

ILD Reiterates demands

(Continued from page One)
correct when you say that they are 'written for publicity purposes,' " Patterson's letter says.

The letter demands that the N. A. A. C. P. leadership answer before the masses the points and questions raised in previous letters from the I. L. D.

The questions are:

"1) Explain the presence on your executive board and leading committees of men who have been parties to murderous attacks upon white and Negro workers, who have been and still are actively engaged in formulating the Jim-Crow policy of the ruling class and who have rallied to

"a) FRANK MURPHY, former defense of lynchers. For example: Mayor of Detroit who was party to the murderous police attacks upon starving white and Negro workers before the Dearborn plant of Henry Ford in April 1931;

"b) ARTHUR CAPPER, United States Senator from Kansas who uttered no word of protest at the Jim-crowing of the Negro Gold Star mothers, nor at the shooting of the white and Negro ex-servicemen (Bonus Marchers) in Washington, D. C., at Camp Anacostia;

"c) MAJOR J. W. SPINGARN, who, upon America's entry into the World War, advised the Negro people not only to forget the long roll of lynchings and Jim-crowism of which they were the victims, but to accept without protest the Jim-crow war program of the government under the pretext that out of the war would come full democracy for Negroes;

"d) CLARENCE DARROW, who not only came to the defense of the Massie family of lynchers in Honolulu, but as well appealed to the basest race national prejudices in his conduct of the trial;

"2) Explain your attempts to restrict the activities of the masses against national oppression and for equal rights to legal procedure. Such a divorce of positive mass action from legal actions results in an acceptance of national oppression and inequality. The truth of this obvious, as an analysis of your 'victories' in the Louisville Segregation case and the Texas Democratic Primary case, etc. so clearly shows.

"3) Disprove the fact that your socalled victories in the courts; empty scraps of paper granted in order to strengthen your position among the masses. They have not materially advanced the position of the Negro people but in creating new and sustaining old illusions of a 'legal way out,' they have strengthened the hands of the oppressors. Segregation is still the accepted custom in Louisville. The Negro masses can not vote in Texas. Where are your victories?

"4) Is it not true that your policy of collaboration with the ruling class has not organized the masses for struggle but disarms and demobilizes them? After twenty-three years of the 'advancement of colored people' by the leadership of your organization, their position is infinitely worse than ever today.

"5) Is it not true that you have slandered and vilified the I. L. D. in the lynch press of the South in an effort to drive it out of the Scottsboro case. Explain why the lynchers endorsed your policy in Scottsboro and called upon you to take over the case?

"6) Explain why you so long

maintained that Scottsboro is not an inseparable part of the liberation struggles of the Negro masses against Jim-crowism, lynching, etc., and for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution."

The letter answer categorically the Associations' question of whether the I. L. D. wants them to make public the earlier letters concerning the N. A. A. C. P. return to the case: "This we demand of you and you may rest assured that we will make them public. Let the masses know the real facts."

"Again we call upon thee rank and file within the branches of your organization to renounce this program of betrayal that you have formulated, the letter says.

"Again we demand that you cease your attempt to block the further development of that mass defense which alone has thus far saved the lives of the Scottsboro boys. We shall insist upon the position taken by us. We do not wish to continue to reiterate it in a further succession of letters. We repeat our demand that you turn over the funds which you collected for Scottsboro defense and which you did not solicit on the basis that it would be used for legal action only, to the I. L. D., the only organization authorized to defend the Scottsboro boys."

In regard to another question repeatedly asked by the N. A. A. C. P., though answered in many previous statements that I. L. D. answers that:

"We herewith very definitely and categorically state again that we by no means demand that they who sincerely desire to aid in the defense of the innocent Scottsboro boys should here and now give up their political or economic views or modify them. We want them however to realize this profound truth. There has been no case in history when an oppressor class or an oppressor nation ever created court in which to give members of the oppressed class or the oppressed nation justice. The courts of an oppressor class or nation are created to aid in preserving its existence. Justice is not abstract; it is a concrete expression of the interests of those who hand it down.

