carried stories alleging that the articles by Comrades Trotsky and Tarov, relating to the situation of political prisoners in the Soviet Union, were reprinted in the Hearst press from the NEW MILITANT with our permission. It was further stated that Comrade Trotsky received money from Hearst for these articles.

There is not a word of truth in these allegations. The Hearst press neither solicited nor received permission from us to republish these articles, which appeared originally in the NEW MILITANT under dates of September 28 and October 19. I can further state authoritatively that the articles were also printed without the knowledge or consent of Comrade Trotsky and were never destined by him for publication in the Hearst papers. The accusations against us and against Comrade Trotský are a deliberate frame-up. In order to establish the truth

about this matter before labor and liberal public opinion, we herewith request your organization to set up an impartial committee to investigate the matter and make a public report of its findings. The fact that the A.C. L.U. has acted in a similar capacity in other disputes and has had its findings recognized by various factions in the labor movement as fair and impartial prompts us to turn to you with this request,

We are ready to appear before such a committee, to furnish all facts and information at our disposal, and to answer any questions whatever. We have no doubt whatever that the frame-up against us and against Comrade Trotsky will be thoroughly and completely discredited by an impartial investigation and that the violation of labor ethics involved in the controversy will be placed where it belongs.

Yours fraternally, JAMES P. CANNON, Editor, New Militant.

## Bare Murder Local Wins On WPA Recognition

#### Toledo Union Demands Mols Power House Union Federal Investigation Into Case

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 27.—The WPA Workers Union is continuing its aggressive campaign to organize all of the WPA workers in Lucas County into one solid, fighting orunder indictment in the Shoemaker and other foreign oppositionists ganization. This last week it has lifted out of the obscurity which leading anti-union cigar manufac for revolutionary refugees is thus the WPA administration has atconditioned upon their binding tempted to place it, the cruel mur-Rogers and Poulnot, Socialist themselves to renounce all right to der of Alonze Walker. a Negro Tampa from the East to act as plies time and again a treacherous ditch project. The union has aleading witnesses in the trial of rap. If the "criminal" is beyond ready called upon Harry L. Hopthe murderers. The Joint Commit-grasp, then his wife, daughter or kins to conduct a federal investigatee for the Defense of Civil Rights son are seized. In these cases, the tion on the matter and is planning Tampa is keeping up its cam-largents of Stalin utilize methods a mass protest meeting and trial. (Continued on Page 2)

## Forces Wage Rise and Seniority Rights

(Reprinted from the Northwest Organizer)

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 22.-General wage increases, seniority rights, recognition of the right of the employees to hold union membership, and representation by union committees in settling griev ances are among the gains which mittee hired an extra hall, but have been won for the employees of the Northern States Power Co. than 1,500 people turned up. No orkers kidnapped and beaten with think independently. A call to WPA worker, who was allowed to by Local Union No. 160 of the I.B. thoemaker, will soon return to Moscow for a conference," im- freeze to death out on an open E.W. These conditions are guaranteed in writing over the signature of Mr. R. F. Pack, president of the

> cepted by unanimous vote of the members of Local 160 in a special a prominent Protestant layman. neeting held on January 15. The The speakers were Osmond Frankel, meeting had been called, by a Angelo Herndon, a school teacher, previous decision of the union, for Robert Minor of the I.L.D. and Roy the purpose of taking a strike vote Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P. The last after the negotiating committee re- two, until recently, were calling ported that the company refused to each other lynchers, provocateurs statement to the press demanding did not appear. Pack's resignation from the board he seemed to consider that this 'neutral.' But Local 160 objected, with considerable emphasis. Hav-

A few days prior to the January services it has rendered the work- 15 deadline contact was established sorts of behind-the-scenes deals acting as a special mediator. On with the worst gang of reactionary January 14 the union committee, (Continued on Page 3)

#### were on the jury; the state went through the farce of putting Negroes on the panel, but none served on the jury. They were either challenged by the prosecution or evaded service through fear of re-Patterson was given a 75-year

bilizing the Labor

Movement

The fourth Scottsboro trial ended

with the conviction of Haywood Patterson. Judge and prosecutor

worked hand in glove. No Negroes

prison sentence. The attitude of Attorney S. S. Leibowitz, enemy of the mass defense movement, is that he has won a victory. The New York Times special correspondent comments that it may be a victory for Leibowitz but it is a defeat for Patterson.

Patterson himself is not deceived. He announced on hearing the verdict that he would rather die than spend another day in jail for something he did not do.

All other trials have been indefinitely postponed because of a material witness sickness. The boys were returned to Birmingham jail, Patterson pending appeal of his case on the grounds that he was denied a change of venue and thus did not get a fair trial. Powell Framed

On the road from Decatur, where the trial was held, to Birmingham, a guard shot Ozie Powell, one of the boys, who is now close to death. The state will prosecute Powell and two of the other boys for attempt to kill a guard. It appears that Powell, subjected to repeated and terrible provocation, scratched one of the guards with a knife.

The Workers Party at the request of the N.P.L.D. is circularizing all branches urging them to rush resolutions against this new frame-up and the Patterson sentence. Protests should go to Gov. Bibb Graves and Lt.-Gov. Tom Knight at Mont-

The Scottsboro Defense Committee held its first public meeting Sunday in the Hotel Delano, New York City. The Daily Worker has admitted that the date was deliberately chosen so that the meeting would follow the trial. Thus it could bring no pressure on the prosecution in the fourth trial.

The meeting was given little publicity beforehand. After it was announced came the shooting of Ozie Powell. Hopefully, the Comthere was no overflow. Not more resolutions of solidarity or protest were adopted. The meeting was opened by an

L. I. I) representative introducing the chairman, Colonel W. J. Schief-The terms of settlement were ac- felin, head of the Citizens Union ("balanced budget" agitators) and Norman Thomas, Charles Zimmerman of Local 22, and B. S. Mc-Laurin of the Sleeping Car Porters were announced as speakers, but

> "The Best People of Alabama" 'Herndon declared that the Scottsboro case shows "the slave-rulers' (Continued on Page 2)

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your subscription has EX PIRED. We urge you to send in your renewal by return mail, thus insuring the receipt of your copy without interruption.

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Jan. 27. -Recently there has come into ou: by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist party for the Minnesota district, one of the most

the degeneration of the Communist to part, but of its muddleheadedness. No more shameful proposals have itself a working class party, and for four months now to find some tax, and so gave Tobin an excuse

ing interest, not only to Local 574 very thing; to agitate among the who withdrew its support from the alleged to have said, "was given to and the Northwest trade union local trade union officials and progressive union bloc which was ing class movement. This means between the union and the commovement, but to honest trade unthe New Militant, the Militant or ionists, Socialist party members from 574. and Communist party members the

l nesota, also

Page Mr. Meyer Lewis!

In these directives is contained ize in General Drivers Local 574: one who would go along with him to revoke the charter." etc., etc.

> From the very beginning the Communist party has had only one

ion functionaries and membership cooked up by the Citizens Alliance further away from 574"—to colon- and Daniel Tobin. The 574 leaders were "yellow," they did not "per-"appeal" to the Minneapolis union members," they "deceived terms. Central Labor Union, the locals, etc. the workers with false promises"-Page Mr. Meyer Lewis! Here the 574 leaders were "dishonest," in his plan to isolate Local 574 and At the height of Meyer Lewis'

(Continued on Page 3)

The Surrender-to-Tobin Plan

Such is the nature of this docu- line regarding Local 574: No matter speakable scheme of these people ment that it is little wonder that what service the General Drivers The directives cited below mean discuss a written agreement. With and whatnot. Minor now calls it proved too much for some of the Union in Minneapolis renders the only one thing—that the Communist the announcement of the impending Wilkins "an honest intellectual"; hands a set of directives drawn up Communist party members in Min- working class, SMASH IT, for the party means to do everything in strike vote, the Latimer Employer- Wilkins says nothing about Minor. Trotskyites are in the leadership! its power to emasculate one of the Employee Board attempted to step During the 1934 strikes, the C.P. finest and most militant and power-into the controversy. Meyer Lewis. 1. The C.E.C. orders the Minne-lissued leaflet after leaflet repeating ful unions in America, to isolate not bothering to discuss the probled to find out. From the word amazing documents in the recent apolis C.P. to "drive the trade under the same charges and slanders Local 574, to undermine the sup- lem with Local 160 issued a long port the union receives from the rest of the movement, to break the union, to drag it back into Tobin's overwhelming proof, not only of to "negotiate" with Daniel Tobin: mit expression from the floor by International Teamsters on Tobin's action would render the board

And this is really not so surprising. This follows out the current ing no confidence in the board as ever been made by a group calling are his allies! He has been seeking they "did not pay the per capita C. P. line: Back into the A. F. of such, they felt that Pack's influ-L. at all costs. In effect the directence, on or off the board. would tives of the C. P., if they could be still be felt and would render the carried out, would mean to smash board even less captble of making This exposure of the Communist to smash it. And now the C. P. in red scare directed against Local 574 Local 574, the union that has won a fair decision. party's schemes will be of absorb | Minnesota is ordered to do this in November, 1935, it was the C.P. | a nation-wide reputation for the membership to drive them away fighting Meyer Lewis and William the C. P. is preparing to make all pany by Attorney Fred A. Ossanna,

(Continued on Page 3)

## Social Security and the Class Struggle THE TOWNSEND PLAN

## The Panacea of a Quack Doctor

of colossal social contradictions, ed in the absence of any national hopeless in any practical sense. No acter of the Townsend movement Here exist side by side the great-system of social insurance compar-capitalist country could conceivably dooms it to disintegration and deest wealth and the direst poverty; able to those which were estabthe most advanced industrial tech- lished before and after the war in and financing such a plan without Upton Sinclair, which aimed to conniques and the biggest army of un- other democratic countries. Almost going into bankruptcy. For this quer the country, is today crumblemployed; the most confident of every European state (including reason, if for no others, capitalist ing to pieces. The Townsend oldruling classes and the most restless Germany before Hitler discarded politicians will see to it that the age pension movement, which has of peoples; unsurpassed heights of them wholesale) had been forced to plan is not adopted. However, the an even narrower social and polititechnological development and an institute some system of state pro-

