The United Front at Passaic

By James P. Cannon
BUILDING THE I.L.D.

I. L. D. Is Growing.

That International Labor Defense is expanding and beginning to draw to itself larger circles of workers is evidenced by reports we are receiving from the field.

More than one hundred questionnaires have been sent to local secretaries this month, of which only 21 have replied thus far. Their figures are illuminating. They are as follows:

**AN I. L. D. WORKER**
George Big, Endicott, N. Y.

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<tr>
<th>Members with Total Political Membership Affiliations</th>
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<td>Youngstown, Ohio ...................................</td>
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<td>Ashtonballe Harbor, O. .........................</td>
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<td>Toledo, Ohio .....................................</td>
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<td>Vant, Ohio ......................................</td>
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<td>Yorkville, Ohio ..................................</td>
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<td>East St. Louis, Ill. ............................</td>
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<td>South Bend, Ind. ................................</td>
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<td>Arden, Del. ......................................</td>
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<td>Hartford, Conn. ..................................</td>
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<td>McKeen, Rock, Pa. ...............................</td>
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<td>McDonald, Pa. .................................</td>
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<td>Ironton, Ohio ....................................</td>
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<td>Milwaukee, Wis. ..................................</td>
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<td><strong>TOTALS</strong> ........................................</td>
<td>1,362</td>
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This means that more than 50 per cent of the total number of individual dues-paying members in the branches which have reported, are non-partisan in their political convictions.

The past year has been spent in trying to draw into the I. L. D. as many varying shades of opinion as possible. Our aim has been, from the very inception of the organization, to build a broad, non-partisan mass movement for labor's defense. A shield for the working class against capitalist persecution. That we are moving in that direction is proven by the figures just quoted.

**Remember the Class-War Prisoners.**

The pledge fund is not coming along as fast as it should. Our members don't seem to fully realize how much the little sum of $5, which we send monthly, means to men behind bars.

In some instances it means that the class-war prisoner is enabled to get special services such as dental treatment. In other cases it means that this monthly contribution is saved up toward the day of release when the buried man comes to life again. He needs a little money with which to get clothes, and very often to keep himself until he finds work. In many other cases it means a help to the dependents. Read some of the letters from the prisoners printed in this issue. They tell you how much letters from the outside and the little help we render means to them on the inside.

Thus far we have secured only 7 monthly pledgers. Number 7 came from Joseph Wilson of Long Beach, Wash.

Each branch should consider it its duty to get a pledge for this fund. Get some individual member or friend of a member to make this monthly contribution. Or get several to make up the $5 and send it in through your secretary.

Appoint somebody to be responsible for the sending of a letter to one of the class-war prisoners. It makes them realize that they are not forgotten. The national office will send a complete list of the names and addresses of the class-war prisoners to all branches.

Get your pledge in before the 10th of June so we may print the names of the individuals and branches in the July issue. Make it a long list.

**Speakers.**

Walter Trumbull, "the rebel soldier," is still on tour for the I. L. D. He is now on his way back to Chicago stopping at Steubenville, East Liverpool, Youngstown, Akron, Toledo, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Gary, and Milwaukee. He has also been booked for Minneapolis and St. Paul. This means a total of 36 cities he will have spoken in since his release, February 22, up to June 1.

Henry Corblishaw, recently convicted together with 7 other "fighting miners" at Zeigler to 1 to 14 years' imprisonment, will speak in the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh districts May 15 to June 5. International Labor Defense has been conducting the defense of the 20 miners at Zeigler, 8 of whom have already come to trial. Corblishaw will tell the story of the conviction and what led up to it. He has also spoken in St. Louis, Kansas City, Chicago and Cleveland.

Every I. L. D. local should hear the Zeigler story. It is one of the biggest frame-ups since the Mooney-Billings affair.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, J. P. Cannon and Stanley Clark will make a number of meetings in behalf of the Passaic defense.

Bishop William Montgomery Brown has spoken in a number of cities during May. The last date was at West Frankfort and Zeigler. He has promised the I. L. D. some date for next fall. Secretaries should put in their requests now.

From Our Secretaries.

Summer is coming along with it the need for special outdoor activities. One of the local executive members of...
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The United Front at Passaic

By James P. Cannon.

The Passaic strike started out as a local dispute between textile workers and the mill owners over a cut in wages, but it developed into a historic battle in the class struggle. Other issues of fundamental importance for all the workers of America came into the foreground and dominated the struggle, along with the issue of wages. Other forces besides those directly involved at the beginning were brought into play. Passaic became a battle ground with the whole country looking on or taking part, according to their interests.

The sixteen thousand textile workers would have had the bosses licked long ago if it had been a simple fight between the two. But the mill bosses had powerful friends who came to their aid. They used the public authority on their side as though it were something they carried around in their pocket. This was an eye-opener for the workers, most of whom had been under the impression that America is a free country where a working man has got a chance and where the government belongs to the people.

