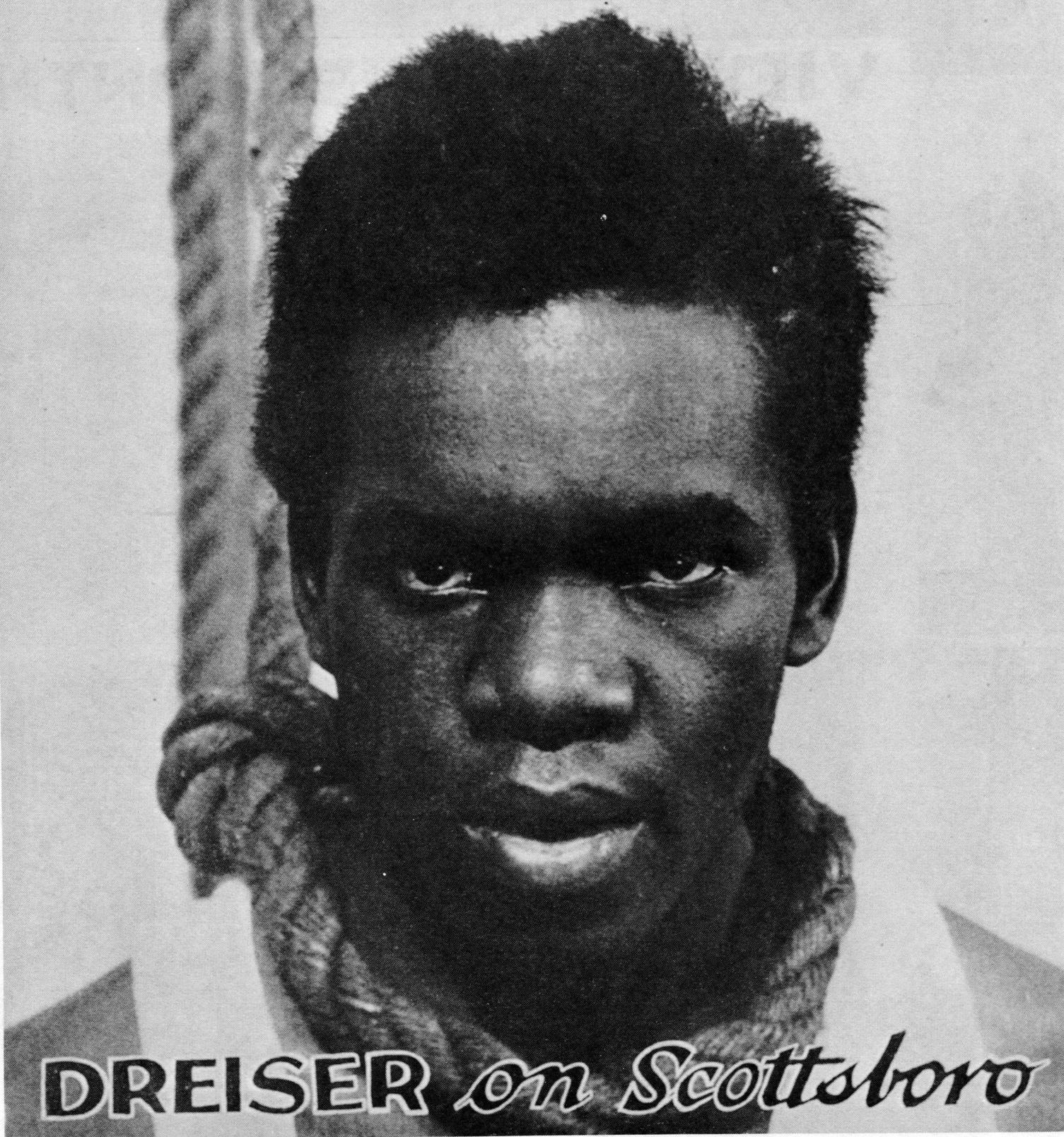


# LABOR DEFENDER

JUNE 1931

10 CENTS



**DREISER** *on Scottsboro*



Upper Left: Negro and white—May Day—New York. They demand freedom for the nine Scottsboro Negro boys.

Upper Right: Miners of Harlan, Ky. They fought for bread. 18 miners killed. 29 charged with murder.

