LOOKING at the MONTH with HAY BALES

The "LABOR DEFENDER" REACHED THE 18,000 MARK FOR MAY AND STILL GOING STRONG!

REBELS MACHINE "PATHEFUL CASE"

THANK GAWD! I'M FREE!

MINERS TEXTILES

THE GLASS STRUGGLE

NEW BEDFORD TEXTILE WORKERS JOIN THE MINERS IN BIG STRIKE WAVE

A visit with Billings at Folsom Prison

an interview

by Jas. P. Cannon

To get to Folsom Prison, you take the train to Sacramento and then transfer to the stage for Represa. The journey from San Francisco kills a whole day. They call it "the Rock pile" — a God-forsaken out of the way place, inconvenient for visitors and few go.

The day I went to see Warren Billings, I was the only visitor to ride the stage on that desolate journey over the winding road through beautiful green hills and hollows that ends in the Folsom rock quarry — California's dread prison for second-term convicts.

Visiting Folsom Prison is not facilitated or encouraged. Few go. I left the stage and walked towards the main gate with a depressing feeling of loneliness. The stone prison rises from the ground like a massive boulder within the gray enclosing walls with their machine gun turrets at the vantage points. The rock quarries deface the lovely hillside like ugly scars. The green sward of the lawn, close-cropped and smooth and well attended like the front yard of all prisons, was resplendent in the California sunshine.

I was given a seat in the Warden's office to wait for Billings — there appeared to be no special visiting room. The Warden's secretary went out of his way to make me comfortable. Made a little conversation about the weather. Offered me a copy of the Saturday Evening Post or perhaps it was Liberty — I didn't read it.

The Warden returned soon. Billings was with him. A rather slight man, somewhat less than medium height. Reddish hair and sandy complexion. A friendly boyish countenance with lines carved in it which seemed strangely out of place. I had never met him before, but I am sure I know him now. His character is all written in his face and manner and his ready, engaging smile. A warm personable fellow, without guile or subtlety. The kind that mixes well and makes friends easily. He is thirty-five years old now. There are lines in his face that usually come only to later years, but his manner and appearance on the whole are those of a younger man. He was only twenty-three when he was caught with Tom Mooney in the Frame-up trap and he has been in prison the whole intervening twelve years — all his years of flush young manhood and ripening maturity. In many ways he suggested a youth of twenty-three, as though the characteristics which belonged to him at that age when he was first imprisoned had frozen in him and become a permanent part of his personality.

He works hard at manual labor and has done more than his bit in the prison quarries, the chief "industry" of Folsom. He is one of 2200 men imprisoned there under the California system which segregates men who have been convicted more than once — "the two-time losers" — in a separate penitentiary. Billings did a short "jolt" before from the Pacific Gas and Electric strike.

The regime at Folsom is a rigorous one. There is no "pampering" of convicts serving their second term in California. The inexhaustible quarries, which are the "pride" of Folsom not only provide work for their idle hands, but turn a pretty penny of profits also. The Folsom prisoners quarried the rock to build their own jail and the frowning walls around it; and enormous quantities of rock for road building come from there. The paved roads of California, interweaving and running in all directions, are justly famous. The stones of Folsom, hewn out of the prison quarries, by the heart-breaking labor of the
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convicts, pave many a mile over which the autos skim.

It was on the 22nd day of July that a bomb was thrown into a preparedness parade, killing a number of people. Five days later Billings was arrested and he has been imprisoned ever since. He had nothing to do with the crime as everybody now knows, but the open shop interests were out to "get" some labor men, and Tom Mooney and the militants associated with him who had organized a strike on the street railways of San Francisco two weeks before, were the group selected. They were arrested, "framed" and railroaded.

If you and I had been compelled to spend our entire adult life in prison for a crime we didn't commit, that fact would very likely be burning uppermost in our minds all the time. So it is with Warren Billings. But he has not given way to self-centered sourness.

He is awake and receptive to the big things transpiring in the world and talks about them. He was in the movement since he was sixteen years old and was active all the time even before 1913, when, at the age of twenty, he told me, he "became class conscious". Thereafter "class consciousness" was the determining factor in all his work and thought as it's still today.

He told me some details of his case. They tried him with a "professional jury"—that is a jury composed of members who serve on juries all the time and

Right: Captain Robert Dollar. Left: Tom Mooney
Left: District Attorney Ficker. Right: Warren K. Billings

make a living from the fees. They play in with the District Attorney and are selected for their "reliability" in bringing in convictions.

"They fixed me good and plenty with the jury," Billings told me. "One of my jurymen was an old man named Fraser who had been a professional jurymen continuously for ten years and during that entire time, found every defendant guilty!"

I gasped, and started to speak but he checked me with an ironical laugh. "I guess he didn't want to break his record in my case," he said.

It was the testimony of John McDonald, the dope fiend and degenerate, that constituted the principal evidence against him. It is well known that McDonald repudiated his entire testimony five years later. But the horror of the whole business struck me with a special intensity as Billings spoke about the effect of his testimony at the trial because I, with Robert Minor and others, had heard McDonald in New York in 1921 tell in great detail how the whole thing had been cooked up and how he knew no more about the case than we did.

Warren Billings was born in New York State of New England German stock. He is a shoe worker by trade and joined the Boot and Shoe Workers Union at the age of sixteen. He was president of local 220 at San Francisco when he was arrested in 1916.

He was an active "union man"
while yet a boy in his teens. Association with radicals and militants in San Francisco broadened his outlook and gave him a social vision. That was in 1913 and from that time onward he plunged into the movement, giving all his thought and energy to it.

Those were days of boundless enthusiasm and soaring dreams. He told me about the work he did as "undercover man" for the union. "When the bosses tried to operate their shops during a strike I used to go and get a job there to get information for the union as to the exact state of affairs. I also worked to demoralize the strike breakers and tried to get them to organize a second strike and sometimes succeeded."