The bosses, with the help of the public officials and the courts, would have crushed the strike by this time if the thing had stopped there. But something happened that the bosses and perhaps the bulk of the workers never figured on. The strikers also had powerful friends who put protecting arms around them. Everything that is alive in the labor movement is taking a hand in Passaic. They can't starve out the strikers at Passaic because the workers through the country won't let them. Money and food flows into the strikers' relief committee in a steady stream. They can't suppress the rights of the strikers and railroad the leaders either; at least, not without a fight of such proportions as they never dreamed of when they started their reign of terror.

Passaic used to be a drab mill town, with workers unorganized and fearfully exploited. It is something infinitely bigger and better today. When you say Passaic nowadays, everybody knows what you mean. Passaic means monstrous exploitation. Passaic means the public officials, the courts, the police and the governor of the state all lined up on the side of the bosses and giving everybody a blunt and simple answer to the question: Who owns the government? Passaic means armored cars, police clubs, gas bombs and injunctions. Passaic means the solidarity of the capitalists and control of the government by them.

But now there is another side to Passaic. Passaic also means heroic and determined struggle. It means the inexhaustible resources of courage and endurance that lie deep in the working class. It means admiration, sympathy and support from workers far and near. Passaic means the United Front. It means the American Federation of Labor. It means leadership of integrity and skill. Passaic means Weisbord. It means the awakening solidarity of labor.

At the time this article is being written, the Passaic strike is entering its seventeenth week with ranks unbroken. It is no longer an isolated local affair. Large sections of the labor movement throughout the country have already taken a hand in it. The heroic struggle of the Passaic textile workers against heavy odds has impressed itself so strongly on the rank and file of the labor movement that it has become very difficult for any one to oppose them. Even those who tried to do so at first—those who tried to disown it as an “outlaw” strike—had to change front. The Passaic strikers have fought so well and have
been led so skillfully as to compel the admiration and support of the labor movement.

They have received help of a substantial kind already. But from the looks of things more and greater help will be needed, especially after the strike is settled and its dramatic incidents are no longer news items for the first page. For the bosses, thru their political hirelings, are plotting to take revenge on the workers who have dealt them such a heavy blow. They are especially determined to "get" Albert Weisbord, the organizer of the strike and the soul of the movement. Three indictments have been brought against him and they aim to railroad him to the penitentiary for a long term if they can put it over quietly.

But we confidently believe they will fail in this conspiracy just as they have failed to break the strike by means of terrorism and suppression. All their brutalities in the strike have reacted against them and produced a contrary effect to the one they counted on. The police terrorism did not break the spirit of the strikers; it only made them more stubborn and determined. It educated them as to the actual role of the government. Moreover, it aroused ever wider and deeper strata of other workers and brought them into active solidarity with the strikers of Passaic and with all that their struggle stands for.

If we realize the issues involved, the frame-up against the strike leaders will have the same result. It must be our aim to accomplish this result and frustrate the conspiracy. Our I. L. D., which has already played its part in the strike, will have the main responsibility of organizing the protest movement.

The Passaic strike marks a milestone in the development of the American working class. It is a mighty and inspiring spectacle. This is the verdict of all who have seen it in action. It incorporates all the best traditions of the militant movement. It embodies all the old and tried methods of industrial struggle welded together with many ideas that are new and great. The mass picketing, the singing, the militancy and the industrial form of organization which characterized the great strikes led by the I. W. W. in the textile industry are used in Passaic. Together with these go the new ideas of the United Front, the flexible tactics, the establishment of connections with all labor and sympathizing elements, and the constant effort to broaden the base of support and to make room for all who really want to help.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is there, representing in her person the experience and militancy of the old fights and pouring it all freely into the strike. Bob Dunn, one of the leaders of the great organization attempt of 1919, Norman Thomas helping in the fight to maintain free speech and assemblage for the strikers, Esther Lowell of the Federated Press, and many others of various political views are part of the United Front at Passaic.

Weisbord and a group of others like him, Jack Rubenstein, Lena Chernenko, Nancy Sandowsky, the new and young ones, knit the whole body together and dominate it with their spirit. America has never before seen a strike like Passaic. The best of the old and the new are fused together there.

Courage and militancy of the rank and file: flexibility, skill and integrity of the leadership—that is Passaic. The bosses have been outmaneuvered at every turn.

The Passaic strike teaches over again in a most impressive manner an old lesson well known to experienced militants. That lesson is the part played by the state authority in conflicts between workers and bosses. The experiences at Passaic are also demonstrating the absolute necessity for a permanently organized and always ready non-partisan labor defense organization which we had in mind when we founded the I. L. D.

Any worker who has learned the A. B. C. of the class struggle can tell you that the state authorities—the courts, police, etc., side with the bosses in time of struggle. This is a settled and correct theory which has been confirmed a thousand times in practice. But it is not often that they do it so brazenly and ferociously and in such open defiance of their own laws as they have done it in Passaic.

The picket line, the living symbol of the power of the strike and its greatest weapon, was the first target of the "impartial servants of the people." Streams of ice cold water were turned on the picket lines on this bitter day. Men, women and children were knocked down by policemen's clubs without even a pretext of legal justification. Tear gas bombs were thrown into crowds of strikers and in the confusion and panic that followed they were ridden down by mounted police. Oh! Some great lessons in "Democratic Government" were taught at Passaic.