# VIEWS OF THE MONTH

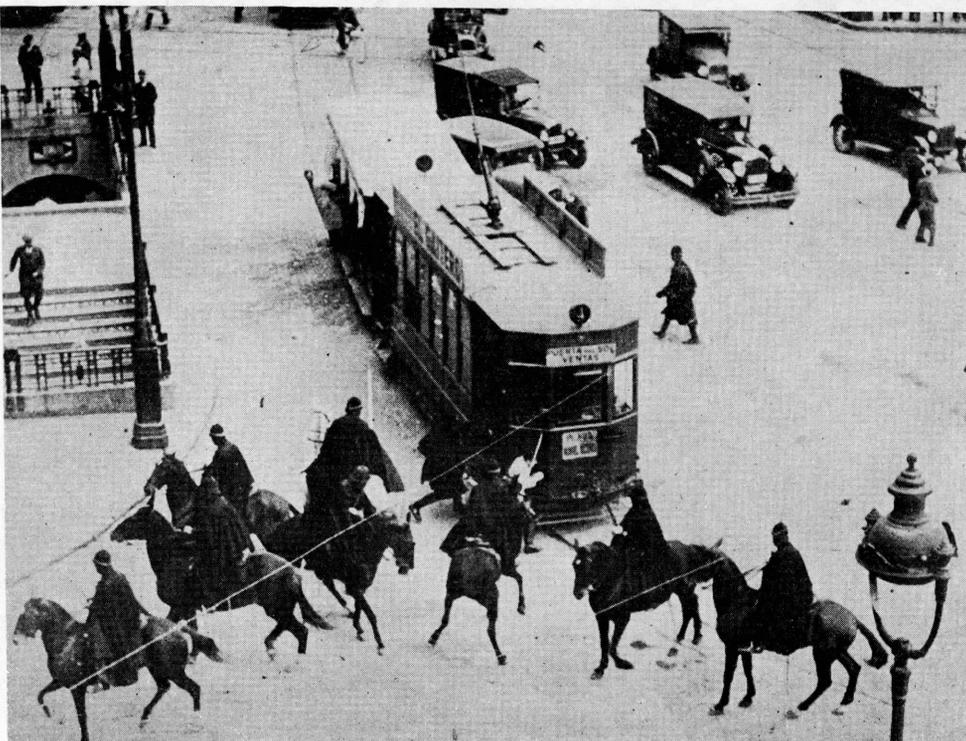
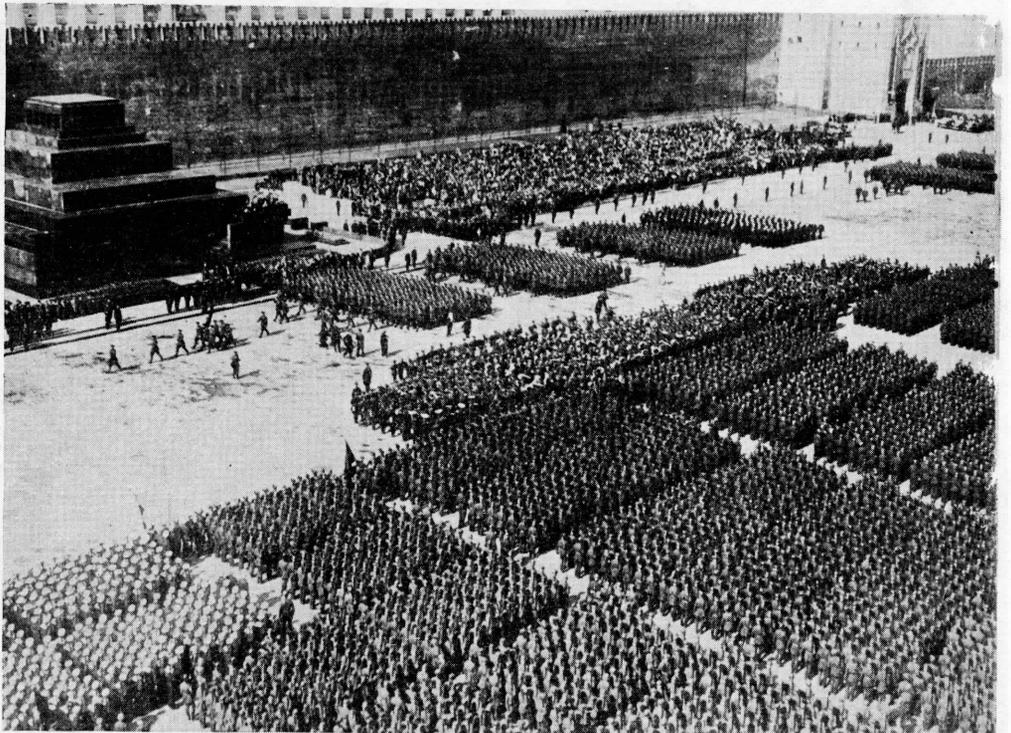


Center Left: Believe it or not—it's Gandhi. He will look like this to be presented to the King of England this month to sell out India.

Center Right: Before Lenin's tomb May Day. When the bosses attack, the Red Army will be ready.

Lower Left: When Spain's workers burned property of the Church which has been gypping them for several thousand years. Mounted cops riding down a worker.

Lower Right: Children of Berlin workers march on May Day. National Youth Day is being observed by American workers—their slogan: "Not a Cent for Imperialist War. All Funds for the Unemployed."



# LABOR DEFENDER

Official Organ

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

80 East 11th Street, N. Y. C.

JUNE

1931

## 42 YEARS?

By JOSEPH PASS

A YEAR ago this month eight militant workers were convicted and sentenced to what is practically life terms to the prisons in San Quentin and Folsom in the state of California. "Up to 28 and 42 years" said the judge in a black robe, and he went home to his wife and children and afternoon tea, and the eight leaders of the agricultural workers were taken to their prison cells. For one year now these workers have been in California bastilles slaving in the prison mills and factories of that orange state while the rulers of America bask in the sun.

They were imprisoned a year ago this month! Eight working class leaders, representative of a large mass of the fighting advance guard. Here are the eight. Eduardo Herera, Carl Sklar, Lawrence Emery, Braulio Orosco, Oscar Erickson, Tetsuyi Horiuchi, Danny Roxas and Frank Spector. American, Filipino, Mexican, Japanese. These nationalities are the bitterly exploited ones in the lettuce and canteloupe fields of the Imperial Valley. And these leaders now in prison for attempting to organize agricultural workers came out of the ranks, and know the bitter hot days that the miserably exploited men, women and children spend in the fields working for a pittance.

Under a hot sun reaching the degree of 120, their bent backs turned to this blazing sun, these workers slave. Their "homes" are hovels with no pretense to any sanitation. For years the owners in the Imperial Valley have practised a policy of "divide and rule." They have consciously and deliberately set out on a policy of setting one race against the other.

The Agricultural Workers Industrial League, after a thorough propaganda campaign had been conducted in the Valley with thousands of workers attending open air and hall meetings, called a conference

for April 14, in El Centro, the largest city in the Imperial Valley, where strike preparations were to be discussed.

El Centro on that day took on the appearance of an armed camp. All working class places were closed by the police, pool rooms and halls were shut tight. Warehouses and stores were guarded heavily and the usual "plot" stories were front-paged in all the newspapers. That night while 108 workers were in conference



OSCAR ERICKSON, An Imperial Valley prisoner. Will you let him serve 42 years? Free him!

the police swooped down on the hall, chained the men together and herded them into trucks.