General radical activities claimed his attention. He took an active part in the work of the old International Workers Defense League of San Francisco. This historic body, one of the forerunners of the I. L. D., had been formed originally during the Moyer-Haywood case. It was a delegate body and was held together for other defense cases. It took up the fight for Rangel and Cline in 1913 and for Ford and Suhr the following year, and many others.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were both delegates from their unions to the International Workers Defense League and active participants in its activities in behalf of persecuted workers. There, unknowingly, they were building the structure of an organization which was to be their strongest support in the time of their own distress. For it was this League which first took up their defense and blazoned their story to the world. The International Workers Defense League, which Mooney and Billings helped to build, later made the Mooney-Billings case a world issue and thoroughly and completely exposed the frame-up against them.

The diabolical conspiracy against Mooney and Billings has been thoroughly exposed and is an old story now. We will tell it over again in the July number of the Labor Defender as the starting point of a new movement in their behalf on the twelfth anniversary of their imprisonment.

Let us hope that the observance of this twelfth anniversary will witness the awakening of the workers to a new interest in the case of Mooney and Billings and the beginning of a new resolute fight in their behalf.
TOM MOONEY HANDCUFFED, BEING TAKEN TO SAN QUENTIN WHERE HE HAS NOW SPENT 12 YEARS BEHIND PRISON BARS.
How Long Shall We Let Them

The increasing brutality of the Fascist regime in Italy, the persecution of all legitimate labor organizations and particularly the Communists, of which the murder of Gastone Sozzi was part, made the situation of vital interest to American Labor. In answer to a cabled request, Henri Barbusse, noted French writer has written this stirring article especially for the Labor Defender. His courageous activity in behalf of the victims of Fascist oppression in Italy and in other parts of Europe have already endeared him to millions of workers — Editor.

For years we have been uttering expressions of alarm at the crimes of the Italian fascists. Today we raise our voices with more anguish and more anger than ever before against the repeated crimes and of the official brigandage subsisting in Italy. (and, alas, in many other countries besides).

One might say that the murder of Matteotti is repeated every day. That monstrous deed helped to open the eyes of the public to the calculated and bloody actions of this fascism which dares to call itself an orderly regime, and to reveal the true character of Mussolini.

The murder of Matteotti was not the first one of its kind. It came at the end of a long series of murders of Italian people, and on all those who have defended them.

As long ago as last February, in the name of the Committee for the Defense of the Victims of Fascism, over which I had the honor to preside and which comprised liberal and enlightened personalities from all over the world, I wrote to the Italian ambassador in Paris, requesting and demanding an investigation of the case of Gastone Sozzi.

It is hardly necessary to recount the facts in that case. Sozzi, former friend of Mussolini’s, nevertheless had remained a friend of the oppressed was transferred to the prison in Perugia early in the month of December. There he was confined in a cell ordinarily used as a special penal cell for common criminals. The day following his incarceration, General Ciardi, the military advocate and an inspector for the ministry of the interior, arrived at the prison “to force from” Sozzi “by whatever means necessary” confessions concerning anti-fascist organizations. Sozzi was pummeled and kicked, and beaten all over...
Murder Us? Henri Barbusse

by Henri Barbusse

his body with blows. Between these episodes of torture, he was virtually deprived of food. This lasted throughout the months of December and January. As they could not obtain any confession whatsoever from the victim, they had recourse to more horrible measures. For one whole week they made injections of iodine into Sozzi’s rectum while “his bowels turned to running sores”. On the verge of death, they offered him immediate liberty and a pension of 5,000 lire if he would place himself at the disposal of the fascist police. He answered, “No”. During the night of the sixth or seventh of February, Gastone Sozzi was murdered in his cell.

His family was not informed of his death until much later, and their demand for an autopsy was refused.

But this is not the end. I repeat that it is not a question of one exceptional case, but of the type of procedure practised by the Mussolini government not only with the consent of, but, let us go on formal record here since we have the proofs, by the order of Mussolini himself.

HENRI BARBUSSE CELEBRATED AUTHOR ON THE PLATFORM

Two weeks ago I again wrote to the Italian ambassador in the name of the Defense Committee, pointing out to him the stuefaction of public opinion in face of the reports from Italy and calling him to account for the monstrous and unspeakable treatment suffered by the 6,000 political prisoners in the Italian jails and places of deportation. I enumerated to him the various tortures employed to obtain information from prisoners, tortures which resulted in insanity or death. In an even more precise and urgent manner, I demanded that light be thrown on the case of Sozzi, as well as that of Sanvito, of Pirola and of Ruota. And lastly demanded permission for a delegation of liberal men to examine on the spot the condition of political prisoners in Italy.

The ambassador has never replied to my letter. Mussolini and his murderers never reply. They strive to distract public attention by theatrical proclamations, or they gleefully make capital out of the Milan incident in order to multiply the iniquities and murders, in the same way the Sofia government has for two years criminally made use of and lied about the Sveti Kyal Cathedral bombing.

Only one thing can make them reply, one thing alone can force them to halt and to retreat. And that thing is the great avenging voice of the outraged public opinion of mankind. It is with the hope of strengthening our outcry with that of all honest men throughout the world, that I am now making this appeal to the American public.

WE NEVER FORGET!

AUGUST 22, 1928, marks the first anniversary of the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. On this day and during this week, the first memorial meetings will be held. Not only in all cities of the United States, but in all countries of the world, all sections of the Labor movement will join in mass memorial meetings and demonstrations in memory of the two courageous workers who gave their lives in the cause of labor.

We never forget. The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti will ever stir the blood and steel the hearts of working men and women. The children of workers will learn to “Remember Sacco and Vanzetti”—to pledge themselves to the cause for which these martyrs gave their lives.

All sections of the International Labor Defense are now making preparations for the first memorial meetings. Reports from many cities bring assurance that the meetings to be held throughout the country will establish the first anniversary of the death of Sacco and Vanzetti as a thunderous, meaningful promise of labor’s pledge: “We never forget!”