264 strikers were arrested on various charges, most of them for peaceful picketing in cynical disregard of a state law recently passed which expressly legalizes it. Lena Chernenko and Nancy Sandowsky, two of the moving spirits of the picket line, together with a number of others were arrested and rearrested as fast as bail could be provided. Jack Rubenstein, one of the most active militants, was arrested, beaten up, indicted and held in $10,000 bail. One striker died as a result of a police clubbing.

The police terrorists made no political discrimination. It didn't matter what one's political or other opinions might be, if he was in the strike or for the strike, he fell foul of the "law" at Passaic. Norman Thomas was arrested and indicted for attempting to speak at a meeting in a free speech test. Robert W. Dunn of the Civil Liberties Union got the same treatment for walking on the picket line after an ignatant sheriff had read the "Riot Act" and proclaimed what he called "Martial Law." Esther Lowell of the Federated Press helped a woman to her feet after she had been knocked down by a policeman's club. She went to
Strikers in Court. INSET: Esther Lowell
The Labor Defender

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Signs which show what they are fighting for in Passaic
A Message from Bill Haywood

MEMBERS of the International Labor Defense!

Greetings:

If it were possible to speak with you, I could more fully, more convincingly impress upon you, my feelings as to the great work you have undertaken. Your organization is now giving assistance to many otherwise helpless victims of the worldwide, ages-long class struggle.

Individually you could do but little to help those who have been marked by the hand of greed. Collectively you will be powerful. You will be able to guarantee all that militant workers ask—a fighting chance. It was Joe Hill the I. W. W. song writer who said before he was judicially murdered: "A fair trial is worth the life of any man much more than mine." Joe died because he did not have a fair trial. He was slain as ruthlessly as the helpless cripple, Frank Little, or the fighting war veteran. Wesley Everett, who was emasculated, killed and his body trampled, because he tried to defend his life when attacked by the American Legion. The I. L. D. will remember his eight fellow workers, innocent men who are being grossly, unjustly punished in Walla Walla penitentiary, under sentence of 25 to 40 years. You must work for their speedy release!

No greater injustice has ever been committed than the long imprisonment of Rangel and Cline. They are revolutionaries who were doing their best to help free the Mexican people from a life of peonage. Monuments have been built to Lafayette and Kosciusko who did no more for the United States than Rangel and Cline were doing for the Mexican revolution.

Tom Mooney, Warren Billings, Jim McNamara, Matt Schmidt, Herman Suhr and Sacco and Vanzetti will realize that in the I. L. D. another force has been launched in their support; that as you helped Dick Ford you will also strive on their behalf. Their dependents will no longer suffer. The many members of the I. W. W. unjustly imprisoned for belonging to an organization of their class will appreciate what you do in their behalf. The Michigan trials if continued will require your united attention and energy.

Many of the cases that confront you now could have been averted by the organized strength that you will develop. Every member of the I. W. W. and every other red-blooded working man and woman should be a member of the International Labor Defense. Voices from prison—the graves of living men—will come to thank you for your deeds.

Money and lawyers are not the only requirements of legal or real defense. Publicity is your strongest agency; agitations and demonstrations. Now is the time to turn the strongest searchlights on the fakers and slimy politicians that have in any way connived either by omission or commission in the conviction of the coal miners at Zeigler.

Members! More members! Get them black, red, brown and yellow, and white if they are good enough to work for men behind prison bars and their needy mothers, wives and children.

One who has been placed in jeopardy as I have been must keenly feel the power of organization. It was to express an solidarity on the part of the workers that I owe my life. Their hearts responded to such thrilling messages as that of Eugene V. Debs: "Arouse Ye Slaves! Their only crime is loyalty to the working class!" We, then in prison, imagined we could hear the measured tread of millions of workers: countless voices shouting: "They shall not die!"

There is always the grave possibility of other serious cases. It is the inevitable result of every earnest effort of the workers to improve their standard of living. It means ignominy, imprisonment and martyrdom. Yet, the struggle will continue for a place in the sunlight of industrial freedom. The millions of unorganized workers in the basic industries of America are not content with a life of wage slavery. The apathy prevailing among the workers, the sluggishness of their blood is partially due to the poisonous fever of war-frenzy. From this they are speedily recovering. There will be strikes of metal miners, lumberjacks, oil workers, coal miners, agricultural workers, fishermen, textile workers, the men on the range, the packing house workers, the women and children in the cotton mills. Among these millions of heavy laden toilers there will be demands and strikes. The work of the I. L. D. will be to protect the victims of capitalist injustice in these coming struggles. These and other phases of the work of a defense organization were discussed by Comrade Jim Cannon and myself here in Moscow before the International Labor Defense was launched. We agreed upon the urgent need of an organization broad enough in concept to reach every worker regardless of race, creed or color.

Personally, perhaps, I am permanently exiled from the land of my birth. But I will be working shoulder to shoulder with you comrades and fellow workers as the world is our field of labor.

Success to the International Labor Defense!

Yours for a society where prisons will no longer be needed.