The friction and energy generated by the clash of these antagon. before these questions acquired naistic conditions give a tremendous tional political importance on this ical form of the Townsend Plan, it will desert a movement as quickly impetus to all social movements in this country. Utopian crusades to reform capitalism, like Technocra- laissez faire and the devil take the cy, rise up overnight and sweep hindmost prevailed in regard to Another thin plank wil have to be politicians, who can steal Townthrough the middle classes like social services as in so many other prairie fires. The easily combust- spheres of American life. "Charity" ible social material distributed in was no concern of the Federal govlarge quantities among the middle ernment; at most it might be the classes, is however, quickly con- concern of the separate states; but sumed. These middle-class reform it was better to leave such Chrisand Utopian movements have neith- tian duties to individuals, religer stamina nor stability. They lous groups, or plutocratic philanfade away as speedily as they thropy. The system of administerspring to life, leaving only the ing relief to the aged and the un-

bronellen into political action on with the result that a majority of their own account so easily as the the needy were either completely middle classes. (Their wrath burns neglected or supported by their more slowly but more surely.) They find their first field of organization and action on the industrial and as furiously in politics as they

ceptionally fortunate position occu- background out of which the Town- at the point of purchase, the paypied by American capitalism in send movement has emerged.

extremely low level of political life. vision for the aged, the unemployed,

side of the Atlantic. Until recently, the policy of wreckage of ruined hopes behind. employed was long divided between The American workers are not petty public and private agenciesfamilies and friends.

This laissez-faire policy has been

radically reversed since 1933. Hard front. Strike after strike in the on the heels of the granting of unpast period has demonstrated that employment relief follows the dewhen American workers are arous mand for other forms of social reed and ready for combat, they lief, unemployment, disability, oldspring into action with the power, age, maternity, widows' and mothferocity, and agility of tigers. We ers' insurance. The most persistent can be confident that, once they of these has been the cry for oldtake the road of independent polit-age pensions. The prevailing inseical action, they will move as fast curity, economic disintegration, and widespread unemployment, the tenare doing today on the industrial dency of American industry and business to discard all but the The social reforms secured by youngest and most vigorous workthe people under a capitalist regime ers: the ten-year increase in the are invariably by-products of the average life-span of the American states enact unemployment insurclass struggle. They are exacted people, have given birth to a defrom the bourgeoisie by organized mand for old-age pensions which is serves have been built up for two social force; and granted because being heard throughout the length of their fear of the consequences of of the land. "If military veterans refusal. The number of social re- are entitled to bonuses, medical forms accorded to its citizens is an care, and pensions from the govaccurate gauge of the degrees of de-ernment, why should not we social its application. The payroll methvelopment of the class struggle in veterans receive as much," the old of financing usemployment inany bourgeois democracy. The im- people are asking. And along comes surance under the Act differs in maturity of the class struggle in the Dr. Townsend with an answer to only one respect from the sales-United States—thanks to the ex- their prayers. Such is the social tax. While the sales-tax is levied

### The Townsend Crusade

The Townsend Old-Age Pension tillery upon the movement in at Plan, which was restricted a year tempts to smash it. The conservaago to the West Coast, has today tive economists in the universities. become a national crusade, embrac- the editorial writers in the metroing millions of people and counting politan papers, the publicity men of thousands of clubs throughout the the capitalist parties are busy iscountry. The Townsend Plan has suing blasts against it. Meanwhile, insurance for six categories of the entirely within parliamentary lines. made the idea of old-age pensions a the Townsend Clubs are becoming population, unemployment, self-em- Nothing is left but the most vulgar political issue of the first magni- political powers in locality after lotude. Not since the days of the cality. Peanut politicians of all temperance movement has there parties from the Republican to the ance, and it proposes to "raise the bill is designed to foster. been anything quite like it. In fact, Communist find it necessary to the organizational and political come to terms with the Townsend methods of the Townsend Clubs are vote in their districts. Feeling their modelled after those of the Anti-strength, the Townsendites are al-

trating their heavy propaganda ar- and ushering in the millenium.

ready boasting of taking over the Some reactionaries are concen- government after the next election

### The Townsend Panacea

that is going to cure all the ills of the already impoverished masses. American capitalism at one gulp? These masses are today saddled The Townsend Plan has suffered with the support of their parents many changes since it was first for- and grandparents. What, then, is mulated by its genial parent and it gained by the Townsend Plan? will undoubtedly be modified many Nothing. It is simply a sleight-ofmore times before it sinks into ob- hand trick which proposes that the livion along with Technocracy. Like masses should increase the allowall Utopian panaceas, it is extreme- ances they now give their elders to ly simple in essence. In its very simplicity lies both its initial ing them any way to obtain any strength and its ultimate impotence.

The scheme has two major ingredients. The first is the bait by which the suckers are hooked. All Americans over sixty are to be paid \$200 a month for life by the government on condition that they with draw from productive work and spend the pension within the month. According to Townsend, this flow of money will supply the extra purchasing power needed to keep the wheels of commerce turning without interruption. Anyone acquainted with the petty-bourgeois rentiers of Southern California will immediately recognize in this part of the plan the passport to paradise.

Two hundred dollars a month and no work is the wish-fulfillment of every retired Middle-Western farmer and his wife.

within the bait—the method of financing the enterprise. The Townsed Plan proposes that the 24 billion dollars a year for the Plan be secured by a two-percent sax on all commercial transactions. To all the processing-taxes and sales-taxes that have plagued and impoverished the consuming masses in the past few years is to be added a monstrous sales-tax of two-percent!

All taxes, except taxes upon in- any further thought upon their come, are ultimately paid for by the plan. Their sole aim is to translate consuming masses, among whom it into reality as soon as possible. the workers are in the majority. regardless of the practical conse-The effect of such taxes is always quence of its application. But, like cution of the vigilantes, and for the to force up the prices of the nec-all its Utopian predecessors, the protection of Poulnot and Rogers essities of life. The Townsend two Townsend Plan must inevitably be percent transaction tax would raise wrecked upor the rocks of social the cost of living to unheard-of realities.

What is this remarkable remedy | cost of the plan would be borne by stratospheric heights-without givadded income. On the contrary, their real incomes will be immeasurably less because of the increased price of everything they buy. The Townsend Plan is a transcendental

frand. Once the nut is cracked open, i s not difficult to expose the reactionary kernel within the radical shell of the Townsend Plan. But the poor fish who are attracted by it either cannot see this, or discount its dangers. The benign docfor himself, for example, glibly remarks that the withdrawal of all the old people from industry will make labor so scarce that the industrialist would have to raise wages to war-time levels. But even war-time wages would not suffice to meet the increased cost of living that would follow the application of the plan. Furthermore, eleven But there is a hook concealed million unemployed testify that la bor-power is not a scarce commod

> ity today. Utopian prophets and their disciples are invariably people without knowledge or political experience They are fanatics with one idea that is sure to bring universal salvation. Having developed their idea of old age pensions into a scheme for redeeming capitalism, neither Townsend nor his followers waste

heights. Ninety-nine percent of the For the Townsend Plan is not cil, after first refusing to settle the be ordered from the Non-Partisan

The United States is a country, world economy—is directly reflect-only dangerous in principle; it is | The petty-bourgeois Utopian charafford the costs of administering struction. The Epic movement of demand for old-age pensions is very cal basis, is sure to follow suit of the WPA workers themselves, ing." powerful and cannot be easily al- The middle classes are pragmatic; the industrially injured, etc., long layed. If the movement becomes they demand immediate results; bring about such catastrophes to sufficiently threatening in the rad- and when these are not forthcoming, will become necessary to derail the as they flocked to it. The Townsend movement by palming off some movement can easily be divided, diharmless substitute upon thepeople. verted. and disintegrated by wily added to Roosevelt's spurious social send's plank and whittle it down security program.

### The Struggle for Social Insurance

to a toothpick.

surance should possess three char- revenue legislation from high inacteristics. First, it should be comes, corporate surpluses, and made an integral part of a broad other accumulated wealth." campaign for workers' security, based upon a rounded program of and realistic than the Townsend immediate social demands: ade- Plan, and less fraudulent than the quate cash relief; a coordinated Social Security Act, it nevertheless plan of public works, unemploy- is essentially Utopian and reformment insurance, the universal 30- ist in character. This is apparent hour week, etc. Such a rounded in the fourth clause of the "Declarprogram is contained in the Work- ation of Policy" prefacing the Bill, ers' Security Bill of the National which reads: "The system must be Unemployed League. Second, social administered democratically by services should be financed by in- workers, representative of local ome taxes upon the wealthy, not by sales taxes upon the poor. Third, work conditions and opportunities. the fight for these demands must be a class-struggle fight, not a class-

collaboration lobby. Neither the Townsend Plan nor the Roosevelt Social Security Act passes any of these tests. The quemployment provisions of the Social Security Act do not include the present unemployed; workers can enjoy its benefits only if the ance laws, and then only after reyears (so far only nine states have passed the necessary legislation); agricultural, professional, and domestic workers are excluded from roll tax is levied at the point of production. The result is the same. The consuming masses foot the bills in the form of higher prices.

The Frazier-Lundeen Bill. now before Congress, which is sponsored nity, widow and mothers' insur-ism-and that is precisely what the

A correct struggle for social in- surplus funds required by suitable Yet, though more comprehensive

workers and familiar with local pursuant to rules and regulations in the social interest (!), to prevent administration against the interests of workers, and to insure administration in accordance with their needs and interests." The (Stalinist) Interprofessional Association for Social Insurance, which who are unfortunate." Perish the death. hought! "On the contrary, it suggests that the people as a whole provide by legislation for the people

Proposals that the working class und its organizations shall take over one of the official functions of the state have only one meaning. That it is possible for the workers to use the capitalist state improve their conditions not by truggling against the state and its state so long as an opportunity exby the Communist party, avoids ists of accompositing themselves to the first two of these errors but is it. The class nature of the capitalguilty of the third. It provides for jet state is ignored and the struga comprehensive system of social gle for these demands is restricted ployment, disability, old age, mater- illusions of petty bourgeois reform-

### Reformism and Revolutionary Policy

turn their backs upon any movegressive struggle. On the other hand, they cannot allow themselves to endorse such Utopian schemes. or refrain from exposing their fal-the revolutionary goal. acies and reactionary features Above all, they cannot uncondition ally support movements which noursh illusions about the nature of the state or aid in the practical or heoretical suppression of the class ruggle. To do so is to play the ole of camp-follower of the petty ourgeoisie instead of fulfilling their function as independent leaders of the working class in their struggles.