The ranch owners were determined to break the first effective union organization in the Imperial Valley. The eight militants were given sentences of 3 to 42 and 2 to 28 years. All the famous stool pigeons of that region including the great frame-up master, Lieutenant Hynes, of the Los Angeles police, as well as Chormicle,



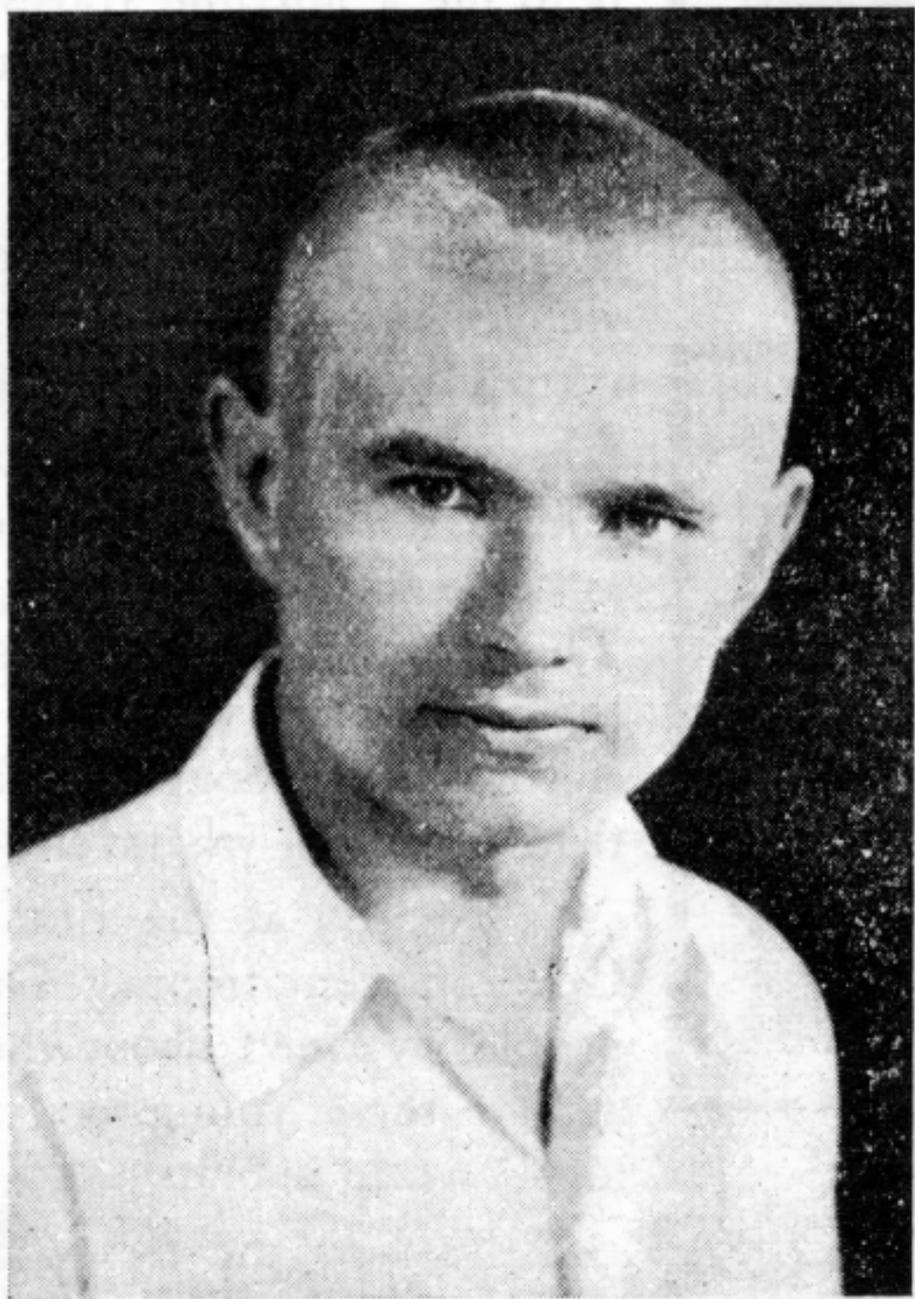
Barker and Cullum, undercover men, appeared as witnesses. The eight working class leaders were sent to prison, and are now in with Mooney, Billings, McNamara and the many other class war prisoners of California.

A reign of terror has been set loose in the U. S. A., and the state which stands to the forefront in the persecution of workers is California. There the criminal syndicalist act is being used to the utmost in suppressing any and all working class activities.

In the *Review of the International Juridical Association*, published in Germany, Dr. Fritz Lowenthal, an outstanding authority on international law, writes on the criminal syndicalist laws in the U. S. A., "With the aid of this wide interpretation of the law, the profiteers of the ruling system are enabled to wage an actual war of extermination against the revolutionary workers, and are above all, in a position to put a stop to the legal activities of their organizations."

These eight workers have been in prison now for one year. Will they remain there much longer? If the ranch owners have their way they will serve their full terms of 28 and 42 years. The International Labor Defense is now conducting an Amnesty campaign for the release of all class war prisoners and the repeal of the syndicalist and sedition laws rampant in thirty-five states.

This campaign is a mass campaign. The workers after fifty years of struggle have come to realize that the only way to stop the bosses' terror is through militant mass protests. From the days of the Molly Maguires to the Scottsboro frame-up spans a half century of bitter struggle. Free the Imperial Valley workers by supporting the Amnesty Campaign of the International Labor Defense!!!