WM. D. HAYWOOD.
Yours for the success of the International Labor Defense

W. D. Haywood.

Moscow, Feb 13, 1926
Our Second Conference

Units of International Labor Defense throughout the country, and our organization now stretches from coast to coast, will soon be busy with preparations to send delegates to the second national conference of I. L. D.

One year of our defense work has almost come to a close and the second year of the organization which was founded in Chicago in June, 1925 will face us with greater tasks than ever before. Cries for working class aid, protest, and defense come from every section of the labor movement and from all corners of the country. From the prisons of American capitalism come the muted cries of the living dead who have been buried for their staunch and unflinching championing of the great cause of the oppressed, the under dog. The machinery of our courts moves implacably to send new scores into American dungeons—workers who have had the courage and mind to fight their own battles. The families of class war prisoners have given cheerfully their all for the working class and need the unstinting support of those on the outside. And every day comes the call for aid and fraternization for the thousands who languish in the prisons of capitalism in the rest of the world.

Our conference will be held sometime in July or August of this year. It will take place either in New York City or in Chicago. Things are beginning to hum in the national office with the preparations and the local units will soon receive material for study and discussion so that their delegates may come to the conference with the opinion of their constituents intelligently represented.

United labor defense on a huge scale: that is our aim. Forward to a big second national conference of International Labor Defense! Build I. L. D. into a mighty shield for the American labor movement!
The Fight for the Defense of the Passaic Strike

Heretofore fighting for sixteen or seventeen weeks for the most elementary rights of labor, the striking textile workers of Passaic, New Jersey, circle the big empty mills today with lines unbroken and their determination sharpened by the knowledge of support from the working men on the outside.

The Passaic strike has been one of the most bitter struggles in the history of American labor. It has been long maintained by the authorities so closely identified with the capitalist in a labor struggle as in Passaic. In the roughest winter days, the strikers have resisted the attacks of police and fromen who sought to quench their ardor by turning streams of water on the pickets with fire hoses. He strikers have held their lines fast in the face of brutalities and police clubs which have cracked the skulls of more than one textile worker. They have had to put up with the gas masks they used in the last war for democracy (?) in order to escape death or serious injury from gas bombs thrown by the protector of law, order and mill owners' profits. Even workers' children have been as cruelly beaten, when they paraded in demonstration of protest, as their fathers and mothers who stood on the picket line.

Every day of the strike the scene has been the arrest of numbers of the pickets and other strikers. It has been managed so as to keep them in jail as long as possible. One result of this has been to narrow the circle of the strikers effectively and to strengthen the strike. The picket line has become more solid than ever. It has become a matter of course that if one picket was arrested another would remain.

And as the determination and solidarity of the strikers increased, their fines continued to circulate in the mills defying the clubs of the cops with mass formations and songs on their lips, the bosses and the police were exasperated. The strike was not like those that had preceded it; it was not a struggle for wages or against the police; it was a rebellion which were so cheapened into oblivion.

So a new attempt was made. The bosses, or their agents, in judicial tricks, are no matter what they did to eliminate the leader of the strikers from the picture and then the men would lose heart and leadership and return whipped. Albert Weisbord, the young strike leader who has won the confidence of more than sixteen thousand men and women in Passaic, was arrested on a trumped up charge and held in jail on a monstrous evidentiary bill. Together with him were arrested Robert Dunn, the author of the strike, and Norman Thomas, of the League for Industrial Democracy and the Socialist Party. The district attorney of Passaic, F. B. Bell, said that these are the key men and that the defense will be the key to the strike.

The strikers and sympathizers in jail were to see that the strike would be broken shortly. But the International Labor Defense took up the issue immediately. The I.L.D., which has been actively engaged in getting legal defense and aid to the arrested strikers, is being daily arrested in the strike, issued a call for a national-wide united defense drive which would throw a wrench into the malicious plans of the bosses and keep the strike leaders, strikers and sympathizers of the strikers out of jail and on the line fighting with the bitterly exploited mill workers.

The I.L.D. immediately projected for a national campaign of 150,000 to 200,000 dollars in order to carry on the fight for the strikers of Passaic, to the rescue of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone. And the popularity of the issue, the almost unanimous condemnation of the mill bosses and the authorities was thusly placed to the credit of the International Labor Defense committee, which has been the effective organ of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Federalist Press, the League for Industrial Democracy, the United Textile Workers, the Peace Party, the Relief Committee, and others.

No more definite proof of the unity of opinion which existed in condemning the arrests can be shown than to list the individuals who wrote, or telegraphed their message to J. B. L. But a number of the important ones are given here:

Albert Weisbord, the leader of the strike, arrested with Weisbord and a member of the joint committee of defense and protest against the arrests of Weisbord and the strikers.

The American Civil Liberties Union, thru Forrest Bailey.

The United Front Committee of Textile Workers, which is conducting the strike, thru its secretary, Gustav Deak.

Victor Berger, the well-known socialist congressman.

Daniel W. Hoan, the socialist mayor of Milwaukee.

Raynolds Holmes, of the New York Community Church.

Timothy Healy, president of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Engineers, Firemen and Oilers.