It is important to the labor novement that the struggle for old-age pensions and social insurance be carried through to a sucessful conclusion. While such reforms are increasingly difficult to obtain under the present conditions of capitalist decline, they are by no means impossible of attainment. Whatever their ultimate success, he agitation for them serves to focus attention upon the inability of our present social system to care for its industrial veterans. Every social concession wrested from the capitalist masters of society heightus our morale and fighting spirit, The revolutionist must constantly coint out the following facts. First, hat such reforms can only be obtained by independent labor action and militant policies. Second, that once gained, the workers must be

on guard to see that the reaction-

700 at Tampa

Protest in NY

(Continued from Page 1)

paign of pressure for a real prose-

Executive Council Backs Down

The A. F. of L. Executive Coun-

when they return to Tampa.

Revolutionists cannot afford to of their victories. Third, that under the present conditions of capiwhich enlists wide strata of the be held simply by resting content the administration for an accountthe fight against capitalist misery of six days were allowed to elapse. to speak out." and oppression another step toward

> Social security for the working present social order. Capitalist reforms are at best but poultices on in incurably diseased system. These reforms are grudgingly given if mance capital can afford them. As com as finance capital is forced to ut the national budget to the bone o avoid further taxation on their wn wealth and enterprises, the nasses are the first to feel the knife, as the Means Test imposed in the English workers by the Tory government proves-not to speak of (litler! As finance capital plunges) deeper into crisis, it can find no way to survive and rule in the ighly competitive world market except by robbing the workers of all their hard-won democratic rights and social services and puting the Fascist knife to their throats.

There can be security for the workers rule and where all the public like the Soviet Union, social findings. services are an integral part of the ocial order, freely given to all useful citizens. There can be no real to same. salvation and security for the masses until capitalism is overthrown aries do not rob them of the fruits and socialism succeeds it

> place of the next annual A. F. of L. Labor Defense, 22 East 17th Street hearted indication that they will not withdraw from Tampa. The president of the State Federation of Florida is working overtime to keep the business in his state, and will

The Joint Committee has sold 22,000 copies of its pamphlet, "Tampa—Tar and Terror," and is Tampa authorities. printing a new edition. Copies may

convention-originally called for Contributions for the Committee's Tampa—has now given a half- work should go to Mary Fox, treasurer, 112 East 19th Street. At a mass meeting held in the

Hotel Delano last week, New York workers pledged their support to the Committee. Among the speaknot help the fight against yigilan- ers were Norman Thomas of the L.I.D., Sam Wiener of the G.D.C., George Novack of the N.P.L.D. Poulnot and Rogers. A resolution of protest was adopted and sent to

READ THE NEW MILITANT

## Bare Murder

The new issue of its regular weekly paper, the "WPA Union News," is just off the press and is determination to suppress revolts. The union intends to bring the lesson home that unless the WPA program is changed through the power

(Continued from Page 1)

the WPA workers involved. At the regular membership meeting on Sunday, Jan. 26, the union After the Colonel declared that voted to send a floral wreath with the inscription: "We Shall Not Forget.-WPA Workers Union." All members not working pledged to pealing to them. He wants the tant picket, but also in order to attend the funeral. All the others case transferred to a Federal court, prevent the nullification of the Minwould down tools on the job from where the jurors are "people of nesota state anti-injunction law and 1:30 to 2 P.M. Monday, Jan. 27. About 20 union men attended the funeral services on Monday at the Easley Funeral Home.

the old conditions will inevitably

Art Preis, chairman of the union, nary stated as the cause of his death, "Murdered on the WPA." When the casket was carried out of the funeral parlor, Mrs. Walker walked behind it griefstricken, "They murdered him on the WPA!" The WPA union sent the follow-

ing letter to Harry L. Hopkins;

January 27, 1936

Harry L. Hopkins Federal WPA Administrator Washington, D.C. Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find a copy of the "WPA Union News" of Jan. 26,

The circumstances as described in the article are of such a character as to indicate absolute criminal negligence on the part of the responsible project officials involved.

On Tuesday morning, Jan. 21, Lucas County, Ohio. Sub-zero weagents but by working with it and vided for the workers. Walker colbecoming a part of it, that there is lapsed from exposure. Mr. Jack no necessity for overthrowing the Hays and Kasmir Lewkowski, foreman and supervisor of the job respectively, were informed of the man's condition but took no steps

The man died on Wednesday. brought home, as he was literally save the Scottsboro boys. frozen to death.

We are firm in our belief, as a result of our investigation of the case, that Mr. Walker's death is negligence on the part of the adlacking in culpability, since it requested thousands of WPA workers en open jobs with no protection during sub-zero weather,

We are demanding a federal inof Walker's death and the conditions on the WPA which led to Supreme Court. such a tragedy.

Our union is continuing with its own investigation on the case and workers only in a state where the is securing affidavits from the individuals concerned. We will shortly workers' hands. In a workers' re- case and present the result of our

We request immediate attention on this case and await your reply

> Very truly yours, WPA WORKERS UNION T. G. Selander, sec'y.

## on Ohio WPA Labor Defense Front

#### (Continued from Page 1)

receiving the widest distribution. Col. Schieffelin suggested that if The leading article with its chalthe audience would imagine itself lenging headline, "Murder on the in their place, it would understand WPA." giving the full story of the the attitude of "the best people of death of Alonze Walker, has al. Alabama." He declared, however, ready received wide comment and that the Negroes "are well-beis arousing the indignation of all haved." "The best people of Alathe WPA workers of this county. beams wish the case had not come up," the Colonel said. and he undoubtedly knows because, as Minor said, he is "a man of high stand

Not a word was said to contra-

case would be wen "not on plat-"the best people of Alabama want appeal brief. justice done," Attorney Frankel of the I.L.D. proposed a means of ap- simply to free this persecuted milistanding . . . more likely to reach the Federal anti-injunction law. independent judgments because, un- Funds to appeal the Russell case like the Decatur jurors, they would should go to Adelaide Walker, not fear their neighbors." Herndon Treasurer, N.P.L.D., 22 East 17th proposed pressure on Roosevelt to Street, New York City. poke briefly and gave the union's get into a Federal court, and depledge over the body of Walker "to | manded that Federal troops be sent place the responsibility for his to Alabama. He also demanded murder and erase the conditions the electrocution of Sheriff Sandlin, which caused his death." The obit- who shot Powell, and the impeachment of Gov. Bibb Graves-by the Alabama legislature!

The meeting's immediate aim was not 100 percent clear. Herndon and Frankel declared the boys must go free. But the Colonel sounded less adamant, "Even at its worst," he said, "the life of this boy (Patterson) is saved, and that is something we ought to be thankful for." the conference, is seeking a writ of

#### "Fair Play and Justice"

ther aims. Undoubtedly due to Southern New York, Federal judges sentiments inspired by his military generally grant bail for prisoners background, the Colonel wants to see "fair play and justice" vindi- appeal. The New York judges, drafted the bill, confirms this in its 1936, which presents in detail the cated. Herndon spoke of "the upown pronouncements. 'The bill," story of the death of Alonze Wal lifting of humanity." The school they say, "does not ask one group ker, a colored WPA worker, and teacher seeks for Negroes the same to do something for another group the circumstances which caused the rights as are enjoyed by everybody else in America. Frankel seeks to preserve democratic government. And in general, everybody wants to protect the Stars and Stripes. For example:

Minor declared that he is "seeking to defend our nation by defending these boys," fighting for "our Alonze Walker reported for work country's welfare our America." at the Prarie Ditch project in Wilkins declaimed that he fights for "the salvation of all the people for their own good, that they can ther was blowing in from the north of the U. S., those on top as well elevation of his soul."

taken home by a fellow WPA work- those in Germany because here it long campaign by radical and liberer in the latter's car at the regular is not done by the government. His al students to establish academic quitting time, 4:30 P.M. The ad- hymn to America culminated in the freedom in New York's leading pubministration issued no statement on following remark: "True, there lic college. In this fight the Nonthe matter until the following Mon- were 20 lynchings last year, but in Partisan Labor Defense has played day, January 2, when the WPA 80 cases people were saved from an active role. ment, however Utopian it may be, talist decline, social reforms cannot Workers Union publicly called upon lynching by the authorities." It is clear what Minor meant when he Herbert Solow, speaking for the made, but only by carrying forward the Toledo papers. Thus a period the courage and American manhood

Quite honestly, the Scottsboro result of freezing and over expo- hounce this as a protest meeting. sure, according to the attending It was called "to analyze" the premasses is a Utopian dream in our physician, Dr. P. M. Johnson. Dr. sent situation. It did that—but not

## HERNDON CASE AGAIN IN COURT

The appeal of the State of Georsolely the result of the criminal gia from the County Court decision gether; a continued militant fight, which recently set Angelo Herndon ministration officials involved. The free, was heard by the Georgia labor unions, can make this outlocal WPA administration is not Supreme Court last week. It is come certain. not yet known whether the court will agree that the insurrection law in this district to report to work under which Herndon had been sentenced to 20 years on the chain vestigation into the circumstances his sentence. If it does the latter, proceedings for all the Sacramento the defense will appeal to the U.S. criminal syndicalism defendants,

torneys W. N. Seymour of New Committee. In a short time if all York and W. A. Sutherland of At- these moves fail, he will demand a lanta, retained by the I.L.D. As writ of habeas corpus since Norin the county court hearing where man Mini, Prisoner 57606 in San wealth of the country is in the hold a public meeting on the whole Herndon upset the sentence, Sey- Quentin, is being denied the right mour dealt with the legal questions of appeal. involved in the case.

cal speech, similar in character to corpus on the grounds that the the one he made in the county other defendants, like Mini, had court. He complained that the case been denied bail pending appeal. has been used as a spearhead for The Appelate Court held that trial the liberals throughout the coun-judge Dal M. Lemmon of Sacratry," and again urged the court to mento had the right to refuse bail. allow some freedom of speech in order to preserve the existing order. carceration of Mini, Caroline Decka martyr," he said, "there is real Sacramento trade unionists, should danger to democrtcy."