Send word of all preparations already made for your Sacco and Vanzetti memorial meeting to the National Office of the I. L. D.
Bela Kun--Labor's Latest Martyr

By Stephen Kennedy

orders may mean that Comrade Kun will, together with a group of fearless fighting comrades, be extradited, fighting for the cause of the oppressed workers and peasants of all lands. Remember that he was fighting for you. Remember that he was fighting for us all. And remember that we must fight for him! The life of this great figure of proletarian struggle depends today—and depends only upon the solidarity and action of the class conscious workers of the world.

Call protest meetings! Send protests telegrams to the Austrian Government! Demand the unconditional and immediate release of Bela Kun! Protest against extradition! Demand the assurance of his free travel to the Soviet Union!

Bela Kun must not die!

And it is up to us workers to save him!

Protest meetings and demonstrations for the release of Bela Kun and his safe passage to the U.S.S.R. are being arranged throughout the U.S. Over 5,000 workers stood in the rain in New York at the first meeting. Other demonstrations are being conducted now in Chicago, Detroit and other cities. Save the life of the former premier of Soviet Hungary.

A Mother Writes from Hungary

Budapest, Feb. 5, 1928

My dear Son,

I don’t know whether this letter of mine will reach you but I don’t name the address of sender because there is the censorship of letters. As you know, Lester was arrested and was beaten up so badly that he now lies in the hospital of the prison. With the butt of the gun and blackjack they belabored him so that he is blue and green from the beating. We can’t go to him but a comrade of ours who got out yesterday told us all about it.

Our home resembles a stable since the raid. We can’t get it into order. They broke everything. They looked for arms and propaganda literature, which, as it was said, you had hidden at home. Your grandfather and I were slapped hard, we were treated by their clubs. Grandfather is still in bed because he is sick. Take good care of yourself, my dear son, and don’t come.

How long will this hell here last for us? I don’t know whether Lester ever will overcome his wounds. He will have his trial next month. I write to your new address. We kiss you all.

Your mother,

For obvious reasons names are omitted from this letter. It does in a small way, however, give a picture of how workers are being treated in Hungary today. The same government is now attempting to bring Bela Kun from Vienna, where he is under arrest to a brutal death in Hungary.
BELA KUN
BILL Haywood is dead—we mourn a great loss to the American Labor movement. As we go to press, the news of his death is announced. This letter, just received by Jas. J. Cannon, secretary of the International Labor Defense, was written by Haywood before the last illness which ended in his death. Our readers will find in this short note from “Big Bill,” as he is affectionately known to thousands of American workers, a keen interest in the progress of American Labor and particularly in the work of Labor Defense, with which he was so closely connected since his fighting days in the I.W.W. The pamphlet which he mentions, the first he has written since leaving the United States, is now being issued by the International Labor Defense and will be ready within a few weeks. It is with pride we point out that altho in failing health for sometime, it was for Labor Defense that Haywood has written this pamphlet. No greater tribute can be paid to our own “Big Bill”, than a determination on the part of all of us, to devote ourselves ever more loyally to those things for which he had fought so courageously all his life—the immediate betterment of labor and a workers and farmers government in America. Haywood is dead—we pay last tribute to a great fighter and leader of Labor.

Moscow, U. S. S. R.
James P. Cannon,
Room 402, 80 East 11th St.,
New York City, U. S. A.

Dear Jim:
Your letter 17th ultimo at hand. Was advised as to your projected tour as I saw the announcement in the “Labor Defender”. Your lectures should give a great impetus to the I. L. D., resulting in an influx of members and a better understanding of the aims and purposes of the organization. The I. L. D. is already a body of mighty strength, the membership do not realize its power.

The world wide demonstrations such as were developed in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, expressing as they did the sentiment of millions of workers, must not be allowed to vaporize or die of dry rot. It should be vitalized and solidified in the I. L. D., with a deeper fraternal feeling. Such heartfelt sentiment will culminate in action that will stay the bloody machinations of the courts. Such a pledge should have a thrill and a class conscious ring. It would have a psychological effect especially if subscribed to in public meetings. Nail it to your masthead!

Have a photo of the bust but it is marred, will try to get another to send you. *

I trust you have the original of my pamphlet, “Bloody Handed Uncle Sam”. It goes back to the early days of Massachusetts, a good forerunner of the last black deed committed in that State.

I am delighted with the splendid work that has been done in behalf of the Colorado striking miners.

Such high binders as the editor of “Industrial Solidarity” contributed to prevent the possibility of something big in the way of support.

The outcome of the Carrillo-Greeo frameup, is occasion for congratulations to I. L. D.

Remember me to friends, on your travels.

As ever,
Wm. D. Haywood

*This refers to a bust of Haywood made by a Russian sculptor.

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS IN CHICAGO WARMING THEMSELVES ON THE SUNNY SIDE OF CANAL STREET AT MADISON.

In the April issue, the photographs of the funeral of Alex Campbell, murdered fighting Pittston miner, illustrating an article, were taken by a member of the I.L.D., G. Poli—a “Labor Camera Man”. Below we present another taken by C. Nelson in the Chicago “Slave Market”.

All good pictures will be used. We will return the original if requested. Send us any you have on hand and send us others you will take this summer. Search out events of interest to workers and go there with your camera. Become the eyes of the Labor movement by becoming a “Labor Camera Man” of the Labor Defender.
New Bedford -- Key to National

The battle is on in the textile industry for union and a living wage. 27,000 New Bedford cotton mill workers are in the front line trenches, having hurled back employers' ultimatums for a 10 percent reduction in wages already averaging under $19 a week.

As textile workers from company union-ridden Manchester, N. H., to Charlotte, N. C., center of the darkest south's belt of mill hells, hear of New Bedford's brave defiance, they are taking heart. Before summer, banners of revolt may be raised in a national campaign to win back wages cut by savagely competing mill owners and to establish the textile workers right to unionize.

Whether New Bedford workers are to win their struggle against the Manufacturers Association depends largely on the support they receive from fellow workers in all sections of America. New Bedford workers are fighting barehanded, without the ammunition of food which is needed to sustain life. They are prepared to fight it out along these lines all summer, if the labor movement will see to it that their children do not starve.