Upton Sinclair, the internationally known novelist and radical publicist.

William Montgomery Brown, the "heretic" bishop.

Scott Nearing, the labor educator.

H. W. L. D. M., of the Boston Trade Union College.

William Bouck, president of the Western Conference of the Press.

Robert Whittaker, the California liberal churchman.

Joseph Kiss, general secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

And the National Labor Defense Committee, thru Edward C. W. Worth, of Chicago.


Colonel C. E. S. Wood, the noted author.

Sarah S. Field, the poetess.

Kate Crane Gartz, of California.

Charlotte Anita Whitney, of California.

Max Hay, editor of the Cleveland Citizen, the official organ of the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

Alfred E. Coyle, editor of the Locomotive Engineers Journal, official organ of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Phil C. Kaplow, of the I. W. W.

Austen Lewis, the California lawyer who defended Richard Ford.

Carl Haessler, managing editor of the Federation.

Osvald Garrison Villard, editor of the liberal journal, "The Nation."
The Ruthenberg Appeal

The appeal which has just been heard by the present session of the Supreme Court of the United States on the conviction of C. E. Ruthenberg in the Benton Harbor, Michigan, court brings the famous Michigan Communist cases to the fore again.

In 1922 operatives of the Department of Justice swooped down upon the convention of the Communist Party which was being held at Bridgeport, Michigan, and arrested sixteen men, all the delegates they could lay hands upon. Warrants, many of them "John Does," were issued for all others who were suspected of having been present at the convention. In all, almost three dozen of men and women were either arrested or gave themselves up to the authorities; among them was one named variously Francis Morrow, Francis Ashworth or K-47, an operative of the Department of Justice who had managed to secure election as a delegate to the convention and became the star witness of the prosecution in the trials that followed.

The arrests were made in the period of American capitalist hysteria. Big strikes were taking place or had taken place; strikes on an unprecedentedly large scale: the steel workers, the coal miners, the textile slaves, and the railroad men. As one of the steps in the capitalist policy of "taking labor down a peg" the Communists were made a special center of prosecution and persecution. The hue and cry was once more raised throughout the country and it appeared that the department of Mr. Daugherty, the Ohio gentleman of no very certain fame, would be able to measure up to the hectic days of the late but unlamented Mitchell Palmer.

Not only that, but the charges preferred against the Communist defendants were rather unique. They were originally held on the charge of advocating the doctrine of criminal syndicalism and of being members of an organization which taught the doctrine of criminal syndicalism, but neither of these amazing charges were entertained by the trial judge and they were held on the equally amazing charge of "assembling with" an organization which taught the doctrine of criminal syndicalism!

William Z. Foster, the leader of the famous steel strike of 1919, and head of the Trade Union Educational League, was the first to go on trial. With a farmers' jury, a set of stool-pigeon witnesses, the usual George M. Cohan - flag - waving prosecutor's speeches, it was significant, for one thing, as a victory for the cause of labor defense, that the jury disagreed on the verdict and Foster was released, subject to be sure, to retrial before a new jury.

The next defendant to be tried was C. E. Ruthenberg, the secretary of the Workers Party. He was convicted of the heinous crime of "assembling with" an organization which taught doctrines in violation of the Michigan syndicalism law. It may well be imagined how many public officials in this country would be, and more legitimately, considered criminal for "assembling with" bootleggers, hi-jackers, grafters, conmen and gentlemen of that stripe! The issue at stake, the right of a working class revolutionary party to carry on its activities, the fact that the attack on the Communists was a part of the general employers' movement against the workers of America, was,
as is usual in such cases, thoroughly perverted by the prosecution.

The prosecution of the other defendants was not taken up pending the appeal which was immediately taken to the Supreme Court of the United States in the Ruthenberg case. The Labor Defense Council which was formed for the defense of the Michigan cases, and was led by such men as Robert Buck, editor of the Chicago Federation of Labor's official weekly, the New Majority, Eugene V. Debs, of the Socialist Party, the Rev. John A. Ryan, of the National Catholic Welfare organization, Mrs. Frances C. Lilly and other prominent public and labor men created a nation-wide sentiment and protest movement. When the defense unity conference was held last year, the Labor Defense Council merged into the International Labor Defense which then took over the defense of the Michigan cases along with all the others that came into its field of work.

In the brief prepared by the I. L. D. attorney, I. E. Ferguson, for the U. S. Supreme Court on the Ruthenberg case, the following is said:

"The crime of assembling is an absolute novelty in American criminal law. This is the only case of record in all law books, so far as we have been able to ascertain, in which the judgment depends solely on a charge of assembling with a society devoted to the propagation of a certain form of doctrine. In no other instance in American jurisprudence has it been held within the due process of law to punish as a felony the mere act of assembling with an organization. The startling novelty of this case of itself suggests a departure from established standards of culpability.