Herndon Defense, an auxiliary body should stress the fact that the dewith no control over Sutherland or fendants were convicted of no overt over the legal defense policy, is acts, and that one of the convicting continuing to circulate petitions for jurors has confessed that the ver-Herndon's freedom through its condict was reached as a result of a stituents. Among the latter is the horse-trade. Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which urges all supporters with filled-out S.A.C. and should be sent to Harry petitions to send them in to the W. Laidler, Chairman, Room 707, nearest N.P.L.D. branch.

#### RUSSELL CASE

Because of the heavy load of work on the shoulders of the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches of the N.P.L.D., the National Executive Board of that organization is conducting a special national drive for funds to finance the appeal of Al Russell from a Federal contempt of court sentence.

Russell is now out on bail, obtained with the aid of Minneapolis locals of the A. F. of L. The St. Paul N.P.L.D. has just run a social dict repeated statements that the affair to help provide funds to pay for the transcript of his trial, needforms but in the Alabama courts." ed by Francis Heisler, N.P.L.D. attorney, for the preparation of the

The Russell case is important not

#### FERRERO AND SALLITO

The hearing on the deportations of Ferrero and Sallito which was to have been held Jan 24, has been postponed to Feb. 4. These two anarchist workers are now on Ellis Island while the Ferrero-Sallito Defense Conference, among whose constituents is the N.P.L.D.. is carrying on a fight to save them from deportation to Fascist Italy.

Attorney I. Shorr, representing habeas corpus. His associate, Carol King, is conducting a fight for bail. The speakers, however, had fur In all districts except that of held for deportation pending their however, have always refused to do so, and the fight on this case will set a precedent if victorious.

Continued protests against the deportation of these two workers, guilty of no crime except giving house-room to the editor of a San Francisco newspaper which William Randolph Hearst wants to suppress, should go to D. W. MacCormack, Commissioner of Immigration, at Washington, D. C.

#### ROBINSON ON THE SPOT

Frederick B. Robinson, reactionwest, and although this is an open as those suffering underneath," and ary president of the College of the project, no shelter houses were pro- thundered that this crime must be City of New York, who has hobstopped "In the name of God and nobbed with Fascists, expelled antithe United States!" Thereupon he Fascist students, and terrorized asked who would give \$50 "for the many of his professors into giving him hypocritical praise, is on the Herndon's call for Federal troops spot. A committee of alumni has was supported by his demand for called on the Board of Education to secure medical attention or to a return "to the traditions of our to remove him. They give as the transport him to a hospital or his forefathers," who, it seems, always reason the fact that he "lacks qualtreated the Negroes properly. The ities of leadership." The committee Mr. Walker was permitted to lie Colonel, however, asked no "return" has won the support of the Alumni out in the open for at least four or other change: he declared that Association by a vote of 519 to 217. hours unattended. He was finally lynchings in America are not like Back of this development is a

A year ago its representative,

cople in an anti-capitalist and pro- with the conquests that have been ing and issued a press release to called the Colonel "a man who has Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee, turned the La Guardiadominated city Board of Estimate on its ear by taking the floor during Jan. 22 of double pneumonia, as a Defense Committee did not an the hearings on the city budget and proposing to reduce Robinson's salary to \$1 per year. Aldermanic President Deutsch, recently - de-Johnson stated that it was too late from the viewpoint of those who ceased hero of the League Against to save the man when he was finally believe in a militant struggle to War and Fascism, intervened on Robinson's behalf and had police drag the N.P.L.D. spokesman out of the chamber.

Now, however, it looks as though Robinson might lose his job altowhich should be led by students and

### MINI APPEAL

Attorney R. W. Henderson is gang is unconstitutional, or whether continuing his legal fight to get it will send Herndon back to serve copies of the transcript of trial according to an announcement by Herndon was represented by At- the National Sacramento Appeal

Attorney Leo Gallagher of the Sutherland again made a politi- I.L.D. recently sought a habeas

Protests against the further in-'When a man like Herndon is made er, Pat Chambers and the other be sent at once to the Board of The Joint Committee to Aid the Parole, Sacramento, Calif. They

> Funds are still needed by the N. 51 Union Square, New York City.

An Objection and the Answer

To be sure, even at present there

are still to be found in the West

not a few activists in the workers'

movement who sincerely ask them-

selves the following question: But

bring harm to the Soviet Union Is

with the wash-water the baby. too,

Stalinist bestialities perpetrated

viet Union in the eyes of the bour-

Just the contrary is the case, for

White Guard emigres, sees the best

pledge of the "normalization" of

the Soviet regime in Stalin's offen-

sive of extirpation against the Bol-

shevik-Leninists and other revolu

tionists. The serious and respon-

sible captalist press of the entire

the struggle against the "Trotsky

ists." Small wonder! For Litvinov,

side by side with the representa-

tives of world reaction, sits in the

Geneva Commission for the struggle

against "terrorism." Involved here.

of course, is not the question of the

struggle against Governmental ter-

ror against revolutionary workers

uncrowned tyrants. Marxists, as is

well known have irreconcilably re-

jected and continue to reject the

method of individual terror. But

this has never prevented us from

Gessler. The Soviet diplomacy, on

the other hand, is now discussing

jointly with the Gesslers how best

to exterminate the Tells. By his

stulking of terrorists, Stalin supple-

in the eyes of the League of Na-

tions, in the eyes of the American

government, even in the eyes of Hit-

ler, our exposures will only

strengthen Stalin's already quite

Reformists Mum on Stalin's Crimes

As regards the reformist labor

bureaucracy in bourgeois countries.

are quite well informed about the

facts of the Stalinist repressions.

but during the last two years they

have deliberately and maliciously

passed them in silence. In the eyes

tion. The masses find it all the more

lifficult to find a correct road on

this question because bureaucratic

apparatuses are raised over them,

duping them incessantly and skill-

to the following simple question:

Are we on our part duty-bound to

to pose this question is to answer it.

The revolution has no need for

blind friends, or allies whose eyes

The workers are not children.

They are capable of appraising at

one and the same time both the

colossal conquests of the October

revolution and the onerous histori

cal heritage that has congulated

on its body in the shape of a fright

ful bureaucratic ulcer. A revolu-

tionist who is afraid to tell the

masses what he knows himself is

abolutely worthless! We leave

louble book-keeping to the patriot-

c parliamentarians, parlor idealists

and priests. The "Friends of the

Soviet Union," and other philis-

ines will perhaps say that we are

motivated by "factional" and even

'personal" malice? Of course

they'll say it. But we have not yet

become accustomed—thanks to na-

ture's gifts!---to look upon philis-

wise than with contempt. By em-

bellishing the present it is impos-

sible to prepare the future. Fealty

to the October revolution demands

merciless exposure, and, if need be,

cauterize its sores. Lies serve as

the instrument of the possessing

classes. Today, lies have become

the instrument of the Soviet bur-

eaucracy as well. The oppressed

need the truth. The workers must

are bandaged.

fully. Thus, the matter is reduced

extensive credit.

world is unanimous in applauding

geois world?

## «Tell the Workers the Truth About Stalin's Hounding of Revolutionists!» Trotsky Urges

(Continued from Page 1) worthy of the best qualified Amer-

ican gangsters. What Are Their Crimes? The so-called communist parties October revolution as a whole. At Rolland! not only cover up these unprece- the present moment a complete dented villainies of Messrs. Mar- about-face has occurred along this shalls and Super-Marshalls against line, in Europe at any rate. The tops of the degenerated Comintern the revolutionists -- villainies in policy of the social-patriotic "unit- and the tops of the Second Interwhich the leaders of the various ed front" has become transformed national evokes however a salutory sections of the Comintern take di- into a conspiracy of mutual con- reaction as well. An ever greater will not exposures of this sort rect part—but the press of the cealment. Even in those countries number of advanced workers are Comintern seeks on top of this to where no united front exists beturn the edge of the accusation cause of the insignificance of the against the victims themselves. In- communist parties, the reformist crawling on the belly before the may be flung from the tub? These volved here, you see, are not mere organizations prefer not to quaroppositionists, not Bolsheviks who rel with the Kremlin upper crust rebel against Stalin's self-rule or who, today, after they had inscribthe patriotic degeneration of the ed upon their banner the defense of Comintern. No, involved, if you the League of Nations and of the please, are "terrorists," conspira-|democratic fatherland, are immeastors against the sacred person of urably closer to them than the revthe Leader or one of his Marshalls, olutionist internationalists who are in all countries to surmise to what the entire bourgeoisie, including the and finally, agents of foreign es- persecuted. The "defense of the profound extent the ruling stratum pionage, the hirelings of Hitler or U.S.S.R." serves of course as a of the Soviet Union has managed the Mikado. Zinoviev and Kamenev pious justification for passing in to degenerate. On this soil of awakhave been caught red-handed in a silence over the crimes of the Stal-lened critical consciousness are falhorrible crime: they criticized inist bureaucracy. (within four walls!) the adventur- In this connection, we ought to tialities perpetrated by the bureauistic tempos of collectivization that mention also a special category of cracy upon those revolutionists who led to the senseless destruction of the professional "friends" of the are a threat to its sacred privileges, millions of men. A genuinely pro- Kremlin: intellectuals in search of and w' stubbornly refuse to acletarian court, investigating the a gilt-edge ideal, writers who have cept the gospel of Dimitrov, Litvincase, would have indubitably taken stock of the superiorities ov and the League of Nations. clapped in jail the adventurists— of the State Publication Society,

implicated! Not more than two years ago the and insinuations that the agents of the expelled in this category are, as social-democratic, labor-party and the G.P.U. buzz into the ears of a general rule, immediately arrest-

C. P. Plots

labor fakers in America.