*OSCAR ERICKSON, An Imperial Valley prisoner. Will you let him serve 42 years? Free him!*

# Lynching Negro

## Dreiser on Scottsboro

THE NEGRO as well as the white, before the law, should be treated with understanding, and liberality. Through no fault of their own, a century or two ago, some of them were drafted as slaves by the white powers and yet that, instead of evoking sympathy, has produced belittlement and hatred. Because Negroes are not, at present, a dominating race, some unthinking members of the white race manifest prejudices toward them and their conduct. And, finally, the prejudice-makers have grown to include even the more intelligent leaders who do not stop to analyze the standards and ideas under which they, themselves, were brought up. Hence, not only laws unduly severe concerning the human relations of Negroes have been made, but these laws in the eyes of the unified Southern population have become so near perfection, itself, that the people almost justify mob-rule to enforce them.

In the present case, two ignorant white girls, prostitutes, so it is said, and dressed in overalls, hopped a freight gondola for their home town. A crowd of white boys were in the car, and they all laughed and joked with the girls who were said to be prostitutes. Nineteen Negroes—these did not include the 9 arrested—came along. (Evidence of number of Negroes questioned, but well supported). The Negroes and white boys got in a fight, and all whites and all but the nine Negroes fell or were thrown off. The white boys, saying that Negroes were on the train with white girls, wired authorities to stop the train.

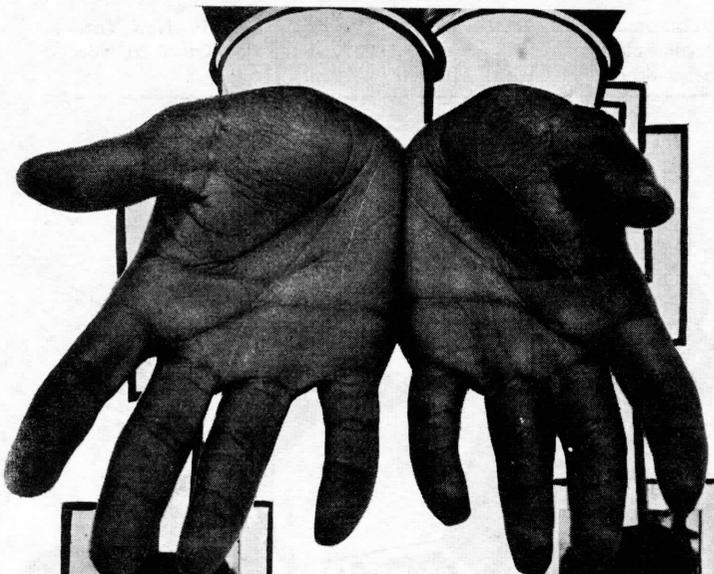
*Anyone who understands the psychology of the Southern people, realizes that the news of Negroes alone with white girls is enough to make rape a fact!* The train was stopped and two groups of armed deputies captured the nine Negro boys and the two girls. The boys were widely separated on three different parts of the train. The women denied that the Negroes had committed rape. This crime in Alabama means electrocution. That in itself is to me a horrible travesty on natural human conduct. And these girls, upon capture, presented no signs of assault and violence. Until they were taken to Scottsboro, which was excited with the reported rape and to sheriffs insisting rape had been committed, the girls remained quiet and made no charges. Finally, they were forced to. Doctors' examinations showed no bruises or evidence of viciousness.

A conviction in this case was rushed through in 3 days, and all eight boys (the ninth boy's case a mistrial) were sentenced to die in the electric chair. The state's defense of these chaps, being hurried, was not handled as carefully as more time would have permitted. The other boys as witnesses were lacking. The evidence of two girls really convicted them. Evidence of the character of these two girls, who were alleged to be prostitutes, was not allowed at the trial. According to Southern law, apparently, the boys were much more to blame than the girls, whatever the provocation.

Finally, at the time of the trial, feeling reached such tenseness that the Governor sent troops. On the day of it, the hysteria was so great that 10,000 people swarmed about the courthouse. When the death sentence was entered against these youngsters, the crowd, hooting and yelling, celebrated the "victory" while a brass band played.

Now to me the whole Southern attitude toward the Negro has become a national ill. It is unreasoning and immensely unfair. They should begin to consider the case of the Negro from the day of his enforced entry into this country—the feeling evoked against him by the Civil War. Yet his is a valuable race with as I see it a great future. At this moment, though, the Southern papers are insisting that this particularly dubious case is one for mob-rule. Yet such violence as surrounded this entire trial is in violation of the 14th Amendment, guaranteeing due process of law. A motion has now been made for retrial. For one thing, one of the Negroes convicted is, according to medical testimony, incapable of sexual intercourse. If this motion is denied, then an appeal can be made to the Federal Court—a proper appeal. Personally, I feel strongly that by transferring the case to escape the violence of Southern feeling, a more clear-headed view of the data may be presented. These eight boys must at least have a just trial even though they are oppressed by a law unduly severe and emotionally enforced at this time in Alabama. Study the Negroes' past in America first, and then judge.

—THEODORE DREISER.



Heywood  
Patterson  
17

Clarence  
Norris  
17

Eugene  
Williams  
14

Ozie  
Powell  
14

Andy  
Wright  
19

Roy  
Wright  
14

Olen  
Montgomery  
17

Willie  
Robertson  
17

Ted  
Weems  
20

# Children in Southern Courts

## An Open Letter to the Governor of Alabama

*The following is from the open letter sent to the Alabama governor by the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners of which Dreiser is chairman and Lincoln Steffens, treasurer.*

HONORABLE B. M. MILLER, *Governor*  
State of Alabama,  
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Sir:

As Americans whose daily work puts us in contact with public events, we wish to register our protest in regard to the recent event at Scottsboro, Ala.