"The supreme court of Michigan did not see fit to assimilate the crime of 'assembling' as denounced by the criminal syndicalism act, with common law crime of unlawful assembly. Indeed it was strenuously urged upon the Michigan court that it must have been the legislative intent to make the crime 'assembling' consist of action in aid of present public advocacy of criminal syndicalism, as where several persons jointly arrange and manage a meeting or demonstration, and one or more of them proclaims the forbidden doctrine. But this contention was utterly rejected, with the result that the crime of 'assembling' makes its first appearance in this court divorced from any requirement of actual advocacy of the prohibited doctrine as an element of the crime."

The announced intention of the prosecution of the state of Michigan to try the cases of the other thirty defendants as soon as the verdict is upheld, as they hope it will be. The published hope of the prosecuting attorney, that one trial for all of them be held, will never be realized since the defense will insist upon the legal right of having individual trials for every single one of the defendants.

The outcome of the Ruthenberg appeal will be of great importance to the labor movement in general and to labor defense in particular. It will be remembered that none but property owners were permitted on the jury which tried Ruthenberg; that the Department of Justice sent its agents to the county commissioners of Berrien County with promises of huge funds to be given the county "from sources they were not at liberty to disclose," and Judge White practically reversed his attitude in the Foster trial by hampering the testimony of defense witnesses at every step, and by giving such ridiculous instructions to the jury that it returned a verdict of conviction.

Thruout these trials, from the raids to the end, the agents of the Department of Justice, acting under the orders of William J. Burns, of strike-breaking and jury-fixing fame, were the aggressive factor of the prosecution. It was their spy Morrow who acted as chief witness in the case.

No federal law alleged to have been violated, no overt act was charged, it was not even claimed that a single one of the defendants so much as made a speech advocating "criminal syndicalism" in the state of Michigan. The issue was the clearest case of an attempt to suppress a political party. The sole "crime" charged against them was that of "assembling."

The case is a challenge of the fundamentals of our so-called "democracy." If Ruthenberg's conviction is upheld he must serve from three to ten years in Jackson prison and pay a fine of $5,000. The trials of his comrades will follow quickly after—with the financial outlay again coming, as the D. of J. men would say, "from sources they were not at liberty to disclose." But we can guess!"
Dear Friend and Comrade:
I have received your $20.00 check the other day and it is the second $20.00 check I have received from you by Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Committee, and I thank you ever so much for it. I knew that you are anxious to get a few lines from this most humble work comrade, and I wish I could be nearest to you, so I could be able to express all my feelings towards all your kindness and fraternal solidarity that you have toward your two brother comrades and I hope from the bottom of my heart that this glorious day will soon come. Yes, because I sincerely feel a little touched to see your solidarity still strong and unchanged toward your two comrades in prison. Meanwhile regards to all our friends and comrades for me and also for my comrade, Vanzetti. With all my most warmest and brotherly greetings,
Your loyal brother and comrade,
Ferdinando N. Sacco.

Route 1, Box 1,
Huntsville, Texas.
International Labor Defense,

Dear Friends:
Your check for five dollars came yesterday. I thank you very much and assure you I will appreciate anything you do for me. I also get the Labor Defender which I enjoy reading. I am getting along very well and have had some encouragement as to getting out of here. Wishing you success in all your undertakings and best wishes for the Labor Defense, will close.
Am enclosing signed receipt.

Fraternally yours,
Abraham Claneros.

P. O. Box No. 520,
Walla Walla, Wash.

Dear Comrades:
I am having my wife ship you two horse hair hand bags and a dog collar all made by me. I want you to sell the bags and send the money to my wife, Mrs. Eugene Barnett, R. 2, 12th St., Clarkson, Wash. The last letter I got from her she was broke and the grass there was not big enough to eat. I am sending her twenty dollars today, and that cleans me. The dog collar is for Passaic. More power to them; I hope they win all demands.
The bags are twenty dollars each. You can auction them for as much as you like and send my wife $40.00 for the two.

I have a horse hair riding bridle with silver mounted Miles City bit, and some more dog collars, hat bands and hair belts. If you want any more of them just let me know. If I can dispose of all I can make my wife and little son won't have to eat grass. With best wishes, I remain,
Your respt.,
Eugene Barnett.

San Quentin Prison.

Dear Friend:
Thank you for the check for $5.00 which arrived safely several days ago. I hope you and the other friends are able to endure the freedom of the "grate" outside. I am not so sure that we are as bad off as it appears on the surface.
If they succeed in squealing Mr. Volstead I may apply for parole.
Best wishes to you and our other friends.
Sincerely,
M. A. Schmidt.

State Farm, Hobby, Texas.

Rose Karner.

Dear Comrade:
This will let you know I am well and received the amount of five ($5) dollars, for which I thank you all very kindly. And as I didn't receive no letter with the check I am kind of surprised. Let me know if you wrote or not.
Fraternally yours,
Pedro Perales.

James P. Cannon, Secretary.

Dear Comrade Cannon:
I want to write you to tell you how glad I am that the I. L. D. is conducting my defense. What pleases me most is that a class conscious organization will be the driving force that will defend me. I know that my defense will be conducted in such a manner that the workers throughout the country will draw the necessary lessons, lessons that will be valuable to them in their struggle towards emancipation.
The value of the I. L. D. cannot be overestimated. It has co-ordinated all the elements that wish to defend the fighters jailed for their working-class activities, and has been able to build up a force and a power that will burst the jail doors open and make our people free.
Fraternally,
Albert Weisbord.

