

THE NON-PARTISAN LABOR DEFENSE
A Year of Activity, Success and Service to the Working Class on
All Fronts of the Radical and Labor Movement

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense has a record of achievement of which its members and the working class organizations which support it may well be proud.

Anti-Fascist and International Activities

HITLER GERMANY:

It was the N.P.L.D. which organized the protest movement against the deportation to Hitler Germany by the Dutch police of four young German friends attending a radical congress at Laren, Holland.

ITALY:

The N.P.L.D. was an active constituent of the Committee which held effective counter-demonstrations against visiting Italian Fascist student groups on Columbus Day, 1934, in New York.

CUBA:

The Cuban National Committee for Amnesty, composed of thirty-one Cuban labor organizations, has asked and received the aid of the N.P.L.D. in winning American support for its struggle against the Mendieta regime of terror.

CHINA:

The N.P.L.D. is organizing an international protest movement against Chiang Kai Shek's foreign editor of the Shaighai China Forum, leading labor organ of China, is chairman of the Committee on China.

The Fight Against Criminal Syndicalism Laws

SACRAMENTO:

The N.P.L.D. has taken an outstanding part in the most important criminal syndicalist case of the past decade—the famous Sacramento frame-up.

During the trial the N.P.L.D. provided Norman Mini, a member of the Workers Party, with the services of attorney Albert Goldman, noted Socialist lawyer, whose work was an outstanding feature of the courtroom struggle.

The cases are now being appealed. Owing to the importance of the Sacramento case to the entire labor movement, the N.P.L.D. organized the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, including the Socialist Party, Workers Party, General Defense Committee, Y.P.S.L., S.Y.L., National Unemployed League, Workers Alliance of America, and the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund.

This volume deals with all the major polemics raging between the International Left Opposition and Stalin, bringing them to their final climax at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

ANGELO HERNDON:

The N.P.L.D. is one of six organizations which set up the Joint Committee to Aid the Herndon Defense. The Committee has printed and distributed over 45,000 copies of a 16-page pamphlet.

WARD ROGERS:

The N.P.L.D. is a constituent of

Agents Martial Law

The N.P.L.D. initiated a joint Committee of seven organizations which held a mass meeting in New York protesting against the use of the National Guard as strikebreakers, and which sent defense funds to Toledo, Minneapolis and the Gulf Coast.

Deportation of Aliens

ANTONIO BELLUSSI:

Antonio Bellussi, veteran anti-Fascist, union coal miner, and a member of the Bordiquist group, was forced to flee Italy in 1923 because of his fight against the Fascist.

JACK WARNICK:

Jack Warnick, one of the defendants acquitted in the Sacramento trial, but thenceforth pursued by the Committee on Subversive Activities of the American Legion, has been seized by the immigration authorities, acting on the instigation of the Legion, and basing themselves on the evidence on which Warnick was released in Sacramento.

Against Persecution of Strikers

HARLAN MINERS:

In 1931 the eyes of the working class were centered upon the terror in the Harlan, Kentucky coal fields, where seven union organizers who defended themselves against the attacks of coal company gangsters armed with machine guns, were given life sentences.

ROBINS-GRAS:

Harold Robins and Andre Gras were arrested during the hotel strike of the Amalgamated Food Workers in New York City in February, 1933 on the charge of assaulting a non-union chef. Found guilty, they were sent by the notorious anti-labor Judge Corrigan to Sing-Sing. Undertaking their

defense at this juncture, the N.P.L.D. organized a movement which secured broad backing. The judges of the Appellate Division unanimously reversed the conviction on the ground of obvious prejudice on the part of the trial judge.

FARGO TEAMSTERS:

One of the longest and most bitterly fought strikes in the history of the Northwest, in Fargo, North Dakota, led to a frame-up instigated directly by the notorious Associated Industries of Minneapolis.

MINNEAPOLIS STRIKERS:

As the defense representatives of the famous General Drivers Local 574 of Minneapolis, whose 1934 strikes have led to a resurgence of the Northwest labor movement, the N.P.L.D. has been in charge of numerous defense cases in that locality.