It is doubtless already known to you that nine Negro boys, two of them children of fourteen and all of them minors, were recently prosecuted on charges of a criminal assault said to have been committed against two women riding a freight train in Jackson County. Eight of the boys are now under a sentence of death, to be executed on July 10th.

Your own children, Governor Miller,

or the minor sons of any influential white family of Alabama, would not be submitted to this kind of "justice" in an Alabama court, and no state of this union has a right to speak of justice as long as the most friendless Negro child, accused of a crime, receives less than the best defense that would be given its wealthiest white citizen.

We join our voices to those who protest against the outrageous course of events in this Scottsboro case. We unhesitatingly support the growing movement among thoughtful citizens in defense of these boys, the effort to win a new trial and the release of the boys which has been undertaken by the International Labor Defense organization. Our sense of duty brings us to give our full endorsement to the call of that organization for a united front of all who are willing to join in a movement to save the lives and liberty of these victims of the most outrageous travesty of the present decade—a lynching concealed in the forms of law.

This letter is signed by

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE  
DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

THEODORE DREISER, *Chairman.*  
LINCOLN STEFFENS, *Treasurer.*  
SYLVIA FENINGSTON, *Secretary.*

Prof. Franz Boaz	Suzanne LaFollette
Lester Cohen	Melvin P. Levy
Malcolm Cowley	Pierre Loving
Edwin Dahlberg	Louis Lozowick
Adolph Dehn	George Maurer
Floyd Dell	Dr. H. Neumann
John Dos Passos	Samuel Ornitz
Waldo Frank	Joseph Pass
Hugo Gellert	Burton Rascoe
Lydia Gibson	Lola Ridge
Murray Godwin	Edwin Seaver
C. Hartley Grattan	Ruth Stout
Horace Gregory	Webb Waldron
Julius Heiman	Ella Winter
Josephine Herbst	Walter Wilson
Grace Hutchins	Carl Ziggrosser
Leon Kahn	Marguerite Zorach
Yareth Kahn	William Zorach

## Behind the Stage at Scottsboro

And so these working-class boys face death on July 10. What is going on in the South? That can bring forth such a monstrous crime as Scottsboro?

Well, it's this. The industry and the agriculture of the South is built upon the backs of an entire nation—of nine millions of Negroes—held in most brutal chains. In the Black Belt of the South where the black man outnumbers the white, the Negroes are treated as bad and worse than the slaves before the Civil War. Held in debt slavery upon the land, they are driven into the lowest slums in the towns and cities. They are treated like dogs and driven like mules to pile up the riches for the big landlords and money kings.

This entire nation of Negroes in the South without right to vote or speak for itself is the source of the bosses getting super-profits. The Negroes are forced to live on starvation conditions—and receive the very lowest pay. Their miserably low conditions are then used by the bosses as a club against the white worker. And thus the ruling class is able to cut the wages of all workers by using one race against the other.

But how keep the Negro nation in such chains? That's the problem of the Southern white ruling-class. Lynch terror is the weapon that does the trick. The cry "Rape!" has been raised hundreds of times below the Mason and Dixon line as a means

of cowing many Negro workers and poor farmers who rebelled. It is a means of keeping them quiet when the bossmen cherish their enormous profits from them.

*From the I. L. D. pamphlet "Lynching Children in Southern Courts," by Joe North.*



MARCHING IN HARLEM.—White and Negro. Note the cop's expression.

# Where Nine Boys Await Death

*This is the only interview printed of the nine Scottsboro boys in the death cell—awaiting the execution day—July 10. A united front of millions of workers—white and black—and all individuals against lynch law—must provide the power with which to make effective the legal defense. These boys are innocent! Free Them!*

**A**T Kilby prison the warden and deputy warden, first making sure we were unarmed, let us through the two outer iron doors, through the long corridor of the cell blocks and finally to the wing where prisoners condemned to death are kept.



*THE BOSSES FORCE NEGROES to live on streets like this. In Birmingham, Ala.—the type of street the 9 Scottsboro boys were raised on. Note here is no paving, no sewage system. The ruling class calls this "Nigger street!"*

Twelve steps up and you reach a solid steel door, it slides open and you find yourself in a steel and concrete hall about 15 feet wide and 25 feet long, 20 feet high. The steel door closes behind you and then silence, you are in the death cell block.

The rear facing the steel door is solid stone. The death cells open on the side of the room, six cells on each side, thick iron bars with ¼-inch steel mesh. You are conscious of moving shadows behind the mesh, there are the condemned men.

Seventeen of them are in the death block, three of them had been scheduled to go "down" the night of arrival. Kilby Prison is where electrocutions are carried out. Their "burning" had been stayed for two weeks. Evidently our fight is having

effect, otherwise why the hurried stay?

Then we saw the Scottsboro boys, two in a cell, four cells to house them, all on right side of cell block.

"We are innocent and we have been railroaded but we are not afraid. Give us a new trial and we will prove our innocence."

In the silent steel and concrete wall the voice gets big and loud. It fills the room.

I told them of our I.L.D. fighting for their release, of the protests of workers

"We're all with the I.L.D." cried the boys—"we'll stick with you to the finish," "me too, me too," came from their fellow defendants in the other cells. They had listened to every word.

The parents filed into the death block and a more pathetic scene I have never witnessed. "Mah poh pickaninny," sobbed one "what they done to hurt you." The boys gulped back their tears. The parents tried to smile. "Don't forget, we're with the I.L.D. and the I.L.D. is with us," they told their sons.

"The I.L.D. brought us down from our home far away in Atlanta down here to see you."

"Have nothing to do with Walter White and the N.A.A.C.P. crowd," they instructed them. "The I.L.D. welcomes the aid of all and if the members of the N.A.A.C.P. want to help let them do so, they will be welcome. We realize that only by spreading the demand for your release north, south, east, west, among white, black, all colors can you be saved"—that was the purport of their talk and before they really started it was all over. "All out," cried the warden. Seventy hours each way they travelled for seven minutes talk with their boys, at 3:01 p. m. and the last one was out at 3:08 p. m.