Wage reductions will have been halted and workers enheartened to look to that city as the nucleus in organizing resistance throughout Massachusetts and Rhode Island and eventually throughout the entire east and south. From New Bedford victory may well result the turning of the tide which for seven years now has been running against the textile workers, beating down wages which never were adequate, lengthening hours to 8, 10, 11 and 12 a day, and snatching away hard won working conditions.

New Bedford is a logical center from which to build outward the resistance to mill owners' tyranny. It is the seat of the fine cotton goods industry. Here are manufactured the fancy novelty weaves, the better shirtings, the silk-and-cotton and rayon-and-cotton mixtures which are contesting with silk for supremacy in the fine goods markets. As yet New Bedford suffers little from southern competition;

Great issues for the American labor movement hang in the balance in this strike of men, women and children in the southeast corner of Massachusetts. Paramount is the issue of whether 1,000,000 textile workers are to build a strong, hard-hitting union, molded to fit their needs. If the New Bedford strike is won, the wave of...
other competition comes from neighboring Massachusetts and Rhode Island mills. In these nearby mills working conditions are not far different from New Bedford’s nor is it impossible to spread organization to them, if the New Bedford strike is won.

Of all the battlegrounds in the United States which textile workers might choose to fight out the initial battle to spread unionism, New Bedford is perhaps the most favorably located. Its mill owners can easily afford to pay the wages obtaining before the strike, because profits have been easy and dividends high. Mill owners have received $50,000,000 in profits in the past 10 years, and 1927 was the record year in cloth output. Certainly whatever may be said about the effects of southern competition and over-expansion in other divisions of the textile industry, New Bedford’s fine goods mills have not suffered and probably will not unless managers’ stupidity plunges them into well-earned ruin.

Only a small portion of New Bedford’s workers have been organized. These are the craft-conscious skilled men-weavers, loom fixers, mule spinners. Their position as the key workers in the industry is being destroyed slowly and surely by the advances in textile machinery and methods.

Textile mill committees are correcting malignant tendencies in the old textile unionism. They are raising aloft new principles and new tactics. They insist on organizing workers by mills, and not by crafts. They insist on breaking down barriers between skilled and unskilled, between native Americans, Lancashiremen, French-Canadians, Portuguese, Polish and Italians.

The textile mill committees have changed the face of the strike in a few weeks. Foreign language workers are being educated in the meaning of the strike and are being mobilized to fight aggressively and intelligently. The women are being organized to help the strike, to keep the relief supplies moving, are being taught the significance of this great struggle. Little children are marching on the picket lines with their fathers and mothers. Mass picketing has been started.

What would have been a dreary strike, protracted until a small minority made a dicker with the mill owners has been turned into a dramatic struggle which already has kindled hope in the hearts of textile workers throughout New England. Now there is assurance that out of this mass uprising against low wages and speed-up will spring new strength and new hope as textile workers elsewhere battle on to gain the right to organize.

Harvey O’Connor, of the Federated Press staff, has studied textile unions in the Soviet Union, Germany, France and England. Last summer he investigated working conditions in the cotton mills of North Carolina. He has written extensively for the labor press on the textile industry and its labor conditions.
The Miners Long Struggle Is a

I AM one of the 51 miners' wives arrested on Saturday, April 21 when we were tricked into the jail here in Lansing, Ohio.

We women took no part whatever in "rioting" tho the capitalist press classified us like we were murderers or wild cats. We only went to the jail to protest when some of our men were taken from the hall where we were told by the sheriff Clyde C. Hardesty, that we could organize a woman's auxiliary.

These men arrested the second time are the same ones who were arrested before and are out on bond. These men did not take part in anything during the time we had our meeting. They were arrested simply because they were in the hall.

Among these men we had a secret serviceman who reported every word that was said and everything that was to be done. This was not known at that time, but our eyes are now fixed on that suspicious man who is employed to spy and lie on us.

Because we did not know the laws of the state we were tricked into the jail and locked up for 72 hours.

In the Wheeling Sunday newspaper there appeared articles which said 51 women and five nursing babies were locked up. There were no babies in jail at that time until the prosecuting attorney read the papers. Later we were asked if we wanted our babies. They did not dare give us the papers until they had done something about the babies.

The little ones were brought to the jail after a special trip by the prosecuting attorney and let out the same time with the mothers. They had to sleep in one blanket with their mothers in the jail. Some of the floors were made of sheet iron. Four of the cots were without mattresses.

There were 5 cells with 29 women and five babies in one compartment (not apartment, beg pardon). Twenty women and two school girls were on the other side.

We were all married women, wives of striking miners, who were tricked with the prisoners into the jail.

After the 72 hours were up we were taken to the courtroom where we pleaded not guilty and were put under $2000 bonds. Two of the women, Mother Guyan, a gray-haired lady, and Mary Barbo, whose husband was one of the six men taken from the hall during the wholesale arrests Saturday, were let out on $500 bond.

I am going to give you a description of our county jail. There are five cells, each about six by nine.
Battle for Life

They are like cages. There is a corridor, about 60 feet long with cement floors and there is sheet iron on the floors of the cells.

When we came in Saturday, there were four buckets of garbage standing in back of the jail in the toilet room. And such filth, no sanitation whatever! We asked to have these buckets removed and were told that we would not be here very long. Remember that that was Saturday and that we were there until Tuesday afternoon!

Our company at night was bedbugs and cockroaches, something we don't have at home. We even had iron bars on the windows and the door was locked every time the jailer left us after he brought our meals. Some poor chance we had of escaping when even the steps are guarded, so why lock us up!

We women had never been in jail until we were tricked by the secret serviceman who even preached violence, but was not taken to jail when

PASSAIC PRISONERS RELEASED

FIVE of the six Passaic textile workers who have been confined at the state prison at Trenton, N. J., have been released on parole on May 10.

The men are: Joseph Bellene, Garfield; Tony Pochno, Passaic; Paul Oronak, Garfield; Alex Kostamacha, Athenia; and Wm. Sikora, East Patterson. They were sentenced in the Passaic textile strike.