Mr. James P. Cannon,
Dear Sir:
Your last check has been received by me, as well as all the others numbering eight in all, and many thanks for the same. They sure have been a great help to me in the way of helping to provide for my family who are the greatest sufferers in this hour of trouble.
I am getting along very well all things considered and am still hoping to be out in the near future. I guess that you have heard of my sentence being reduced from life to eleven years, which was a great relief to me, but still eleven years is eleven years, but at that I feel very grateful for being relieved of that awful life sentence. I want everyone to know that I am still Edgar Combs and I would like to hear from all sympathizers as letters mean so much in the prisoner's life.
Thanking you one and all for the monthly remittance, and again asking that I may hear from you, I want to always be to all respect,
Edgar Combs.

P. S.—I hope that the day is near when all class prisoners will be out and joined with their families, as in my opinion they have been the ones that have been neglected by the different trade unions, but that don't mean that they should be untruly to the working man's cause.—E. C.

James P. Cannon,

Dear Sir:
I want to write you to tell you how glad I am that the I. L. D. is conducting my defense. What pleases me most is that a class conscious organization will be the driving force that will defend me. I know that my defense will be conducted in such a manner that the workers throughout the country will draw the necessary lessons, lessons that will be valuable to them in their struggle towards emancipation.
The value of the I. L. D. cannot be overestimated. It has co-ordinated all the elements that wish to defend the fighters jailed for their working-class activities, and has been able to build up a force and a power that will burst the jail doors open and make our people free.
Fraternally,
Albert Weisbord.

James P. Cannon, Secretary.

Dear Comrade Cannon:
Please pardon me for not writing to thank you for the monthly donations from the I. L. D. My apparent ingratitude is due to my desire to answer as many personal letters as possible. I assure you that the monthly check is not only of much material value to men who have no income whatever; it also reminds us that the political prisoners are not forgotten by their fellow-workers on the outside. Above all, I wish to thank you for the generous aid given my parents.
The hearing of my case before the Court of Appeals has been set for June 3rd. Austin Lewis spent Saturday afternoon with me. Mr. Lewis is making every possible effort for my release. I think the case could not be in better hands. The arguments he has prepared will make it difficult, to say the least, for the military authorities to avoid
the real issues or to prevent an expose of the illegal tactics employed to punish me for my political views. All we need is impartial consideration of the facts. This was Mr. Lewis' sixth visit to me since he began work on the book.

Though my imprisonment prevents me from taking an active part in the fight for labor I take the greatest interest in the struggles of the working class for emancipation. All indications show an increasing class consciousness and determination on the part of American workers. This is the greatest source of inspiration to all class war prisoners.

I wish you the greatest success in your work, and I hope the time is not far distant when jails will not be used to punish workers who have the courage to ask for their rights.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
Paul Crouch

Thomaston, Me.
Mr. J. P. Cannon,
Dear Comrade:
We wish to acknowledge receipt of the checks for five dollars each of the undersigned, for which please accept our thanks.
Peter J. Dirks will be deported to Holland the last of June, and he would appreciate very much if you and your comrades could send a little help towards buying decent outgoing clothes, as you are aware that the five dollars given by the state to each inmate leaving here does not go very far, and the clothes cannot stand up under a rain storm without shrinking.

Thanking you for whatever you may be able to do, at the same time sending our sincere thanks and best wishes to all our comrades.

We remain,
Fraternally yours,
Peter J. Dirks,
Danny Fallon,
Thomas Hardy.

THE "HOLE"
By Jim Waters

 Alone,
Even as death is alone,
Alone with bitter memories.
He sits in the culturous silence
Of four walls... thinking... thinking.
Only the rancid odors of dungeons Penetrate the gloom.
Night crawls huskily
Over the parapets of the prison;
Day slinks westward,
Beating the ashen walls with livid wings;
But in the dungeon interminable gloom.
Oh, the walls of the dungeon are hard,
The floor of the dungeon is hard,
The silence of the dungeon is hard,
Even as the throes of death are hard.

The hollow gloom of the dungeon is hard.
Once a day
The muffled step of the Warder is heard,
A door screeches open
Flooding the dungeon with blinding light;
Then gloom... and bread... and water.
Once a day
The murderer paces the asphalt ring,
Breathes deeply of sun and air;
But in the dungeon's impenetrable gloom
The political prisoner sits with bitter memories.
Fifteen years is a long time... thinking... thinking.

BIRTHDAYS OF CLASS WAR PRISONERS

Birthdays of class war prisoners in the United States that occur in the month of June are given below. All friends of the cause of Labor Defense are urged to send appropriate greetings, letters, gifts, etc., to the working class fighters named.

June 3—B. Johnson, 38384, San Quentin, Calif.
June 11—Bartholomew Vanzetti, Bridgewater Hospital, Charleston, Mass.
June 16—John Bruns, 40654, San Quentin, Calif.
June 17—Thomas Hardy, Box "A," Thomaston, Me.
June 19—Pedro Parales, Blue Ridge State Farm, Hobby, Texas.
June 30—Jesus Gonzales, 38458, Brazoria Co. Farm, Dewalt, Texas.