When police shot and killed two pickets and wounded numerous others who had closed down the Ornamental Iron Works, and the Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer refused to conduct an open hearing, the N.P.L.D. conducted a mass public hearing on the issues; a score of eye-witnesses testified; leading Farmer-Laborites denounced the mayor for scabbery and murder; and the assembled workers laid the murders at the door of Mayor Latimer.

PHILA. FRUIT CLERKS:

Local 753 of the Retail Clerks International appealed to the N.P.L.D. when five of its members were framed by the employers' association during a strike. With the exception of a peace bond required from one striker, the cases were all won.

Rallying the Labor Movement

The main aim of the N.P.L.D. in all cases is to rally the broadest possible section of the organized labor movement in support of persecuted workers, instead of limiting defense struggles merely to the necessary legal steps. In the course of its activities, the N.P.L.D. has enlisted the support for cases of the leading trade union, fraternal and political organizations. Its ultimate aim is the unification of the largest number of labor groups in one defense organization on the basis of a militant, class-struggle program.

The foregoing brief and incomplete record of the work of the N.P.L.D. testifies to the way in which the N.P.L.D. meets a fundamental need. Hardly a day, but some labor organization or worker seeks its aid. The American working class has greater need than ever of a strong defense arm to protect it against enemies. The N.P.L.D. needs the active support and sympathy of every worker and every friend of the labor movement.

To Hold Protest Against Ferrero Deportation

A mass meeting to protest the imminent deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto is to be held at the Rand School, 7 East 5th St., at 8:15 P.M. on Wednesday, Dec. 4, under the auspices of the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference. 21 organizations, among them the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. are calling this meeting as the latest step in the long struggle to save these two men.

Prominent speakers, both from the outside and from the participating organizations will outline the case to date and the further steps which must be taken. Ferrero is in immediate danger of forcible deportation to Italy where, because of his anti-Fascist views, certain death or imprisonment awaits him. A similar fate for Sallitto hangs upon a pending decision in his case by the Department of Labor. Only mass pressure and additional funds with which to carry on the legal battle can save either of them.

Norman Mini Writes from His Dungeon in San Quentin



NORMAN MINI

One year after the beginning of the Sacramento trial, Norman Mini sent from San Quentin Prison the following letter to Herbert Solow, secretary of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee:

Nov. 18, 1935

Dear Solow:

Getting those orange-colored two pages (the N.S.A.C. "News Letter") was a surprise and a gratification. Today it struck me this might be a good time to write you a sort of summary of my state of mind.

Just this afternoon as I was wandering around in the yard (Saturday afternoons you can walk, look at the sky, think it came to me that now almost any feeling of strangeness or wonder at the life I'm leading has worn off; this has become the normal existence. It is completely and utterly natural that the judge work down there (in the jute mill) six days of the week, that you should sit around doing nothing on Sunday, that you should fit all your actions and ideas to this particular rhythm. It is the only existence.

Somehow it strikes you as absurd that you should have ever done even the most everyday things outside: standing on a street corner looking into the window of a cigar store; ruffing up a starchy napkin; seeing a bill-board in a vacant lot. And you realize all this profoundly, but without any particular feeling of unhappiness.

You desire, the things you worry or dream about, are the MINOR events of your life; the things close to you (my god, my task!—the loom broke down yesterday and 30 yards behind; tomorrow we will have cornbread for breakfast

and I like it and will be glad sopping up the gravy with it) take up your time and you have no sense that it could be otherwise.

Probably the adjustment has been so complete because it has been, in a sense, deliberate. About a month ago I said, "Come on now, we are going to get down to business," and when I started working on my novel, life began to fit into three distinct categories,—the jute mill, writing, and the outside world. (Books, newspapers, visitors.)