The International Labor Defense who defended the strikers, conducted a campaign to effect their release. After serving 16 months, they have been let out on parole.

William Sikora, one of the prisoners, lost his finger while in prison, and Mrs. Paul Ozonak, the wife of Ozonak, died while her husband was still in prison.

During this period the national office of International Labor Defense has been sending $20 monthly to the families of the prisoners and $5.00 to the prisoners.

The Story of the Arrest of 51 Women Told

By a Miners' Wife

for existence and life. Under this capitalist system we cannot expect anything better, only the abolishment of wage slavery.

I am a poor wage slave's wife. Print this at the end of my letter. But do not print my name for I have many Lewis women living around me.
SOME OF THE 51 MINERS' WIVES IN PRISON—FIVE OF THEM WITH NURSING BABIES
A Talk with the Centralia

Over three hundred workers’ halls were raided by inspired mobs of “patriots” during the war and the year that followed it. When an armed mob attacked the Lumber workers hall in Centralia, Washington on Armistice day 1919, it met a group of workers who resisted and fought back. In the fight which ensued three of the raiders were killed, one of the lumber workers, Leslie Everest, was lynched and seven others were sentenced to terms of twenty-five to forty years in the State Penitentiary at Walla Walla, after a trial which was a legal lynching conducted in an atmosphere of terror and intimidation. The eighth man, Loren Roberts was adjudged insane without definite sentence although his sanity now is obvious.

I went to see them on my Western trip. I had been in correspondence with several of the men and they had invited me to come.

A visit with them is not soon to be forgotten. They belong to that wholesome Western breed of rebel outdoor workers— freedom-lovers and whole-hearted fighters; idealistic men who stake their heads on the things they believe in. Confinement bears heavily upon such men as they who are used to the forests and the open field.

Three of them have families waiting for them and dependent on them, with children growing up without the father’s steadying hand over them.

The Centralia prisoners have borne their martyrdom with a soldier spirit, but after nearly eight years in prison they are now beginning to put the question of a real effort to get them out in the most direct and pertinent manner.

“We are a part of the price paid for better conditions for the lumber workers,” said Eugene Barnett, a fine type of American rebel worker, whose life of poverty, hardship and struggle has been interestingly told in “The Autobiography of a Class War Prisoner”, which was published serially in the Labor Defender.

“We are here as an example to other workers. There is not a criminal amongst us. We are here in the cause of labor and we want a united movement of all the workers for our release. We do not see why all elements who are honestly devoted to the working class cannot unite on such an issue, even though they have differences on other questions. Those who take a different attitude do not represent our views or wishes”.

The others whom I talked to echoed these sentiments. They spoke—these men with nearly eight years of imprisonment behind them—with bitter indignation about the factional wrangling over their case, the paralysis it has brought about and the failure to organize a united movement in their behalf.

We talked of many things in a crowded, hurried way. Did you ever visit men in prison? It is like a meeting between people from different worlds. There is so much to say, so many questions to discuss, and it must all be done within a time limit. The guard is waiting and every minute you expect the notice “times up!”

Then the hurried words of parting, the hand clasps and the horrible clangor of iron doors slamming shut and the harsh, grating noise of the bars sliding back into the slots.

“We belong to the working class” said James McInerney, “and we want all the workers to know about our case and take part in the fight for us”. I was especially anxious to see McInerney, as I had heard much in praise of his character by those who know him. “When you see McInerney, you’ll see a man” a former prisoner of Walla Walla told me at Portland.

I suggested an attempt to get support from the trade unions and farmers in the State and also from some liberal and humanitarian elements, and they agreed with that. There is no secretarianism in their attitude.

“The thing that burns a man up in a place like this,” said McInerney, “is to see your own kind who are supposed to be closest to you, doing absolutely nothing for you and acting as though you were a bone to fight over.”

“Eight years of another man’s life in prison is a mere trifle for some people but for the man who serves the time it is a very important matter. These eight years have been the best eight years of our lives. It was
A GROUP OF CENTRALIA PRISONERS

Prisoners

An Interview

By James P. Cannon

our service to the cause of the workers that brought us here, not any selfish purpose, and we don’t want anybody to stand in the way of a united movement of the workers to get us out!".

I told them I had talked with Elmer Smith and at the mention of his name, the conversation switched around to him. He has first place in their hearts, and for good reasons.

The tireless work and selfless devotion of this Centralia lawyer in behalf of the eight lumber workers at Walla Walla is a big story in itself. He was a young lawyer in Centralia with bright “prospects”, but he had antagonized the monied interests by his friendship for the workers and his attempt to defend their legal rights. When the Armistice day tragedy occurred the Lumber interests set out to “get” him and he was indicted and brought to trial along with others.

Since the day of his acquittal, nearly eight years ago, he has worked and fought unceasingly for the release of the men who were convicted. He has made a National speaking tour on the case and he has carried the issue into the most remote rural corners of the State of Washington in long campaigns. Moreover he stuck it out in Centralia the scene of the fight, facing the ostracism, boycott and threats of the whole crowd oflynchers and framers, and finally winning over the great majority of the people of Centralia to the cause of the prisoners.

Serious illnesses and several operations have only been interludes between his strenuous campaigns and when I saw him at Centralia he was hard at it again, although still weak from a recent operation. He is working now on a petition of Centralia citizens for release of the men.

It is the work of Elmer Smith more than anything else which has kept the Centralia case alive. This has been especially true since the split in the I. W. W. when the Centralia case was dragged into the controversy and activities in their behalf were paralyzed to a large extent.

The prisoners were the football in that football game and their wishes for unity of action got scant consideration. The rank and file of the I. W. W. has always been loyal to the Centralia martyrs, but for many little office holders in both factions the case which Elmer Smith is connected. Its work is concentrated at present on securing a petition of Centralia people. This is good, but a broader and bigger fight must be organized.