They thank the I.L.D., do these parents. They thank all who are helping in the fight. They are with the I.L.D. to the end, that is their final message as we shook hands outside the jail and said goodbye.

And so I took my last look at the jail with the thirty foot high concrete wall surrounding it topped by live electric wire running between the corner turrets where armed guards watch day and night.



*NEGRO CHILDREN IN BIRMINGHAM who joined the Young Pioneers. Children like these make up the Scottsboro boys doomed to death.*

# SLAVERY-1931 STYLE



By HARRISON GEORGE

THE Negro farmers are located almost wholly in the South, in the "Black Belt." But in their greater number are only mistakenly called "farmers." In reality they are either quite clearly wage workers (proletarians) or semi-proletarians called "share croppers."

Of the wage workers, one may say that the Negro farm "hand" of the South is treated even worse than a slave. Farm wage workers in general as Marx once said, receive wages which represent "the very minimum upon which one can exist." Particularly in the South their conditions are not better than the cattle.

Throughout the South, and especially in the Black Belt, the old plantations have merely changed the form of slavery. As Lenin truly stated: "American capitalism wiped out slavery fifty years ago, only to re-establish it again in the form of share-cropping."

The share cropper (Negro or white, and there are hundreds of thousands of each) comes to the "farmer" as does the wage worker to his boss, empty-handed, as a rule. He owns nothing of the means of production.

Aside from a small patch of corn, and not always that, the cropper is forbidden to raise garden, poultry or other stock. Thus the profits of the farmer and store keeper is raised (the farmer sometimes hands over the supplies directly and always watches lest the cropper over eat his credit), and semi-starvation lays the basis for the dreaded pellagra.

More, what the cropper raises must be turned over to the farmer landlord, who—to pay off the store debt—sells it at once regardless of price, and after paying the cropper's debts gives him what is left.

And in a great percentage of cases the cropper is told he has nothing coming or is even in debt "this year," so is bound to the landlord for another year.

Protest, for the Negro farm hand or cropper is perilous. It means to invite insults, beatings and lynchings. The woman of the Negro cropper are openly raped by the white landlord and protest means death. "The niggers must be taught their place!"

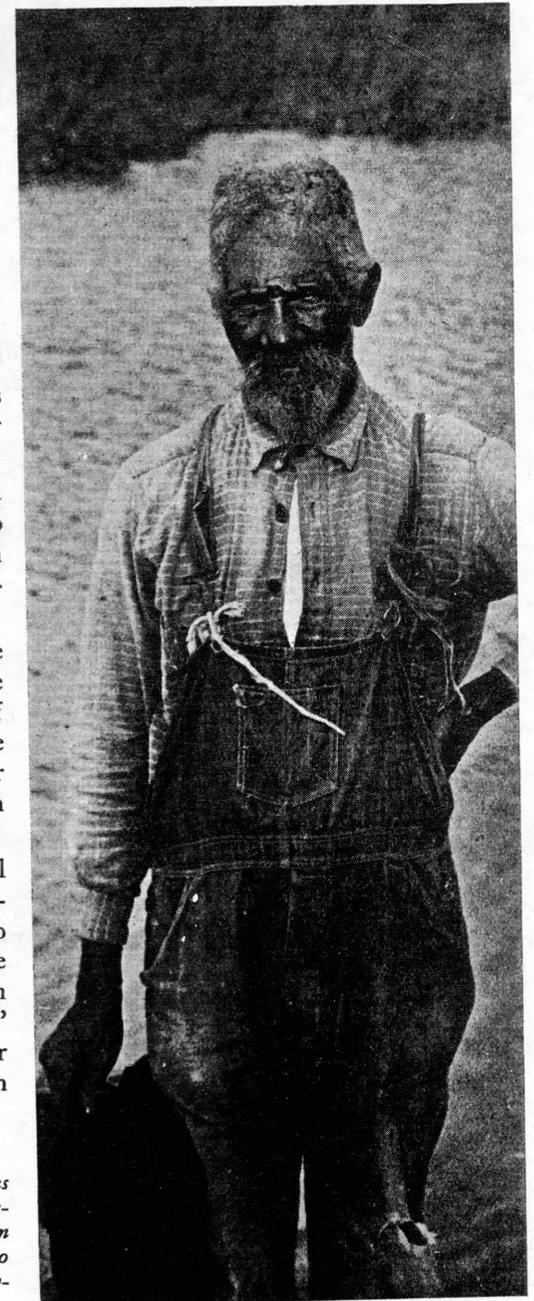
The white croppers suffer equally bad conditions, but the landlords craftily keep them isolated on one side of the plantation and taught liberal doses of "white superiority."

The banner of struggle is raised in the Black Belt, where the majority of the population are Negroes, for the right of self-determination, for the right of the Negro as an oppressed nation to have their own government and decide their own destiny.

And the white croppers and tenants will come to support this demand because without it the landlord class will continue to rob and starve and oppress both. For the slogan raised by both is here the slogan of: "The land to those who toil upon it." Only by confiscation of the land can either white or Negro cropper be freed from their present slavery.

\* \* \*

WES THOMAS, 87, OF LOUISIANA: He was a slave before the Civil War. Now he is a share-cropper—a 1931 slave. There are a million more in the South like him. Above: A Negro woman sweating from dawn to dusk—and starving at that. Near Scottsboro, Ala.