I almost hate to say it but, in spite of the work, the ascetic diet and the innumerable petty annoyances, I'm getting along very well JUST NOW. I know that the writing is really the cause of this, and that in time something there's sure to happen to it and then there'll be a reaction. But maybe by that time something will have happened to change the whole perspective. I don't think I'll actually stay in here forever!

Before I forget it, the N. Y. Times runs out on November 26, the first anniversary of the beginning of the trial, and my letter to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense asking their aid. In honor of the occasion, I want to thank all of you for everything you've done in this past year... and I mean EVERYTHING. I leave it to you to get my thanks to the proper people.

Fraternally, MINI, No. 57866.

New Stalinist Pamphlet Covers Up their Shameful Role in the Sacramento Case

Truth - Telling Remains the Worst Evil for the C.P.

SAN FRANCISCO.—The application to San Francisco of the new capitulatory turn of the Communist International has meant the creation of the United (Stooge) Labor Party. In the recent campaign, a plank in this party's platform called for the release of Mooney and various other California political prisoners. The victims of the historic Sacramento frame-up were not mentioned.

On occasion, the Communist Party or its I.L.D. gets out a pamphlet concerning some case of little moment to organized labor within a few weeks after the arrest. The Sacramento prisoners were convicted in April 1, 1935. Months before the prisoners themselves supplied the California I.L.D. with material for a pamphlet. For almost sixteen months after the arrests the I.L.D. published no pamphlet on this case, which resulted in the imprisonment of eight workers for 1 to 14 years.

On Labor Day, 1935, the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, constituted by a dozen national organizations on the call of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, brought out "Union-Smashing in Sacramento: The Truth About the Criminal Syndicalism Trial," by Herbert Solow, secretary of the joint body. Thereupon the I.L.D. got to work; it has just published "The C.S. Case Against Labor," dealing with the Sacramento frame-up.

The author is Mike Quin, former reporter of the Stalinist Western Worker. This Quin was in the audience at the Cannon lecture in San Francisco last spring. Indignant when he heard a few truths about Stalinism, he leaped to his feet and challenged Cannon to a debate. Of course, he reneged on the debate arrangements; he became editor of the C. P. rag and was assigned to write their pamphlet on the Sacramento case.

The latter job must have been a difficult one, even for an experienced liar. The record of the C. P. in the Sacramento case is one of the blackest in the history of labor defense struggles. Sabotage, disruption, provocation are mild words for what the Stalinists did in the Sacramento court. The pamphlet is primarily an attempt to cover up the shameful record of California Stalinism.

Who Raised the Ball Here are a few illustrations: 1. On page 14 is a long, pathetic story of what "difficulty" the I.L.D. had in getting ball for the eighteen workers jailed in Sacramento in August, 1934. It winds up with the boast that the 18 prisoners were finally bailed out, and it thanks the Civil Liberties Union for bailing out one of them. The truth is that the I.L.D. deliberately kept the prisoners in jail from August until January, withholding ball which it could have put up. In January, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense received a request from two prisoners to raise ball. Within two weeks it raised \$6,400 and bailed out Caroline Decker and Jack Warnick, two leading agricultural union members... and C. P. members. Then Norman Conklin asked the N.P.L.D. for aid. The N.P.L.D. raised it, but before it could be posted, the I.L.D. suddenly produced ball enough for five prisoners, and within a few days all the prisoners were out. How come? Quin does not ex-

plain. Nor does he mention the role of the N.P.L.D. in the ball matter. Nor does he mention how his rag had to publish an apology to the N.P.L.D. after it had insinuated that ball should not be put up through the N.P.L.D. because it was composed of racketeers.

Insulting the Jurors On page 15 is an impeachment of the "intelligence" of the jurors. We haven't conducted any psychological examination of the jurors and so we can't dispute this matter with Professor Quin. We can, however, ask why Quin does not reprint some of the scurrilous cartoons and insulting wise-cracks which his rag published during the trial about the jurors and which the prosecution's undercover agents were in a position to slip to the jurors when they went home at night.