"Nothing but a general strike will free the class war prisoners" is a remark one hears quite frequently. There is no doubt that a general strike is a powerful weapon, but in the period when the conditions for the strike are lacking this slogan can easily become a cloak for passivity and for neglect of those forms of protest action which are possible under the circumstances. It is the task of conscious workers to organize those small actions which are now possible—meetings, petitions, pamphlets, conferences, etc.—and to strive to develop them into higher forms of class action. Passivity in these forms of class action under present circumstances amounts to betrayal of the class war prisoners.

The "Labor Jury" selected by the trade unions of the state which sat at the trial voted "not guilty" unanimously. Seven of the jurors who convicted the men have since admitted they have appealed to the Governor to pardon them. Elmer Smith told me 85 per cent of the people of Centralia would sign the petition for pardon. A well organized campaign, uniting all forces, would gain tremendous support which could not be disposed of easily.

The prisoners themselves who are the final determining factor have said their word very decisively. Their open letter to the International Labor Defense which is being published in the press appeals clearly for a united movement in their behalf. It is the duty of all labor militants to see that this appeal has not been made in vain.
Beginning of the march to the White House, Washington, D. C. in a protest demonstration against American military invasion of Nicaragua, arranged by the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. In the demonstration 104 were arrested, 87 later fined $5.00 apiece. The defense of those involved was conducted by the International Labor Defense. In the picture above, front row left to right, Manuel Gomez, secretary of the League with offices at 39 Union Square, New York, Max Shachtman, editor of the "Labor Defender" and Sylvan A. Pollack of the "Daily Worker".
BUILDING THE I.L.D.

The New Campaigns On

The National Office is conducting a protest campaign on behalf of Bela Kun, Hungarian Communist, demanding his immediate release.

The Campaign Against Polish Fascism continues; the Polish Legalists in the United States has been forced through the agitation carried on by I.L.D. and the Committee Against Polish Fascism, to issue a lengthy statement to attempt to justify Pilсудski's bloody regime. Comrade David Bogen is continuing his tour for the Committee.

Detroit Polish Demonstration held on Saturday, April 28th. Consultate refused to see delegates and comrades picketed the consulate, Comrade Schminke spoke, resulting in Police interference and 40 comrades being locked up and released after a short stay in the Police station.

The tour of Comrade Max Shachtman with the illustrated lecture on the Chinese Revolution, or Revolution and Counter Revolution in China, is well under way and attracting large crowds.

Bishop Wm. M. Brown is contributing invaluable service to the cause of Labor Defense on a lecture tour thru Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania where enthusiastic crowds are receiving him. In Detroit on May 13, a rousing meeting was held for this courageous fighter.

The tour of James F. Cannon, National Secretary against the American Frame-Up System, concluded with large meetings in New York, Boston and Philadelphia where a provisional district I.L.D. Conference was also held. This national tour was highly successful and brought in hundreds of new members to the I.L.D. and thousands of subscribers to the Labor Defender.

Preparations are continuing for memorial mass meetings for Sacco and Vanzetti during the weeks of August 22nd.

The proposed campaigns for Tom Mooney and Warren Billings and for the Centralia I.W.W. prisoners, Miners Defense Campaign, are dealt with in detail in other columns.

I. L. D. literature in South Slav and Spanish

The South Slav Section of I.L.D. has issued an excellent six page folder describing the work of the I.L.D. and is distributing thousands of them among the Croatian workers. The South Slav section is also conducting a financial drive for the numerous I.L.D. campaigns and cases, among whom are many South Slav workers.

The Los Angeles, Calif. Local, Frank Spector, Secretary, and Detroit, Mich., Local, Wm. Reynolds, Secretary, have been especially active in support of the I.L.D. campaigns and the Labor Defender.

JOIN AND BUILD I. L. D.

At all meetings I.L.D. Locals are urged to stress the "Join the I. L. D." slogan. Through the numerous campaigns and tours, the best basis has been laid for an Organization Drive, and every opportunity must be taken to get workers to take out a members card and become active in the work of I.L.D.

Local New York, Rose Baron, Secretary, is making a drive for new members and enrollment of sympathetic organizations and is organizing open air meetings for the coming summer months. Street meetings can be held by I.L.D. Locals throughout the country.

Locals Boston, Robert Zelms, Secretary, and Local Philadelphia, John Lyman, Secretary, recently concluded their annual Bazaars.

PICNICS FOR DEFENSE

Picnics are being held to raise funds for defense and release of labor prisoners. Martins Ferry, Ohio Picnic, June 10 at Resbeck's Farm Picnic July at East Shore Picnic Grounds; New York Picnic July 22 at Hoesser's Park & Casino at Astoria, L. I.; Chicago Picnic Sunday, June 24 at Zahora's Grove, Lyons, Ill.

Labor Defender Circulation 18,000

With the May issue of the Labor Defender, the highest circulation to date was achieved. 18,000 copies were printed and all disposed of. The Business Manager, Walt Carmon, is preparing now for further increases especially at picnic and out door meetings and demonstrations.

A striking example of what can be done for the Labor Defender is the activity of two agents in the New York local of the I.L.D. Comrade T. Lemke of the German branch sells 220 copies of the Labor Defender monthly, while comrade David Popko of the Downtown branch disposes of 250 a month and for the May issue sold an additional 150 copies for a record individual sale of 400 copies. These splendid examples are especially inspiring and important when consideration of the figures will indicate that with only one hundred such agents the Labor Defender would have a circulation of 25,000—more than we have at present and all the activity of the Labor Defense would be stimulated as a result. More power to these loyal comrades, may they increase in number.

NEW Branches reported to the National Office as organized in past month are: Andover, Vermont (English), 9 members; Ashtabula, Ohio (English): Alliance. Ohio: Lith. Work. Women's Alliance, So. Boston, Mass. (affiliated); Flint, Mich. (Polish); Grand Rapids, Mich. (Lith. Br.), 15 members; Salt Lake City, Utah (English); Staten Island, N. Y. (Italian); Los Angeles, Calif. (Italian), 35 members; Russian Br., Brooklyn, 20 members; Scandinavian workers Club, New York.