Austin. Minn.

(Continued from Page 1)

2. The C.E.C. directs the Minne-

course in the Independent Union of

All Workers, with headquarters in

C. P. members working in the

proposed that this organization

dissolve into the Amalgamated

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers

(A. F. of L.) at all costs, that is,

with no assurances from the A. F.

of L. union that it will change its

present stultifying and ineffectual

policies. This program put forward

by the Communist party is all the

more abhorent when one sees that

for the first time in history, the

packing house workers have a real

chance to form a national indus-

trial union in their field. (As a

matter of fact, the groundwork has

already been laid for a broad and

all-inclusive conference of packing

house unions which will meet in

The Charge of "Syndicalism"

sota "communists" to expose our

trade union policy, and to chal-

lenge the Workers Party to a de-

The charge of "semi-Syndicalist'

is worthy of comment. It is within

the realm of possibility that these

people have made so many turns

that in their dizziness they no

longer recall what syndicalism

means. In our trade union work,

have we foresworn the necessity of

a revolutionary party? Just the

opposite is true. Or is it that the

Stalinists can no longer differenti-

ate between an independent union

and a union based on syndicalist

principles. It is well established

that Local 574 has sought, ever

since the day of its expulsion from

the International in April, 1935, to

be reinstated—on a principled and

honorable basis, and not on one

which would mean liquidation of

the union. It is also well estab-

lished that the "defeatist" local

574 has consistently advised the

unions which it has helped into

being (candy workers ,furniture

workers, electrical workers, etc.)

to join and remain within the A.

F. of L. Do semi-Syndicalists act

4. The C.E.C. directs the Minne-

sota district to place the unem-

ployed under the leadership of the

A. F. of L. and of the Farmer-

Before Local 574 was expelled

from the Central Labor Union, it

several times proposed that the A.

F. of L. take the initiative in or-

ganizing the federal workers. When

the Central Labor Union and the

State Federation of Labor refused

to act, Local 574 got busy and or-

ganized its Federal Section, which

now has thousands of members.

Local 574 has participated in the

two conferences which laid the

groundwork for the state-wide WPA

conference which will be held at

Local 574's hall on February 8-9.

a delegated conference with repre-

sentatives from unemployed organ-

izations, WPA groups and the un-

ions. Local 574 has proposed that

a state-wide WPA organization be

formed, to fight for trade union

wages. The organization will seek

the active support of the State Fed-

eration of Labor, and of the vari-

ous unions. It will give its sup-

in this way?

Labor party.

bate on trade union policies.

"unprincipled."

The C.E.C. directs the Minne-

"semi-Syndicalist"

Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on Feb. 1.)

upon revelations not only of the pers given in honor of the October used to prevail in the Czarist hardactual but also of the fictitious revolution. Suffice to refer only to labor camps. These facts must be crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, the unworthy role assumed by so made known to the working class in order thus to compromise the outstanding a writer as Romain of the entire world!

Prison for the Critics

The fraternization between the beginning to open their eyes. Such there not the danger that together 'socialistic morals" as constant "leaders," as Byzantine flattery, as fears, however, have no basis in rethe creation of castes of "red" Col- ality. Can the exposures of the onels, Generals and Marshalls, as the reactionary cult of the petty upon revolutionists damage the Sobourgeois family, down to the ressurrection of the Christmas tree .all these compel thinking workers ling today the accounts of the bes-

The number of such "criminals" collectivizers. But the court of lawyers who are hungry for is constantly increasing. In the Stalin and Yagoda sentenced Zino- publicity, and, finally, ordinary am- course of the latest purge of the viev and Kamenev to ten years im- ateurs who are fetched by free ruling party of the U.S.S.R. (the prisonment on the charge of-a trips and jubilee banquets. These latter part of 1935) there were exterrorist act in which they were people, parasites in most cases, pelled, in so far as one can gather not and could not in any way be then eagerly broadcast throughout from the official data, from 10 to 20 but of the stuggle against individuboth hemispheres the inventions thousand "Trotskyists" alone. All al avengers, aiming at crowned and trade union press, eagerly seized their "friends" during heroic sup ed and subjected to conditions that

Against 574 organization to the A. F. of L., debate on trade union policies. In all earnestness, we publish In all earnestness, we publish the join the union of their trade when Communist party document and ask all workers to study it very membership in the trade unions Is this the way a party calling it-2. The C.E.C. directs the Miller while working on federal projects. self revolutionary should act? Does that party still understand the fun-There are slanders contained in damentals of Leninism and Marxthese directives which the Workers ism? Are these the tasks that a Party has answered a hundred communist party should be setting Independent Union have already times before, and will continue to for itself? Shall we repose any

working for a private employer, and to retain, if possible, their

answer and expose in the future. | confidence in such a party? The The directives contain three workers of Minnesota will know

port to the unions when help is and that they follow a do-nothing needed. This economic organiza- policy. Also, we shall be pleased always siding with William Tell tion will in no sense be a dual to cooperate with the C. P. on that and not with the Austrian despot

#### points with which we are in com- how to answer the Communist plete agreement: that the Minne- party when it attempts to apply sota Communist party is "weak," the new directives. Directives of C.E.C. of Communist Party there is no reason to have any fears either. The reformist bureaucrats

to the District Committee -- Minnesota Planned struggle against Trotskyites-

1. Strike at major base of Trotskyites-discard idea that 574 cannot be touched.—Buro responsibility for recruiting—establish fraction-concentrate on some key people.

2. Improve work in Southern Minnesota. Win over people in Trotskyite units in Austin and Albert Lea.

4. Drag Trotskyite trade union policy into open to defeat it. Challenge for debate on trade union policy-broaden progressive conference, WPA—propose concrete program for 574—regaining member ship in A. F. of L.—paying per capita tax—change independent-Syndicalist policy. etc.

5. More attention to leadership in unemployed work to out-manneuver Trotskyites which can be done through uniting unemployed under leadership of A. F. of L. and Farmer-Labor Party

6. More attention to explanation of Soviet peace policy, anti-war program. Drive on building the L.A.W.A.F.—mass meetings—talks in unions, including 574, Independent Union of All Workers—utilize broader delegates.

7. Work with S.P. in Minneapolis as a number of now Trotskyites are former Socialists, Mpls. Special Problems-

If we talk about our major problem to build the Farmer-Labor Party, we can . . . smash Trotskyites. The role of Trotskyites internationally: their role and the expres-

sion of its counter-revolutionary character in this state. a. Obstruct the unity in economic organizations.

b. Obstruct the organization of the People's Front against Fascism-the Farmer-Labor Party.

c. Obstruct the sympathy to Soviet Union and prevent workers from recognizing their strengthened position due to existence of Soviet

Preventing the consolidation of an anti-war movement, etc. Their strength in this district. Why?-

1. Due to our weakness.

2. Their stealing of march over us in many fields. a. truck drivers.

b. unemployed

c. liberal groups

d. Socialists, Mpls. e. strength of leadership.

Their policy of defeat-

a. Trade union-semi-Syndicalist approach-relation to A. F. of L.-shady deals and actions.

The effect of this policy of ours—policy of ruin for themselves— We cannot permit a policy of let them alone and they will destroy themselves.—People capable of maneuvering, unprincipled people, will times and their public opinion other seek and find a stop-gap to their own smashing. Cur approach tactic-

union functionaries and membership further away from them. (Our emphasis. Special attention to unemployed work for unification of the unem-

Must overcome the idea that 574 is welded to Trotskyites forever.

Drag into open their real Trade Union policy to drive the trade

Attention to \* More education on Soviet peace policy.

Steps to drag them into open—

Friendly recruiting, and, yes. colonizing of capable forces in 574. Improvement of work in I.U.A.W. Build I.L.D.

Our ear to the ground.

Not to overlook opportunities to have a real alert state committee of C.P. really directing within the state as a whole.

\* Items so marked have been deleted. They are of such a nature that their publication might bring injury to the workers' movement.

Russian Fascists Hail the Anti-Bolshevik Terror in Soviet Union

T HE Stalinist press the world over, Daily Worker in particular are waging a hys-HE Stalinist press the world over, and the terical and poisonous campaign to nullify the effect upon thinking workers and sincere friends of the Soviet Union of the exposures in the letters and documents of revolutionists who escaped from the toils of the hounders of revolutionists, Stalin-Yagoda and Co. and their crew of flunkies and hirelings, Browder-Hathaway-Budenz and Co., in this country.

The Daily Worker crawls out of its skin not only to link up Trotsky with Hearst and the Fascists but to convey the idea to the workers that these exposures of the bestialities practiced upon revolutionists in the Soviet Union damage the repute of the Soviet Union. These revelations damage only the repute of the Stalinist clique-but not in the eyes of the capitalists.

In his article appearing in this issue of the NEW MILITANT, comrade Trotsky makes the following statement:

". . . the entire bourgeoisie, including the White Guard emigres, sees the best pledge of the "normalization" of the Soviet regime in Stalin's offensive of extirpation against the Bolshevik-Leninists and other revolutionists. The serious and responsible capitalist press of the entire world is unanimous in applauding the struggle against the Trotskyists." (Our emphasis.)

To naive and unpolitical minds these words may seem as exaggerations uttered in the heat of the

We therefore reprint below a few extracts from the organ of "Young Russians," one of the factions of the Russian Fascist-Monarchists. No more rabid foes of the Soviet Union exist on the face of the earth than are these gentlemen. And here is their frank opinion of Stalin: here is how they really view the persecution of the revolutionists by the usurping Stalinist clique. (Our emphasis throughout.)

"We do not deny that the Stalinist Government is still formally guided by the ideas of communism. . But we are also aware that it has subordinated the interests of the foreign Communist parties to the interests of the Russian state, from the theory of the world revolution is has passed to the theory

of socialism in one country, and from the latter to Soviet patriotism; ideological internationalists find themselves proscribed and in exile, while in power are people who have either become patriots or are compelled to masquerade as such."

-BODROST, issue No. 30.