Remember those who are on the inside because they fought for you on the outside.

NEWS OF THE MONTH

FROM ZEI GLER,

The results of the appeal for a new hearing in the Zeigler cases made by International Labor Defense, Attorney I. E. Ferguson before Judge J. Kern, at Benton, Ill., courthouse were that seven of the men convicted were refused a new trial and the eighth of them, Martin Smich, was granted one, the judge declaring it his belief that the latter was not present at the union hall when the fighting and shooting took place. Henry Corbishley, Frank Corbishley, Stanley Pariez, Ignaz Simich, Steve Meunovich, and Mike Karisch were given their one to fourteen years at the Chester penitentiary, while Eddie Maleksi, being under 19 years of age, was sent to the reformatory, at Pontiac.

An appeal to the supreme court on a writ of supersedeas was immediately announced by the defense attorney, and all the men were released on the same bail under which they had been held up until now. The brief will be presented before the supreme court of the state of Illinois sometime in the fall.

It should be recalled that the eight convicted in the original trial were sentenced and declared guilty on the basis of the same evidence which was presented against the other seven or eight miners who were on trial and declared not guilty. The inconsistency of such a verdict did not secure the granting of a new trial for the framed-up coal diggers.

THE RUTHERBENG APPEAL

At the end of the month of April, this year, there was argued before the supreme court of the United States the appeal of C. E. Rutherford, secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party who was arrested together with a score of other Communists in the raid at Bridgeman, Mich., in August, 1922. I. E. Ferguson, for the International Labor Defense, presented the appeal of Rutherford, who was found guilty under the criminal syndicalism law of Michigan after a trial of William Z. Foster, on similar charges, had been lost by the prosecution thru a hung jury.

The charge of assembling with (1) an organization which advocated the doctrine of criminal syndicalism is the only one now being leveled against the Michigan defendants. This startling charge, remissent of mediaeval theology, has been thoroly shattered in the brief prepared by Attorney Ferguson.

If the decision of the Michigan court is upheld by the supreme court it means that Rutherford must serve a term of from three to ten years in Jackson prison and pay a fine of $5,000. The prosecution has announced that as soon as the verdict is upheld by the supreme court it will proceed with the trial of the other Michigan defendants, and, very likely, with the retrial of William Z. Foster.

MAY DAY CASUALTIES

The solemn importance and meaning of the May Day celebrations are the cases of J. Louis Engdahl, editor of The DAILY WORKER, and Abram Jakira, organizer of the Workers (Communist) Party in Pittsburgh. After one of the biggest halls in the city, Carnegie Hall, had been secured for the demonstration, the police announced, at the last minute, that no meeting could be held without a permit; and any attempt to get a permit was unsuccessful.

When workers assembled in front of the hall, ignorant of the police ruling, the latter began driving them away until Jakira stood up at the entrance of the hall and
Building the I. L. D.

(Continued from page 82)

fense of Weisbord and the other strike leaders and pickets who have been arrested.

This is being done in full agreement with the joint committee which was formed for this purpose, consisting of representatives from the Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy, the International Labor Defense, the United Front Committee, and the Federated Press.

New York Local I. L. D. together with the Civil Liberties Union already held a very successful mass meeting for the Passaic Defense at which a collection of over $800 was taken.

Local Chicago is arranging a similar meeting.

Stanley Clark, well-known labor orator, who is working in Passaic at present, will make a tour under auspices of I. L. D. to all our locals in behalf of the Passaic defense.

The Second Annual Conference.

Preparations are moving forward definitely for the holding of the second annual conference of International Labor Defense. The agenda is being worked out and will be published in the Labor Defender in time to give the branches a chance to discuss it and form their opinions.

A questionnaire has been sent out to all secretaries for data regarding the membership of the branches. This information is needed for basing the branch representation on. All secretaries should send this information to the national office just as quickly as possible.

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SUBSCRIBE! ONLY $1.00 A YEAR!

This dollar will (1) Help I. L. D. (2) Give you—or another—12 monthly issues of this magazine, thus keeping you informed and enabling you to better spread the I. L. D. message, and (3) Bring to you—or another—a free copy of a remarkable volume of prison poems.

Chaplin’s “Bars and Shadows,” FREE!

With every yearly subscription we will give—to either the subscriber or the one getting the sub—a FREE COPY of the famous “Bars and Shadows” (until the few we have left, out of the 500 donated by the author, are all given out).

Send One Dollar Now to THE LABOR DEFENDER
23 SOUTH LINCOLN ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
264 ARRESTED AT PASSAIC

53 fined a total of $844.50
17 sentenced to a total of 1,365 days
43 out on bail amounting to $83,150

IF CONVICTED WEISBORD CAN GET FIFTEEN YEARS!

DEFEND WEISBORD AND THE OTHERS

All cases of the Passaic strikers and their leaders are being defended by

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

National Office 23 South Lincoln St. Chicago