On pages 17 and 21 is a discussion of a statement made by Norman Mini to the prosecutor shortly after his arrest. Jack Warnick has testified and events have shown that Mini's statement in no way aided the prosecution. Pat Chambers has signed a statement scolding the capitalist press for calling Mini's statement a "confession."

The "Stool-Pigeon" Legend During the trial, however, Quin made a united front with the Hearst papers. They and he called the Mini statement a "confession," thus building up the prosecution's argument that a crime had been committed. Mini was denounced by Quin and the whole C. P. as a "stool-pigeon."

The Quin pamphlet says nothing of "stool-pigeon"—whether "subjective" or "objective." It states only that Mini's statement ridiculed the Communist Party. It did... and quite properly so. It was in the tone of Mini's remark to Al Hougharty, Stalinist section organizer, when Mini was thrown into the tank in Sacramento County Jail along with this petty bureaucrat: "The only criminal syndicalism you have ever been guilty of is being section organizer all this time and never organizing anything."

Gallagher and Goldman On pages 17 and 21, mention is made of the fact that at one point in the trial Attorney Albert Goldman of the N.P.L.D. dissociated himself from a remark made by Leo Gallagher, the I.L.D.'s "genius" attorney. Quin does not reveal that Gallagher's remark was a challenge to the jury to do its damndest: "I am not speaking for the jury; I am speaking for the people in the back of the court." Quin writes that Goldman asked "exception for his client, Mini, from the displeasure of court, jury and prosecution." This is a typically Quinlike lie. Goldman asked that the jury not permit itself to be prejudiced against any of the defendants by Gallagher's remark. In so doing, Goldman served all the defendants.

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Today it merely whines: Norman Mini, the N.P.L.D., Trotskyists... they are not very nice fellows. Come, come, Mike Quin... next thing you know you will find that you are willy-nilly, in a united front with the N.P.L.D. Or is your national office keeping secrets from you?

other participants in the united front, is that the C.P. ruthlessly and deliberately broke up the united front on orders from 13th Street. Later, Charles Gordon, California I.L.D. organizer, was fired from his post; the Western Worker printed the charge made against him: he had entered a united front with Trotskyists. So who broke it up?

Mini's Testimony On page 25 Quin states that Norman Mini took the stand first "for the defense." What? Was he part of the defense? As to what he said, not a word here. But the day after he testified, the Western Worker charged that Mini's testimony had consisted of a "fantastic" scheme of violence against the government, which was not Marxism, gave the prosecution a weapon, etc. etc. Where are all these charges now?

On page 28 Quin writes that one juror, after the conviction, signed an affidavit revealing that the verdicts were arrived at in an illegal manner. True. What Quin does not say is that Juror Howard S. McIntire gave this affidavit not to the noble I.L.D. and the "heroic" Gallagher, but to the N.P.L.D. Attorney Goldman and to the Sacramento representative of the N.P.L.D.

The pamphlet admits that Norman Mini was a defendant and that he is now in San Quentin. It has a cover design which the careless might think represents only seven prisoners. But if you look closely, you will see a little lock of hair. That is Norman Mini!

On the other hand, when the names of the prisoners are listed with their statements to the sentencing judge, Mini's name is absent! Quin does not want to report that Mini said:

"Our standing here is no accident. Our conviction is the result of the inner logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day generate an irresistible wave that will sweep away forever everything this court and state represents. With this knowledge we can face our sentences confidently: we know that the future belongs to us."

Even a Quin can show that there was perpetrated in Sacramento a gross frame-up, not only against the revolutionist Norman Mini, but against those workers who endorsed the centrist views expressed by Sam Darcy at the trial.

The C. P. may be in a new period, but when it comes to telling the truth about its revolutionary opponents, that part of the line—I know it Browder—remains unchanged.

During the trial the C. P. disrupted the defense, attacked those who sought honest, militant unity, knifed in the back a courageous hero of the working class movement, and spread a thousand lying stories. Because the N.P.L.D. pounded it for six months thereafter, called it at every turn, exposed its corruption and slanders, the C. P. has had to back down.