. . . desirous of maintaining himself in power, Stalin is swimming along the stream of a revolution that is becoming nationalized. His blows are being today directed primarily against the representatives of ancient Leninist Marxism. The dissolution of the Society of Old Bolsheviks is a new and symbolic instance of this struggle against the old guard of Bolshevism." --BODROST, No. 31.

"From the day he (Stalin) assumed power, and particularly since the First Five Year Plan it became clear that the last vestiges of orthodox Marxism would disappear.." -BODROST, No. 34.

"Stalin, seeking to keep power in his own hands, has become the open and quite obvious traitor and wrecker of Marxism, artificially adapting himself to the demands of the nation and of life. From the leader of the Communist party Stalin is striving to become a people's, a national leader. Precisely herein lies the entire gist of what is taking place -BODROST, No. 41.

"Three new milestones have marked during the last weeks the degeneration of the Russian revolution. We have in mind the introduction of military ranks, the reform of the ZAGS and the elimination of ration cards for an entire series of the most essential necessities.

"Both of the latter measures only supplement what has already been accomplished in the same direction during the past year. The introduction of ranks is a phenomenon of a new order and therefore especially significant." -BODROST, No. 49.

"The convalescence of Russia, the first symptoms of which we pointed out many years ago, is proceeding apace with every new day. In this convalescence is the pledge of our victory."

BODROST, No. 37.

Comment, as the saying goes, is superfluous!

### Mpls Power Union Wins

(Continued from Page 1)

participation in the international with the Secretary-Treasurer of Local 574 as their spokesman, held ments in the best manner possible a two hour conference with Mr. his own terroristic stalking of the Pack and other high officials, of the Bolsheviks. It is self-evident, that company. The discussion centered about the demands of the union for recognition. security guarantees and wage increases. After a lengthy debate, Mr. Pack agreed to raise wages and to recognize seniority below the 1929 level. In the lower and the right of the union to repre- wage brackets some increases will sent its members. He stated, however, that he would not put this in are to be based on the 40 hour writing and that he could make no week. definite guarantees as to how long the wage increases would remain take of resting on the laurels of its structed the committee to insist of its position through its day by that the terms be in writing and day service to its members. A large for a definite period of time.

of Leon Blum, Otto Bauer, Sir Walter Citrine, Vandervelde and Co. our exposures will not, in any ease lower their esteem for the Soviet bureaucracy; involved here is a friendship that is calculated, and through Mr. Ossanna. Finally, at special committees to carry grievthis friendship is directed first of 7 P.M., one hour before the time all against the left, revolutionary set for the strike meeting, Mr. Pack they cannot be settled satisfactorily igreed to put the terms of settlement in writing over his signature, There still remain the masses of workers. In their majority, the wage increase effective for the enworkers are sincerely and honestly tire year of 1936. levoted to the Soviet Union, al-The company is now striving hough they do not always know how to express this devotion in ac-

with getting the wage increase. On informed them that this was not news, that they had heard all about tell them the truth? For a Marxist, it the night before at the union meeting, and that they knew it was the union that had got them the raise. The company has further attempted to deny credit to the union by pointing out that the raise will go into effect throughout the entire system which includes many localities outside Minneapolis This is mere "abc," If the comcany put the increase into effect in the Twin Cities only, the power of the union would become so obvious to all the workers that the entire system would be unionized in 60 days. This the company does not want: hence the system-wide raise. As a matter of fact, this action

proves that the workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul, through Local 660, fought the battle for every employee of the Northern States Power Co. The battle could better ave been fought and even greater gains made had the employees in other localities been organized to assist. However, this was not the case, due to the failure of the officers of the International Brothergood of Electrical Workers to organize and direct the fight on a system-wide basis. Local 160 single handed, has broken the ground and that are still behind their quota, power industry in the northwest. It is now up to the officers of the International to till this fertile field.

know the whole truth about the Soviet Union, so that the impending events do not catch them off-guard. Through the medium of all honest publications, it is necessary to from the situation and from our abeyance for a little while. burning desire to save the heroic broadcast as far and wide as possible the news of the vile represfighters. Fulfilling this task, we campaign is as follows: sions to which irreproachable prowill thereby assist the toilers of the letarian revolutionists are sub Soviet Union and of the entire Akron, Ohio...... 20 jected in the Soviet Union. Our world to take a new step forward Albert Lea, Minn.... 10 chief and immediate task thereby on their road to emancipation. is: to al'eviate the fate of tens of an 15, 1926.

timid workers, who did not have problems of the union. the courage to join the union, even though they knew that they should, have come forward to join hands with their more hardy brothers who had already taken up the cudgels for them and won the fight.

The wage increases will average around \$10 per month or the equivalent in hourly rates. All previous wage cuts will be restored, and in no case will the rate of pay be exceed \$10 per month. All wages

Local 160 will not make the misin effect. The union spokesman in- victory. The union will now proformed him that Local 160 had in-ceed vigorously to the consolidation organization committee has been No further meetings were held, elected and charged with the rebut the argument between the sponsibility of organizing grievance union committee and the manage- committees in the various department continued all day Wednesday ments and crews, together with ances to the higher officials when vith the immediate

One of the first responsibilities and he further agreed to make the of these committees will be to see that there is no discrimination agaiust union members in connection with the wage increases desperately to convince the workers | Questions of seniority and general that Local 160 had nothing to do job conditions will be taken up by the union committees as the occa the day after the union meeting, sion may arise. On the matter of the department supervisors in seniority the company expressed a formed the men that they were to desire to show preference to marget a raise in pay, but the workers ried men with families in certain cases; they agreed, however, to leave the final decision to the em-

As it has in the past, the execu-

With the written statement that tive board of Local 160 will conthe company "will not discriminate tinue to receive the benefit of the in any way against any employee experience of the officers of Local because of union affiliation," many 574 in the day by day organization

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ized in 350 branches. Reserves **63**,400,000. Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit

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## THE MANAGER'S CORNER

Branch 8 in New York City has Berkeley, Cal. . . . . 10 exceeded its quota of new sub-Boston, Mass.:..... 25 scriptions in the present drive and Charleston, W. Va... the Salt Lake City branch is only Chicago, Ill...... 50 one short in reaching its quota. In Cleveland, Ohio .... 25 addition two party fractions in New Columbus, Ohio..... 10 York City have set an excellent Detroit, Mich..... 25 example of how to serure subshrip- Dickson City, Pa.... tions in a big way. The teachers' Fargo, S. Dakota.... fraction brought in not less than High Point, N. C... 65 new subs, collectively secured, Kansas City, Mo.... 13 and the fraction of WPA workers Los Angeles, Cal.... 25 followed this example and brought Minneapolis, Minn... 75 in 10 new subs. Mount Carmel, Pa... Since our last report we have Newark, N. J..... 20 thus added 123 new subscriptions, New Castle, Pa..... 10 bringing us up to a total of 443. New Haven, Conn... 10 This is not so bad. Still it is less New York City..... 400 than half of the actual quota set. (Branch 1 40 10) Again we repeat that it would (Branch 2 be well for the various branches to (Branch 3 39) 12) make a little study of the list that (Branch 4 -30 appears below particularly those (Branch 5 20 13) 10) (Branch 6 15 planted the seed for the growth of not to mention those that have not (Branch 7 2) a powerful industrial union in the vet made a start. Our advice is to 12) (Branch 8 (District 109) get to work and to speed up. In view of the fact that we did Philadelphia, Pa.... not yet reach the goal set for total Pittsburgh, Pa..... number of new subscriptions to be Plentywood, Mont... thousands of the victims of bur- secured, nor the total amount re- St. Louis, Mo..... eaucratic vindictiveness. It is nec quired to actually launch the eight- Salt Lake City..... 10 essary to come to their assistance page weekly it became necessary to San Francisco, Cal. 20 San Diego, Cal..... 10 by all the possible means that flow hold a decision on this question in Springleld, Ill. .... Toledo, Ohio...... 25 The standing in the subscription Utica, N. Y..... Quota. Turned in Washington, D. C... 10 City 9 Youngstown, Ohio... 10

Allentown, Pa..... 30 Austin. Minn. . . . . 10

Cities not listed.... Total ..... 1,000

## The Crime of Scottsboro

AN EDITORIAL

OR the fourth time an Alabama jury has convicted Haywood Patterson of a crime neither he nor any of the Scottsboro boys committed. This time Patterson has been given a 75-year sentence. Living death in an Alabama jail, the Alabama authorities seem to feel, will be more difficult to fight than a death sentence. Patterson, on being sentenced, declared:

"I'd rather die than spend another day in jail for something I didn't do."

Attorney Samuel Leibowitz, however, "feels" that he has won a victory. And Colonel W. J. Schieffelin, treasurer of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, says that we should be thankful that Patterson's life has been saved!

We are not thankful. We do not agree with Leibowitz. We agree with Patterson. This sentence is worse than a death sentence.

It is a victory for the prosecution, not for the Scottsboro boys. The latter are in greater danger than ever.

On the way back to Birmingham, after all other trials had been postponed. Ozie Powell was framed and shot by a guard. Powell, subjected to extreme provocation, is said to have scratched the guard's face with a knife. Today Powell is close to death. For him, as well as for the two boys in the car with him, there must be an uncompromising defense against the charge of assault with intent to kill which the State is bringing in order to discredit the boys' fight for freedom.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee seems today to be concentrating on the idea of getting the case into a Federal court. A number of its spokesmen are arguing that Decatur juries convict because the jurors are afraid of their neighbors. They say that a Fedeal jury in Alabama will be made up of people unafraid of their neighbors. They say that these are "people of standing," "the best people of Alabama," who "want to see justice done."

We, too, think that a fight should be made to get the case into a Federal court. We support the appeal to higher courts, based on the fact that the lynch judge of Decatur refused a change of venue and a transference to a Federal court.

But not because we think "people of standing." "the best people of Alabama," will heed only the evidence in this case and free the boys. We do not support the appeal from the poor whites of the Alabama back-country, to the cold-blooded lynch-organizers of the Alabama ruling class. We put no more stock in the "fairness" of a Federal jury in Alabama than in that of the Decatur jury.