# —And More Victories for Workers to Win



*YETTA STROMBERG, sentenced to 10 years under the California "red flag" law, was freed last week when mass pressure grew too strong for the bosses to go through with their plans. The charges against the other four women workers arrested with her were also dismissed when the united protests of workers mounted.*

By JOSEPH GAAL

**I**MPORTANT victories for the American working class thru the I.L.D. can be recorded for the last two months. The most outstanding among these are:

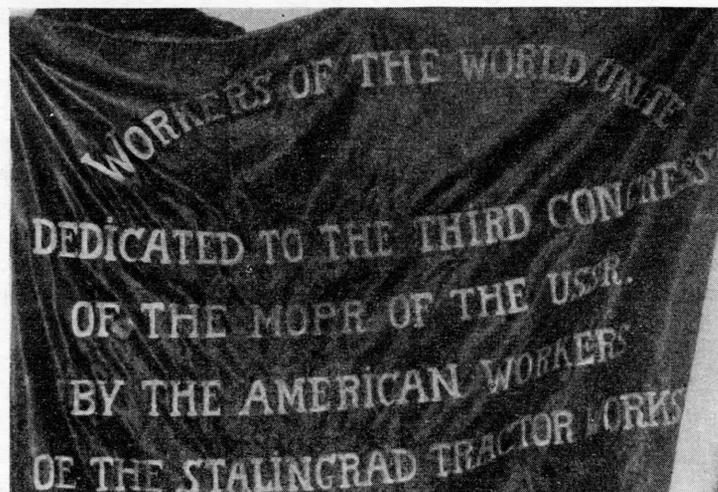
1. Paul Kassay was acquitted in Akron, Ohio, of the charge of sabotage under the Ohio Criminal Syndicalist Law. The mass protest and defense movement organized by the I.L.D. thruout the country forced the courts of Ohio to free this worker and declare the Criminal Syndicalist Law unconstitutional. The flimsy frame up of the agents of the Department of Justice was exposed by the International Labor Defense in a mighty protest wave of the American toilers. Paul Kassay, a mechanic in the Goodyear Zeppelin workers was charged with destroying the great Zeppelin by "spitting" on the rivets in the structure. The Goodyear Zeppelin Co. wanted to put thru another wage cut so it had to find a good means of terrorizing the workers into submission by inventing a "red plot" with the help of the Department of Justice.

2. The second big victory was in Portland, Ore. Fred Walker was acquitted in March, and John Moore acquitted in April. Both of them are members of a group of thirteen workers arrested at a raid by the Portland police on the headquarters of the Communist Party in that city at the time when the infamous Fish Committee investigated Communism in Portland. Together with a number of

other workers were arrested and held for deportation. Thirteen were charged under the Criminal Syndicalist Law of the state of Oregon. Three of the thirteen have been tried so far. One worker Ben Boloff, the first one tried was convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison. His case is under appeal to the state Supreme Court. The mass protest after the first sentence was so strong that it forced the courts to free the two workers who were tried next. The I.L.D. in Portland is carrying on a strong campaign for the repeal of the Criminal Syndicalist law and the release of all class war prisoners.

The United Front movement under the guidance of the I.L.D. is growing stronger every day. It is this mass movement that saved these workers from the hands of the capitalist class and a further intensi-

*AMERICAN WORKERS in the Soviet Union presented this banner to the Russian I. L. D. (M. O. P. R.) they realize that boss terror is mounting over the world and are anxious to join the fight against it.*



fication of the mass indignation of the working class which will free the rest of the workers coming up for trial.

3. The most recent victory of the working class thru the I.L.D. is the decision of the United States Supreme Court, which freed Yetta Stromberg from serving up to 10 years in prison in California. Yetta Stromberg was arrested in August, 1929, at Yucaipa Children's camp. She was craged together with five other women with "Conspiracy and raising the red flag." The charges against the other four women workers were later dismissed and Yetta Stromberg was held under the same charge on \$10,000 bond. The case was carried as high as the U. S. Supreme Court, which gave the decision on May 12. The protest and anger of the workers in the whole country against the California "Red flag" law was so strong that it forced the Supreme Court to reverse the decision of the lower courts. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and its anti-labor mouth piece, *The Times* at that claimed a victory.

A partial victory was scored in the case of the five workers held in Paterson, N. J. under framed up charges of murder. The pressure of the working class forced the judge in the case to consent to bail for the five workers. But upon the orders of the textile bosses seeing the growth of the mass protest in Paterson this same judge later refused to let the workers out of jail on the bail which he himself has at first agreed. This case proves more than anything else that in order to force the bosses and their courts to free the working class prisoners we must raise a greater protest in united front with all toilers of America and the world over.

# Deporting to Death

**Halt Deportations!**

Whatever other ambitions Secretary of Labor Doak may have—one of them is to become an executioner.

He is jealous of Chiang Kai Shek's laurels. The Chinese butcher whose sword has cut off the heads of thousands of brave workers, is the teacher of Secretary Doak. And a close partner.

Doak is anxious to send Tao Hsuan Li to his death in China. Even voluntary departure has been denied this militant student. Doak remains adamant. He is eager to fling the young student into the maws of Chinese reaction—to death.

The New York police got orders straight from Washington to wade in with clubs and blackjacks and "break it up" when workers, called by the New York district of the I.L.D. demonstrated at the Barge

Office when Li was taken to Ellis Island, May 15.

The mass protest succeeded in winning a stay of departure. But Doak is still ambitious. And the workers must be on guard. Halt Li's deportation and save his life!

Mass Deportations! That's another of Doak's weapons.

Parallel to the campaign of lynching and "legal" murder of Negro workers a brutal offensive has begun against the foreign born workers—Mass deportations!