"The lynchers' court prepared to lynch these innocent boys on June 10, 1931. Our campaign of mass protest and agitation stopped it. Your leadership after retaining a Ku Klux Klan lawyer (Roddy) had left the boys to the tender mercies of that court. Again and again the lynchers' court set a day for the legal lynching but the magnificent protest movement, organized and led by us, reaching ever wider masses, thus acquired greater political significance, and he lynchers' hands were stayed. In joining with us in defense of these boys and in the larger issues of which this defense is an inseparable part, we ask no one to subscribe to the philosophy and tactics of the I. L. D. We ask only that those who have voluntarily agreed to co-operate with the I. L. D. renounce with us any plan endorsed by the lynchers."

Your letter of July 13th is supposedly a reply to ours of June 30th. In reality it answered nothing. The fundamental issues we raised brought out clearly the ruling class character of your leadership ad showed the principles and policy of your organ-



RITZ Theatre

Sunday and Monday, Robert Montgomery in "HELL BELOW"—Trapped at the bottom of the ocean, running the blockade with a TNT loaded submarine—a thrilling setting for a glorious love story, now shown after months of secret production.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday—Ethel John and Lionel Barrymore in "RASPUTIN AND THE EMPRESS"—Lustful Eyes of a Devil who posed to him. Beauties of a debauched Emperor!—Unsuspecting they came pire seeking solace in prayer—to find behind the mask of piety a lustful schemer whose crafty mind toppled a throne.

Friday and Saturday—Tallulah Bankhead in "FAITHLESS" also "WHISTLING IN THE DARK"

Nay Brothers are still going with a scream. They will soon invoke new features. Look for announcement. Nay brothers cordially invites all clubs and parties to make reservations for a night at the Elk's Club. They heartily appreciate the patron-

ization to be determined by the relations of its leadership to the white ruling class which is responsible for the continued enslavement of the Negro people. These were the most essential features of our letter.

Your letter ignores these issues completely and turns again to questions clearly and carefully treated by us before. In this we can see but one purpose. When giving publicity to your letter you hoped to befoop and conceal the fundamental differences between us. At the same time with seeming openness you gave great emphasis to trivial matters seeking thus to present them as basic points of discussion.

As a working class defense organization and a defender of the rights of oppressed minorities, it is our historic task to go ever deeper to the real masses drawing them into the struggle on the basis of a correct program for the defense of their constitutional rights and against national oppression, at the same time destroying your pernicious influence among them and as well among the middle classes. These letters afford us this opportunity to expose you. We must therefore admit that you are correct when you say they are 'written for publicity purposes.'

With the aim in view of reaching these broader masses, we will discuss again the points we so carefully covered before. We will also again answer the minor issues you have sought to draw like red herrings across the trail of the vital issues.

Why have you refused to discuss these issues we raised which are so vital to the Negro masses and their white sympathizers?

1) Explain the presence on your executive board and leading committees of men who have been parties to murderous attacks upon white and Negro workers, who have been and still are actively engaged in formulating the Jim-crow policy of the ruling class and who have rallied to the defense of lynchers, for example:

a) FRANK MURPHY, former Mayor of Detroit who was party to the murderous police attacks upon starving white and Negro workers before the Dearborn plant of Henry Ford in April, 1931.

b) ARTHUR CAPPER, United States Senator from Kansas, who uttered no word of protest at the Jim-crowing of the Negro Gold Star mothers, or at the shooting of the white and Negro ex-service men (Bonus Marchers) in Washington, D. C., at Camp Anacostia;

c) MAJOR J. W. SPINGARN, who, upon America's entry into the World War, advised the Negro peo-

ple that has been extended or shown them since their engagement at the Elk's Hall.

The Nay brothers and the Lodge was very happy and pleased to have their guest Mr. Harry Leland, State Oil Inspector, and his party, as our guest on last Thursday evening.

'YEAH MAN' REVUE GOES OVER AT LOEW'S STATE THEATRE IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK—"Yeah Man," headed by the Mills Brothers and Don Redman and his orchestra, assisted by Myra Johnson, Harlan Latimore, Pete, Peaches and Duke, and a chorus of twelve put on a fine show at last week. Red and Struggle, dancing comics, were featured in this presentation.