We favor going into a Federal Court only because it will then become possible to demand of the Federal judge a change of venue out of the Federal District of Northern Alabama into some other state, preferably a Northern state, where the Jim Crow system cannot influence the trial as it does in Alabama,

To the Scottsboro Defense Committee we give this word of advice:

Ask for a Federal trial on the grounds that fair juries are impossible in an Alabama state court on this case. Do not proclaim that in a Federal court you expect a "fair jury." Should you win the demand, you will get a jury which you will have approved in advance, and a Federal court conviction would then silence you forever.

There are other things to be said to the Committee. Elsewhere in these pages is a report of the Committee's "mass meeting" in New York last Sunday. The sort of thing which went on there will not build a militant mass protest movement, a fighting defense. It can only weaken the defense movement at a moment when Leibowitz, by refusing to recognize the defeat the boys suffered in the Patterson trial, is jeopardizing the future of the whole struggle.

Only a mighty mass movement, based primarily upon labor and Negro organizations, following an aggressive policy. can save the Scottsboro boys. This is as true today as it was when first the boys were snatched from death by the intervention of "radicals and damned

It is time to stop making concessions to the red-baiting, Jew-baiting and Yankee-baiting of the prosecution. It is time to stop appealing to patriotism and God and "the best people of Alabama."

When he cried our against the 75-year verdict, Haywood Patterson showed that he still has fight left in him. When he resisted the brutal guard. Ozie Powell showed that he still has fight left in him. Today they are leading their own fight for freedom.

Victory will come only through a militant fight!

## Zeller Pamphlet Out!

given only a bare indication of this pamphlet at the time when it was on the way. It is now off the press. Of course, to get a complete view of what it contains, it is necessary to read this pamphlet. We on our part recommend it highly.

Fred Zeller is the acknowledged leader of the French Socialist youth. He was expelled from the Socialist youth organization by the agents of Leon Blum and his Old Guard some time ago, together with twelve other youth comrades. The young Socialists, however, remained supporters of the viewpoint represented by Fred Zeller and his co-workers. Fred Zeller represented the revolutionary position and he is continuing his struggle for that position. How this struggle has been pursued and how comrade Zeller and his co-workers came to a revolutionary position, and came to be supporters of the Fourth International, is described in this little pamphlet. The introduction is by Leon Trotsky.

We believe that the few words mentioned above is sufficient reason for our recommendation to all, and partcularly to revolutionary Socialists, to read this pamphlet. It retails at 5c a copy; in lots of ten or more the price is 3c a copy. Send your order to the NEW MILITANT, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

## Dance

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## Needle Strike Impends

organied in the I.L.G.W.U. are in preparation for the strike. ready to go over the top on Saturwill close down every dress shop in Metropolitan New York. At the same time, expiring agreements and demands for union conditions may also bring out 18,000 furriers, the entire millinery trade, and all building service workers of the garment district in the largest general tie-up ever known in the needle

Among the demands presented by the I.L.G.W.U. are the following: (1) the thirty-hour week, (2) establishment of a labor employment bureau, (3) higher minimum scales, (4) limitation of contractors, (5) price settlement on jobbers' premises. (6) the unit system of price settlement.

The union is strong both in morale and finances and for months has prepared carefully for the strike. Strike halls are ready. Hall committees, picket committees—the entire strike machine—has been prepared to handle the huge tie-up Every member of the union, from the oldest member to the newest recruit, enters the strike with su preme confidence that a satisfactory agreement can be won. Last min ute conferences called by Mayor LaGuardia have, up to the moment given no indication that the bosse can be brought to their sense without a strike.

Demands put forward by the Furriers' Union are similar to those of the Dressmakers: 30-hour week closed shop, division of labor, etc. As we write, furriers are jamming the streets in front of the Cooper Union and Labor Lyceum an hour

With unprecedented enthusiasm before the opening of the halls, and solidarity 105,000 dressmakers eager to take part in a union rally

In the millinery trade negotiaday, Feb. 1, in a general strike that tio.ns are still proceeding and it is not yet clear whether the strike will be called February 1 or later. The bosses are demanding the right of reorganization which would be ruinous to the union.

#### Troyanovsky Dodges Sergei Trotsky Issue

(Editor's Note: The International Committee for Political Prisoners sent out the following release to city editors on Jan. 29, 1936.)

This committee has been concerned over the disappearance in Soviet Russia of Leon Trotsky's son and daughter-in-law, Sergei Trotsky and his wife, both of whom are said to have been imprisoned in the Soviet Union for some time. Inquiry has been directed to the Soviet Embassy at Washington, but so far no information has been made available as to their whereabouts. Young Trotsky is twenty-seven years old and a professor. His wife is a librarian. Neither of them have ever engaged in political artivity.

We have in our possession several interesting documents which we will be glad to release to the press concerning this case, and, if you care to get in touch with us in regard to the story, we will gladly show them to any reporter you care to send to our office.

> Very truly yours, ROGER BALDWIN. Chairman.

## Hired Liar Number One

(Continued from Page 1)

From whom was this permission received; from what person or per-

When was this permission granted? What date? (The Tarov article and Trotsky's omment appeared in the NEW

MILITANT on Oct. 19, 1935.) 4. Where was this permission given? In the office of the New York American? In the office of the NEW MILITANT? Over the telephone? In a dark alley?

#### Where? Who Sent Hearst the New Militant?

5. Then Cullen is alleged to have said in reply to a question "as to the date of the NEW MILI-TANT from which the reprint was made": "I don't know the date. tion. We have reproduced the masthead date there. We have only a photostatic copy of the masthead.

returned the original to them." No date appeared on the masthead of the NEW MILITANT as The Question is WHAT Not Where for its dissolution. The lattercanreproduced in the N. Y. American! Why didn't Budenz inform Cullen of this? He knew this to be the question? There should be a

Or was the NEW MILITANT masthead reproduced from a copy of the paper (as is the actual fact) which can be purchased on innumerable newsstands in the city? Or did the Daily Worker, perhaps,

send Hearst a copy? But why trouble Budenz about for every word of slander written against the revolutionary internationalists.

before he gets through he wallows in it up to his neck, even attempting to besmirch the unsullied name of Leon Trotsky.

### Did Trotsky Get Paid?

Protsky will get paid for the articles and says he received the an-

'That question you can't take up have to ask the auditor. We don't get anything for nothing. I assume the author will get paid for it-Mr. Trotzky."

Nothing daunted our inquiring tion against the Soviet Union by ported to have been made by them, reporter who judges everyone else his anti-Bolshevik terror. by his own sordid standards goes to the auditing department of the the Daily Worker took great rains that "general orders for the pay- point. ment of articles do not come through for about a month. We would not know at present if pay- facts about Zinoviev, Kamenev, if we did, we could not disclose Hungarian Communists or the Juthis information, as it is confiden-

"Finally," (apparently in despair) says Budenz, "a secretary or other representative of Ranck (Who perience that to incur the slightest was this representative? What was displeasure with the Stalin clique his name? Didn't you trouble to in Russia means expulsion, loss of find out?) as to whether the articles party job, slander, etc. had been paid for. he replied: 'I'm sorry. We don't discuss such information. It is of a confidential up against us. nature. We don't care to discuss

Stop Crawling, Budenz!

So you didn't get the goods on know that nothing distinguishes Trotsky, Mr. Budenz. You didn't the Daily Worker from the Hearst get the goods because there aren't press but a label—the cravens on

Don't try to crawl out from under ists, blackmail them and frame by saying that "for the American them up, and in each case it is workers the vital thing is not done for a price.

whether or not Trotsky was paid Organization, headed by John L. by Hearst for his attacks on the Lewis, and related questions. Other Workers Republic and on the Com- matters were simply put aside. munist party."

Yes, that is the "vital issue." In last week's Sunday Worker you amendment to the United States promised your readers the evidence. by Hearst, and how much?

Produce the evidence or shut your lying mouths!

A Shameless Pair truth is told. You have no more D. Hutcheson and Dan Tobin, de-

having been bought by German representatives make up this com

But your motives and Olgin's are the same as the latter's in 1918: vailed. A committee was designated And so, harmonizing their position recruit the workers for the army of to confer with the industrial union in the unions with their own basic American imperialism and defame | bloc and report the results to the the revolutionists for · self-protec-

"Trotsky," says Budenz with his of the paper and you will find the tongue in his cheek, "has already written for pay for equally reactionary publications—the Saturday Evening Post and the Liberty Ma-

—he isn't paid to know such things the fact otherwise why did he ask |-that all revolutionists, Marx and the wording of the declaration ad Engel, and even some who aren't little honor even among thieves. revolutionists like Radek and Stalin Or why doesn't Budenz inform the have written in capitalist periodi-Daily Worker readers of this fact? | cals so that their views might receive broader publicity.

He doesn't know that Lenin used the Kaiser's "sealed train" to get into Russia!

The question is not where but what a revolutionist writes. The only time the Stalinists were able to "prove" that Trotsky wrote such details. He earns good pay against the Soviet Union was in the case of a Polish paper which printed a forgery concocted by the G.P.U. On the other hand, every This creature loves the mud and article written by Stalin or the pear in the capitalist press or the dustrial organization should be im-Daily Worker is a blow at the Workers' Fatherland and the working class. A blow because they He blithely asks Cullen whether trample on Marx and Lenin and reek with patriotism.

This latest frame-up by Budenz is hardly surprising. He once advised the revolutionary movement with me. I don't know. You will to learn from the methods of the Fascists.

#### Deny the Charges, Browder! Once again we accuse Stalin of action. Open threats of secession

In the case of the scoundrel Lang And how deep-going this conflict

furnishing Hearst with ammuni-

N. Y. American and says he is told to answer his assertions point by Why not with Trotsky or Tarov? Why don't they deny the gruesome

ment were to be made or not. Even Medvediev, Shlyapnikov or the goslav Communists? They dare not because they know

every word to be true. They know from their own ex

Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 55 Bast 11th The Stalinists are playing with St., N. Y. C. Phone: ALgon. 4-9058. fire when they resort to this frame-Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York. N Before the flames have died Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

down they will be so deeply burned JAMES P. CANNON: Editor that every conscious worker will Subscription rates: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c per six months; Canada and foreign \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Bundle both papers lie about revolutionrates: Two cents per copy SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1936

## Will the A.F. of L. Split on the Issue of Industrial Unionism? "Miami Meet Sharpens" Reports from the Executive Coun-Cleavage Between Old cil sessions, at Miami, Fla., fully

Guard and Lewis

By ARNE SWABECK

bear out the unmistakable rumb-

lings of a conflict in the A.F. of L.,

more profound than any ever wit-

nessed before and of far reaching

consequences for its future. The

A.F. of L. is approaching a crisis.