Comrade George Maurer, Secretary of Local Chicago for many years has been compelled to resign on account of serious illness. Comrade Joe Giganti has replaced him. Comrade Maurer has been one the leading and active members of I.L.D. from its inception. He has served on the National Executive Committee, Business Manager of the Labor Defender, as well as Local Secretary.
C. Alward Tobey, secretary of the thriving Oakland, Calif. local and James McCrary, Labor Defender agent. It is due mainly to the efforts of these two live spirits that the Oakland local has been able to hold such rousing meetings, secure so many new members and establish an enviable record for the Labor Defender of 76 regular subscribers in addition to a distribution of 1,670 copies of the May issue in Oakland. This is the home city of Claude Merritt, labor prisoner at San Quentin whom the Oakland members of the I.L.D. visit often.
Comrade George Maurer, Secretary of Local Chicago for many years has been compelled to resign on account of serious illness. Comrade Joe Giganti has replaced him. Comrade Maurer has been one of the leading and active members of I.L.D. from its inception. He has served on the National Executive Committee, Business Manager of the Labor Defender, as well as Local Secretary.
ZIEGLER FRAME-UP VICTIM

Menard (Ill.) Prison

Dear Comrades:

Will drop a line acknowledging receipt of $5.00. Was sure glad to hear from you again. I am very much interested in the I.L.D. book proposition for prisoners. I would like very much to get Eugene Sue's, "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages". If at all possible send me a catalogue or list of books available and the Publisher's name or what ever is necessary for me to get in touch with the proper parties to get the books. It is very hard to get reading material here outside of love stories and the like that they have in the Prison Library. I get the St. Louis Post Dispatch and the Coal Digger and Labor Defender. If a list is not available send me some books at your own selection. I think you can hit the spot very well.

I sure would like to have been in Pittsburgh in that conference.

The time is here now with the Illinois operators refusing to recognize the union when action must take the place of talking.

My brother Frank was down last week and from what he tells me things are beginning to shape themselves up some in Southern Illinois. The most reactionary local union in the State elected delegates to Pittsburg. Orient No. 2 in the face of Fishwick threatening to expell all that have taken part in it. Gee, I have to be cramped up here when there is so much to be done and so few that will take the lead.

Well, give my best regards to all and tell them to drop me a line once in a while. It helps.

Yours for a bigger and better movement,

HENRY CORBISHLEY
No. 8168

A CENTRALIA PRISONER

Walla Walla, Wash.

Dear Fellow Workers:

I received the five dollars relief for the month of March and I wish to thank all the fellow workers and friends for their kind and generous efforts in this world of struggle.

Some day, the workers as a whole will get next to this dog-eat-dog system and that will be the last of prisons, wars, oil-grafters, stomach bandits and other degrading pillars which it takes to uphold this present civilization, called Capitalism.

All workers who have a vision of the future society should work day and night to put this murderous system in the clear.

If it would not be asking too much of our good friends and fellow workers, I wish that you would try and get me on the list of some labor daily paper. One that has lots of labor news and is "red" on both sides and the middle.

I don't get any daily labor paper since the Union Record went haywire and you know what that means to a fellow in my position.

CELL BLOCK AT LEAVENWORTH, WHERE MANY CLASS WAR PRISONERS SPENT YEARS OF THEIR LIVES IN STEEL CAGES.

The only papers I receive are the Wobbly papers, Labor Defender and Communist magazine.

I received the eight books today that you sent me and I will look them over right away. It is very nice of those workers who are doing all this good work for us class war prisoners. Be sure and give them my very best regards at the first opportunity.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

J. Mcinerney
No. 9410

Thomaston, Me.

Dear Comrades:

I want to thank you for your letter of March 27, with inclosed check for five dollars.

I am enjoying the best of health and trust you are likewise. The I.L.D. and all Comrades have done good work for all Class Was prisoners, and I certainly hope that all their efforts in the future will meet with success.

Fraternally yours,

TOM HARTY.

FRAMED-UP R. R. WORKER

San Quentin, Calif.

Dear Friends:

I received the I.L.D. check for $5.00 for which I thank you. It comes in mighty handy, I assure you.

After the State Conference, the delegates from Los Angeles visited as many as it was possible. From sizing them up, it is quite apparent that the I.L.D. movement in Los Angeles is well supported. It was surprising to learn that the biggest wosser town in America has a growing organization for the workers.

Just the other day, five I.L.D. members from Los Angeles were passing through this part of the state on their way to Petaluma, so they also visited us. The comrade who visited me, told me of their co-operative movement, which interested me more than anything I have heard in a long time. That angle should be stressed, because there is nothing so convincing to Homo Sapiens as a working demonstration of the workers ability to run their own industries. Throughout our conversation, time and time again, a tale came to me which I read ten or twelve years ago, but I had let it slip my mind: "Pelle, the Conqueror" by Alexander Nexo. If you should know of a copy which is no longer wanted, I shall be grateful for the gift, as I desire to read it again. Or if you know of a good story based on co-operation, it will also be appreciated.

The address of the comrade, who made a contribution to the book fund, which you sent me, soon shall be made use of, as at the first opportunity, I intend to write her a letter of acknowledgement and thanks.

With the best of wishes for the movement, I am Yours fraternally,

CLAUDE MERRITT
Box 38336
San Quentin Prison

Dear Friends:

Your checks have been coming each month. I can only say, "thank you". I won't promise to pray for you, but I will promise not to prey on you. The two seem to go hand in hand as usual things.

Jim Cannon was over to visit us while he was out here. It is refreshing to meet a man who knows that 2 and 2 equal 4, and is not afraid to say so right out in the meeting house. Jim is so decent and intelligent that I am afraid, he must be "Unamerican".

Sincerely,

M. A. SCHMIDT
No. 30704.
CELL BLOCK AT LEAVENWORTH, WHERE MANY CLASS WAR PRISONERS SPENT YEARS OF THEIR LIVES IN STEEL CAGES.
A Statement on the Colorado Strike Contributions

DURING recent weeks while I was absent from the office on my speaking tour, the press of the I.W.W. has made a number of attacks on the I.L.D. The general character of these notices has been that of veiled insinuations against our organization, but they have contained also direct misstatements of fact. For that reason a few words of explanation and clarification should be made in order that our members and friends will know how matters stand. It is well known that in the past we have taken very little time away from our constructive work to answer slanderers. The officials of the I.W.W. have evidently been presuming on this practice of ours to attack the I.L.D. and the cause it represents.