The Mills Brothers offered a combination of spirituals and popular music in closing the show in a most satisfactory manner. Don Redman and his orchestra, replacing Ruby Zwerling and his Loew's State Senators, provided Harlem interpretations of current airs.

ple not only to forget the long roll of lynchings and Jim-crowism of which they were the victims, but to accept without protest the Jim-crow war program of the government under the pretext that out of war would come full democracy for Negroes.

Now again to the questions you raised before and which we answered in our letter of June 30:

1) Whether or not the I. L. D. requires that no person shall be permitted to contribute to the Scottsboro defense unless he subscribes in to the philosophy and tactics of the I. L. D.

2) The question of the role of mass pressure in forcing the leadership of the N. A. A. C. P. to seek to get back into the Scottsboro case,

3) The question of your "respect for confidences."

We herewith very definitely and categorically state again that we by no means demand that they who sincerely desire to aid in the defense of the innocent Scottsboro boys should here and now give up their political or economic views or modify them. We want them however to realize this profound truth. There has been no case in history when an oppressor class or nation ever created courts in which to give members of the oppressed class or the oppressed nation justice. The courts of an oppressor class or nation are created to aid in preserving its existence. Justice is not abstract; it is a concrete expression of the interests of those who hand it down.

The American courts of "justice," including the United States Supreme Court, are one of the main pillars of the whole system of chain gang slavery, contract labor, disfranchisement, debt slavery, peonage, etc. The acceptance of the decisions of the ruling class courts becomes at once an acceptance of the system. Your program thereby makes you agents of the ruling class among the Negro masses. For your betrayals we receive such crumbs from the table of the ruling class as a special assistant attorney generalship for a Robert L. Wann, or other concessions for the Negro bourgeoisie for whom you speak.

3) Disprove the fact that your socalled victories in the courts; i. e., Louisville Segregation case, Texas Democratic Primary case, etc., are but empty scraps of paper granted in order to strengthen your position among the masses. They have not materially advanced the position of the Negro masses but in creating new and sustaining old illusions of a "legal way out," they have strengthened the hands of the oppressors. Segregation is still the accepted custom in Louisville. The Negro masses can not vote in Texas. Where are your victories?

Is it not true that your policy of collaboration with the ruling class has not organized the masses for struggle but disarms and demobilizes them? After twenty-three years of the "advancement of colored people" by the leadership of your organization, their position is infinitely worse than ever today.

6) Explain why you so long

over today.

5) We have proved that in the Scottsboro case you have criminally squandered thousands of dollars. You hired without authority numerous lawyers who did nothing to defend the innocent boys, Roddy, your first lawyer, Ku Klux Klan member, asked them to plead guilty. Your financial irresponsibility is the more criminal because you have deprived the I. L. D. legally authorized to defend the boys, of desperately needed funds.

Scottsboro funds were not at first solicited by you on the basis that they would be used for legal services only.

Your leadership, and not those who contributed through you to the Scottsboro case, demanded that the funds go for legal services only, and that we forego mass protest as a support to legal procedure.

6) It is not true that you have slandered and vilified the I. L. D. in the lynch press of the South in an effort to drive it out of the Scottsboro case. Explain why the lynchers endorsed your policy in Scottsboro and called upon you to take over the case.

7) Explain why you so long maintained that Scottsboro is not an inseparable part of the liberation struggles of the Negro masses against Jim-crowism, lynching, etc., and for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution.

These are the major issues between our organizations. We raised them in our letter of June 30 and you carefully avoided them. Your indefensible position on these points is proof of the inability of the leadership of the N. A. A. C. P. to defend the Scottsboro boys or the interests of the Negro masses.

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You say you were not forced to again seek to enter Scottsboro by the pressure of the masses. A final word regarding this. Early in 1931, after you had accepted the decision of a "court of justice" and left the boys to be legally lynched, the Communist Party sent out a call for a united front for defense against this inhuman decision. The I. L. D. imme-

diately responded. It in turn called upon all organizations, regardless of political affiliations or religious beliefs, to enter this struggle. You refused to associate your organization with a working class defense organization under any conditions. But you held yourself out as still active in the case, and, unauthorized, you raised thousands of dollars and gave them to attorneys who, according to your instructions, called for reliance upon lynchers' courts and for a ruthless fight to oust the I. L. D. and the Communists.