Sooner than could have been ex-

pected it is coming to its crossroads

and it must decide which way to

The industrial union issue is now

matter of intense dispute in the

high council and may soon become

the axis of active struggle through-

out the ranks of the organization.

On the suface only this issue ap-

pears to be involved; but the conflict

that is developing goes much deep-

er. Forms of organization, or to

be more exact, industrial unionism

versus craft unionism, embrace, on

the present-day basis of a highly

developed industrial structure, the

whole problem of which direction

the movement shall take. Its at-

titude to the most burning questions

of the class struggle and its own

policies and methods will be vitally

affected by whichever of these con-

should become its most active par-

Lewis Central Issue

This was natural. What could in

do, for example, about the projected

with which the reports of the ses-

It is stated that the craft union

mittee. In the end, however, some-

what more moderate counsel pre-

A Threat to the Old Guard

Yet, in view of the declaration

adopted by the Executive Council,

the selection of this committee is

largely perfunctory. It will have to

had been no preceeding conflict

opted leaves no room for doubt.

The Executive Council delared

"...there is the growing conviction

among an ever increasing number

of affiliated unions and those out-

side of the labor movement that

the activities of this committee

(the Lewis' committee) consti-

tutes a challenge to the supremacy

of the American Federation of

Labor and will ultimately become

dual in purpose and character to

the American Federation of La

**Bitter-Enders Dissent** 

unless more drastic action is taken.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged

THE MILITANT

Vol. 2, No. 5 (Whole No. 57)

mediately dissolved.'

council sessions in May.

sions are filled.

No doubt these most conscious Lewis' committee they see a chalwhat they consider their own special superiority of the old forms of under present-day conditions. They may not be of the particularly old fashioned, corrupt type like Skinny Madden, Robert Brindell or "Umbrella" Mike Boyle. Nevertheless they are conscious srpporters of the capitalist system. That mechanical skil ought to have a special reward they consider as established by

### Organization as Special Privilege

In their opinion, organization is, licting forms of organization become feel that this can best be accom Militants should, therefore, give he utmost attention to this present struggle in the A.F. of L. They ization does not embrace the work The Executive Council sessions, from beginning to end, were taken up almost exclusively with the question of the Committee for Industrial industries outside the unions. And, besides, the organization of these workers causes the sharpest conflict with the employers.

It is true that the bosses do not want any union at all in the big constitution, so long as this all manufacturing plants. It is equally in the threats of an imminent split tude of craft unions. But much latter is the only concession that the A. F. of L. they demand from the employers. concepts, they function essentially as agents of the employers.

### Antagonism Will Grow

Out of this situation arises the great fear of the industrial union bureaucrats; and out of this arises approach the industrial union bloc with a condemnation and a demand opposition will tend to increase rather than diminish. An encourorganization will immediately inployer and equip the whole working class with a more effective weapon of resistance than the craft unions can give.

this will tend to increase and shar- ture. Inevitably the result would in-the-wool craft union chiefs will for supremacy. Further on it is stated that, "It be compelled to lean ever more is the opinion of the Executive upon the bosses and upon the insmaller Stalins, whether they ap Council that the committee for in struments of the capitalist state for support to stem the tide.

This puts the question bluntly, but still not bluntly enough for some of the members of the Execu tive Council. In the voting five of the "bitter enders", which means the most conscious craft union reactionaries, dissented. They said the declaration was "not strong enough"; they wanted more drastic by the unions they control, is reand exert their pressure on the of undertaking such a task. Committee for Industrial Organization. It will be increasingly more difficult for the latter to retreat really is, can perhaps best be il lustrated by the orders that have at the same time as it will be extremely difficult for the reactiongone out from Hutcheson's office instructing all carpenters local ary bureaucrats to accept a compromise on this issue. What can unions to withdraw from every city be expected is, therefore, a sharpcentral labor body that indorses the ening of the present conflict all objectives of the industrial union along the line.

Committee for Industrial Organization will continue with its program. able. With his characteristic scorn for the Council, he said: "The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse." He added:

"After all the rumblings and convulsions at Miami for a week past, the unorganized workers of the country had a right to expect that the A. F. of L., in its own interest, would extend a sympathetic hand of assistance rather than a churlish denunctation of these organizations in the federation which are trying constructively to help the cause of labor leaders, be it ever so hostile.

## and the common people in this

Deep Organizational Gulf

In questions of basic class ideology it would be difficult to find a real distinction between John L. craft union top officials fully com- Lewis and his official co-workers, prehend what is involved. In the on the one hand, and Green and company on the other. To foster lenge not only to the control of illusions on this score would be pernicious and worthy only of the preserve, but also to their whole mealy-mouthed flunkey. But in idea of trade unionism. No matter questions of organizational policy how stubborly they insist on the the gulf already appears to be an unbridgeable one. The very exisorganization, they are aware of the tence of the Committee for Indusdynamic forces that the industrial trial Organization, as inadvertently union issue may set into motion admitted by the Executive Council declaration, is a challenge to the rock-ribbed reactionary organization policy of the A. F. of L. A continuation of this committee's work must of necessity deepen the present cleavage.

So far there has not been much concrete evidence of direct intervention by this committee for industrial organization in the mass production industries. Nevertheless, the raising of the issue is an therefore, to be a special privilege important step in itself and, as of the skilled workers and they could be expected, a powerful response followed immediately. The plished in cooperation with the em- automobile workers' union wrote ployers, or, at least, on friendly relinto its constitution, contrary to A. lations with them. Beyond this F. of L. decisions, a provision maktheir social philosophy does not ing the union industrial in characpenetrate; their interest in organ- ter. In this field there is a definitely growing clamor for an allers as a class. They are perfectly inclusive industrial union in which contented to leave the great mass the independent unions may merge. of production workers in the basic Representatives of the radio workers' federal locals intimated to the Executive Council meeting that secession from the A. F. of L. may follow rejection of their demand for an industrial union charter. Nevertheless it was rejected.

On the whole, there is ample evi-You clam to know how much Lang, important question stared the craft true that, if compelled to make dence throughout the country that Beal, Walker, et al were paid for union dignitaries in the face. The concessions to union organization, the demand for industrial unionism these articles. Was Trotsky paid intensity of the debate was reflected they dislike to deal with a multi- is beginning to take on the form of a movement. Such a movement less do they want unions with will be distinctly progressive in greater militant potentialities such character. It will give a stimulus as industrial unions, embracing all to new and greater struggles and You have no evidence, if the officials, led by O. A. Wharton, W. the workers in the plants, will it will provide a fertile field for have. On this basis the reaction- the advancement of revolutionary evidence, Budenz, than did your manded aggressive action against ary craft union top officials do not ideas of policy and methods of brother-in-dishonor, Moissaye J. the Lewis' committee. They are find it so difficult to cooperate with working class organization. This Olgin, editor of the Freiheit, when reported to have demanded the sus- the employers. They also want to particular fact will undoubtedly he accused Lenin and Trotsky of pension of the eight unions whose limit the unions to the skilled exert its influenc in a fundamental crafts. The right to represent the sense upon the present conflict in

### The Possibilities of Split

It may be entirely premature to speak of the probability of a split in the A. F. of L. in the sense that the report from the Executve While one Council sessions do. cannot lose sight of the fact that the A. F. of L. is purely a volunissue manifested by the reactionary tary federation of completely autonomous unions, and while secesalso their furious opposition to the sion of some of these unions, some-Lewis committee. It should be easy times more than one at a time, Indeed! And what of that? Bullot be mistaken about the intent of to foresee that in further develop have taken place before, they have denz in his ignorance doesn't know the condemnation. Even if there dictional disputes leading to a separation of a purely temporary agement given to industrial union nature. In such cases the secession did not carry the stigma of dual spire them to greater resistance unionism; nor would the A. F. of against the onslaughts of the em L. undertake to organize rival unions in the place of those that withdrew from its ranks. An actual secession movement in this present situation, or a split arising out of Out of this develops also the this present conflict and around nuch more fundamental issues in the present issues in dispute would the present cleavage in the A. F. be far more profound in its nature of L. leadership. In every respect and in its implications for the fupen the present conflict. The dyed-be two rival movements struggling

#### Horse-and-Buggy Age Over While a split of this nature in

the A. F. of L. may not be an immediate probability, it cannot be denied that all the implications On the other hand the leaders in leading in this directios are already the industrial union bloc will most at hand. The choice, however, is likely find themselves compelled to essentially with the officials who lean ever more upon the workers are in control of affairs of the A who are actually set into motion F. of L. They cannot help but sec for industrial unionism and who the handwriting on the wall. They also demand democratic unions with have the choice of changing, and an aggressive policy of organization. adjusting the federation to the re-These workers who are in motion, quirements of modern conditions and whose ranks are sure to in- and to the needs of the masses or crease, will press the issue forward to give way to other forces capable

The issue of industrial unionism is now of paramount importance. It grows out of the needs of the working class and once its real importance is fully appreciated it can become the vehicle for the revitalization of the whole labor movement. The moods of the masses is changing. The masses seek organization and they seek to utilize John L. Lewis, in answer to the their organizations as instruments Executive Council condemnation, of struggle for their own class ends. has already indicated that the In this respect there are now the most favorable opportunities avail-

> Organization stands its ground in this present conflict a first and most important step can be accomplished. It can become an instrument toward the creation of a genuinely progressive movement in the trade unions. This is today an imperative necessity and an absolute prerequisite. Once this genuine proressive movement is finally established there need be no fear of the consequences of any position taken by the reactionary A. F. of L. top

If the Committee for Industrial