Since the I.L.D. was first organized on June 28, 1925, our records show that we have contributed for the defense and relief of I.W.W. prisoners and their families more than $10,000. We keep these attacks and slanders the I.W.W. officials’ way of acknowledging the receipt of our contributions. There has been no other public acknowledgement.

The specific charge made against us is that the I.L.D. promised to finance half the expense of the defense cases in the Colorado strike and then failed to do so, sending only $800.00; whereas, it is claimed, the total defense expense was in excess of $9000.00. Such a charge has naturally called forth inquiries for the facts in the case, as the reputation of the I.L.D. for scrupulously carrying out all its agreements and obligations in letter and spirit is as much a part of our organization as its official magazine, or its practice of sending monthly checks to the class war prisoners, or its undeviating allegiance to the principle of the class struggle in all of its activities.

The reply to the false charges of the I.W.W. falls into two parts:

1. In the first place the I.L.D. never made any such agreement as the I.W.W. statements represent. All of our connection with them in regard to the Colorado strike was handled by correspondence and they cannot produce a single document, letter or telegram to substantiate their claim. There was no such agreement and could not be for several reasons.

We did definitely promise and agree to pay one half of an estimated legal expense of $600.00 for the month of December in response to a telegram from Tom Connors making that proposal. We kept that agreement promptly and went far beyond it without any obligation or agreement. We repeatedly suggested to them that some plans and agreements be made for a joint campaign, but our suggestions brought no response and the I.L.D. consequently conducted no campaign for funds for this issue. Practically all of the contributions received by the National Office for the Colorado strike defense came from our own local organizations and members without solicitation, and the contributions received for this purpose were less than the total amount sent by us to the I.W.W.

The I.W.W. officials never furnished us with a budget of estimated expenses although we asked for it, and, in harmony with our past experience with them, they never gave us any accounting of how money was spent. It was only afterward, near the end of the strike, that we were asked to pay the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., four or five thousand dollars without troubling ourselves about “details”.

The claim that we made such an absurd agreement and then violated it is not only a reflection on our integrity, but on our intelligence and responsibility as well. How could the I.L.D. bind itself to pay indefinite large amounts of money without some regulation of its expenditure and some concrete plans for raising the money? An executive committee which would handle funds in such a manner, would deserve no confidence whatever and certainly would not have the intelligence and responsibility necessary to conduct such an organization as the I.L.D., which is enabled to carry out its manifold activities and obligations only by the most careful financial management.

2. In the second place the I.W.W. statements fall into a “slight” error in regard to the funds actually contributed to the Colorado strike by the I.L.D. The amount sent directly from the National Office was not $800.00 as they say but $1050.00. This is known to the authors of the statements as we hold their receipts and our cancelled checks for this total amount in items of $250, $300 and $500. The total amount received by the National Office for the Colorado strike defense was $768.82.

In addition to that our local organizations contributed thousands of dollars directly and indirectly and were in many cases the driving force in organizing local conferences which supplied funds for the strike. And when the I.W.W. officials acknowledge the receipt of this help in the strike and show their appreciation of the sacrificial work of the members of the I.L.D. only by a shower of slander-mud, we ask our members and friends not to allow their indignation at such incredible venality and double-dealing to blur the fact that our work and our contributions were not a relation between us and the officials of the I.W.W. They were acts of solidarity with the Colorado miners.

In the future also we will always do our part for solidarity and our work will be all the more efficient and effective and the I.L.D. will be a better instrument of the workers in their struggle, if we establish a better regulation and closer direct supervision over the distribution of the funds we contribute. Slander and the manufacture of “money scandals” in the labor movement are always the weapons of weak people and those who have no principal ground to stand on. It is the means whereby they try to muddy the waters and avoid an accounting of their responsibility in principal questions involving the fundamental interests of the working class. This phenomena is not new and is known to all experienced workers in the labor movement.

We witnessed it last year in the Sacco-Vanzetti case when the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee resorted to this despicable method in order to cover up their criminal sabotage of the workers protest movement and their philistine faith in “justice” from the Massachusetts courts and Governor.

It is no accident that the officers of the I.W.W., the little men who are wearing Haywood’s shoes, pick up this dirty stick just at the moment when the validity of their tactics in the Colorado strike is called into question. The first duty of genuine leaders of the workers after every labor struggle is to provide for a sober and objective inquiry and criticism in order that the right conclusions may be drawn and errors avoided for the future. If the leaders of the I.W.W. fail to do this, if instead they sow demoralization and create the personal bitterness and hostility which prevent objective thought and discussion, it is only because they have no confidence in their position or in their ability to defend their methods and conduct. This is the real underlying reason for their manufactured indignation and groundless attacks against the I.L.D.

For the immediate future we must remind our members and friends that there are no men in jail in Colorado now and there are no serious cases pending, while hundreds of miners are being arrested every week in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, and many indictments involving prison terms, have already been returned against the most prominent fighters. The members of the I.L.D. are duty bound to direct their attention to this great battlefield of the class war and to concentrate their work and funds upon it. The fact that the officials of the A.F. of L. on the one hand and the officials of the I.W.W. on the other are in no way interested in the defense of these heroic miners, and even try to sabotage and obstruct the work we do for them, only puts upon the I.L.D. and its wide and growing circle of sympathetic supporters the duty to devote themselves with greater energy than before to the constructive work of solidarity which has built the I.L.D. in the past and which will build it stronger in the future.

JAMES P. CANNON, Sec'y
International Labor Defense.
Contributors to the Pledge Fund of the I. L. D.

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<td>English branch.</td>
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<td>Local Fresno: Reuben branch.</td>
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<td>Local Los Angeles, Lithuanian branch.</td>
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<td>Women's Circle Club.</td>
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