The tremendous upsurge of mass protest and indignation developed by us around the Scottsboro case clearly indicates the revolt of the Negro masses against the unbearable conditions of which they have been for centuries the victims. This tremendous upheaval alarmed your masters and you were called back to lead the Scottsboro case, to complete your unfinished task of betrayal. You came, attempting to smash the mass protest now swinging into determined action (as evidenced by the march of 5000 Negro and white workers to Washington, D. C.); to destroy

2) To call on ceaseless propaganda for the basic demands of the masses in defense activities. To explain upon what basis the Scottsboro boys can be freed.

3) To clarify your historic role, tasks and ruling class connections. To discuss concretely the nature of your policy of betrayal in the Scottsboro case.

4) To prove to the masses the necessity and correctness of our mass protest policy.

You ask whether we desire you to make public the early letters concerning your return to the case. This we demand of you and you may rest assured that we will make them public.

Let the masses know the real facts.

The successes of the Negro masses and their white sympathizers under the leadership of the I. L. D. in the Scottsboro case are the more remarkable because of the combined attacks of the ruling class, the Ku Klux Klan and American Legion, the leadership of the Socialist Party, and your foul and treacherous betrayal. But for this last, these successes might well have been carried forward to complete victory, and the freedom of the Scottsboro boys achieved.

It is interesting to note that your Chicago Convention refused to adopt a resolution on Scottsboro.

The conduct of your leadership is by no means accidental.

You know well what you do! Your leadership has consciously deserted the liberation struggles of the Negro masses. Our demands for struggle are the demands of the ruling class. Your demands that they refrain from struggle are those of the ruling class. Your attemps to sabotage and block our policy of mass protest as a means of defense for the innocent Scottsboro boys is consistent with your entire program. You have not only been consistent, your program is for you logical. I logically flows from the capitalist class character of your leadership and its connections with the industrial-landlord system of lynch terror and persecution, and your cringing pleas for concessions as a reward for your betrayal.

But the ruling class is no longer able to grant you concessions as formerly. It is therefore becoming increasingly difficult to hide your betrayal and conceal your true role. You may well call for more concessions to keep the Negro masses in leash.

We come again to the question of your "respect for confidences." Your open blathering that you have treated as "strictly confidential" certain investigations for which we have paid the sum of \$530, "together with your earlier false statement that you paid \$135 to induce Ruby Bates to change her testimony, is sufficient proof of how you would "respect confidence" were you entrusted with them. Your mere mentioning of these matters shows your boundless meanness, your absolute treacherousness, your limitless hypocrisy.

Let us now treat some of the minor points that you have raised:

In this last letter of July 13th, you speak of your payment of \$1000 to Messrs. Fort Beddoe and Ray, as in preparation of the bills of exception to the Alabama Supreme Court, on which the successful appeal to the United States Supreme Court and other subsequent action was based. "This statement is a deliberate falsehood. The bills of exception prepared by the office of Joseph Brodsky, chief counsel for the I. L. D., were the legal documents introduced by our organization and which, supported by the protest mobilized by us, paved the way for successful appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Your unauthorized expenditure of defense funds in this manner only confirms our charges of squandering.

How splendid of you to remind us in 1933 that "the Scottsboro case is bigger than any one organization." This is but a confession of your betrayal that for two years you held the rank and file of your organization out of it. More decisive victories might have been won with their support.

What a program "for the advancement of colored people" is yours!

Those who are sincere and yet follow your policy hope to persuade the lynchers by the "proper ad orderly" use of their lynch courts to voluntarily for go their lynch program and inhuman treatment of Negroes. It is obvious that you have taught them nothing about the more than 5000 lynchings which have taken place. You have not shown them the meaning or significance of the open violation of the United States Constitu-

tion by the ruling class where Negroes are concerned. You have blind sharecropping and the enslavement of the millions of Negroes in the Black Belt. You have hidden from them the economic and political roots of systematic persecution calling each case an isolated social incident. In the face of the retardation of the cultural development of the Negro masses and of your deliberate confusion and obscurantism, you have persistently said that education would correct these abuses. Our