The central point of this offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working class is against the great masses of Mexican workers. More than 8,500 of these were deported last year; 8,000 crossed the border "voluntarily." The governors of the Southwestern states have asked the railroad



Above: *Tao Hsuan Li, revolutionary student condemned to death by deportation to China. Doak, Secretary of Labor, demanded it.*  
Center: *New York police attacking demonstration for Li's freedom. Note the women slugged and kicked by the cops.*

Below: *A common scene in China because the workers and farmers control territory in which 60,000,000 live; and the bosses resort to beheading to try to halt the workers' victories. This will happen to Li if deported. Save him!*

companies and other industries to deprive the Mexican workers of work and to hire in their places white American workers. The Department of Labor confesses that the government intends to deport 400,000 workers this year and up to now the proportion has been 51 per cent Mexican workers. At this rate, by the end of the year more than 200,000 Mexican workers will have been deported.



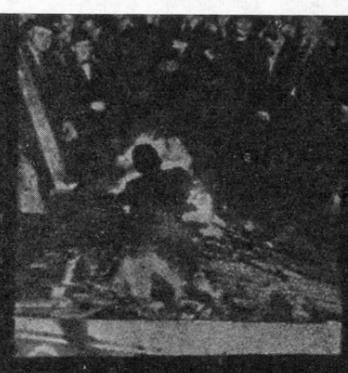
# Behind the



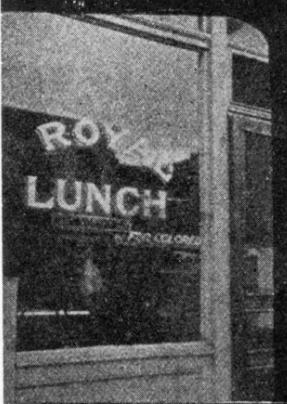
# Bars At



# Scottsboro



# Alabama



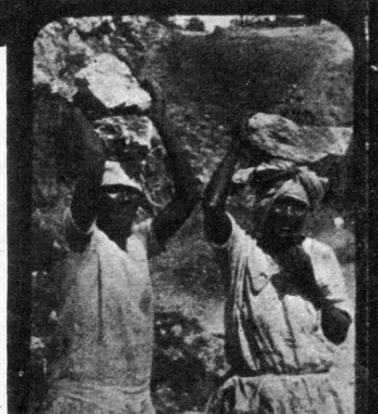
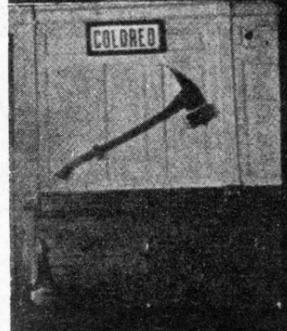
## JIM CROWISM OVER THE U. S. A.

Note the signs on the apartment houses, restaurants, etc. in the column to the left. The scenes were taken in Detroit, New York, Phila., Norfolk and Birmingham, Ala.

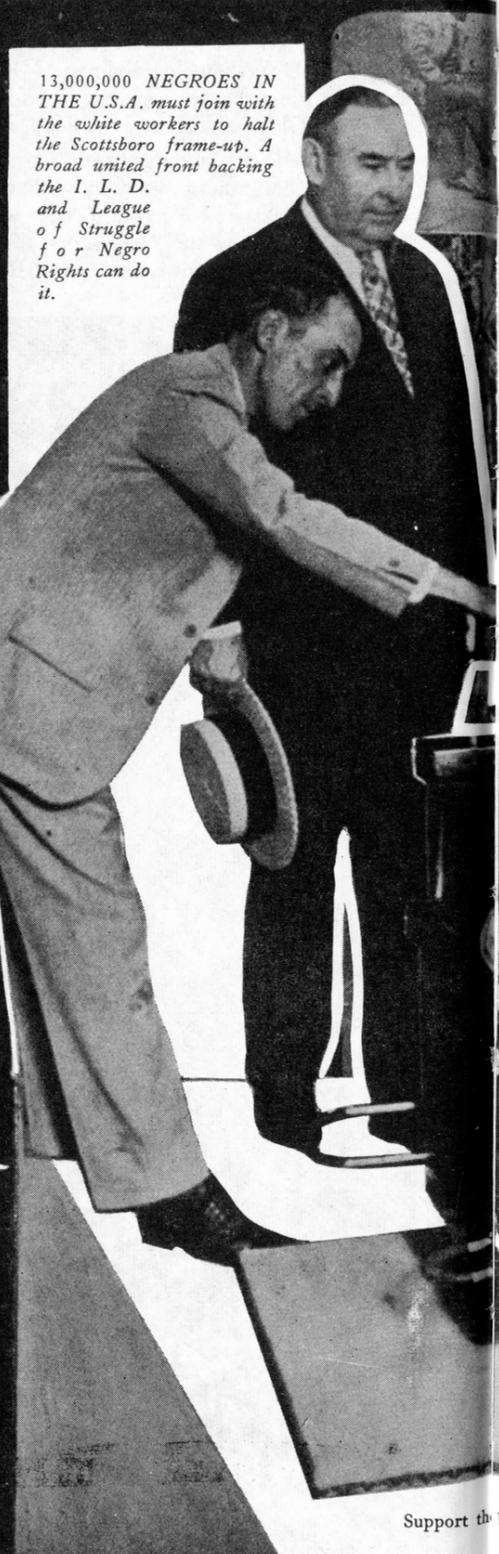
Negroes are not permitted by the white ruling class to live in certain parts of the United States. This is true for example in Waverly, Ohio. A Negro is not permitted to stay overnight under any consideration in Syracuse, Ohio. . . . There are certain counties in Indiana and Illinois that do not permit a Negro to dwell within their boundaries. Lawrenceburg, Ellwood, and Salem, Indiana, have not permitted Negroes to dwell there for years.

Negroes must not only live by themselves in most parts of the United States, but in many sections they must travel by themselves. Laws for the separation of Negro and white in Jim Crow cars are in force in Tennessee, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Kentucky, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma.

This is to divide white from Negro workers by the boss lie of race superiority. Fight Jim Crowism and persecution. White and Negro masses; break the bars of segregation!

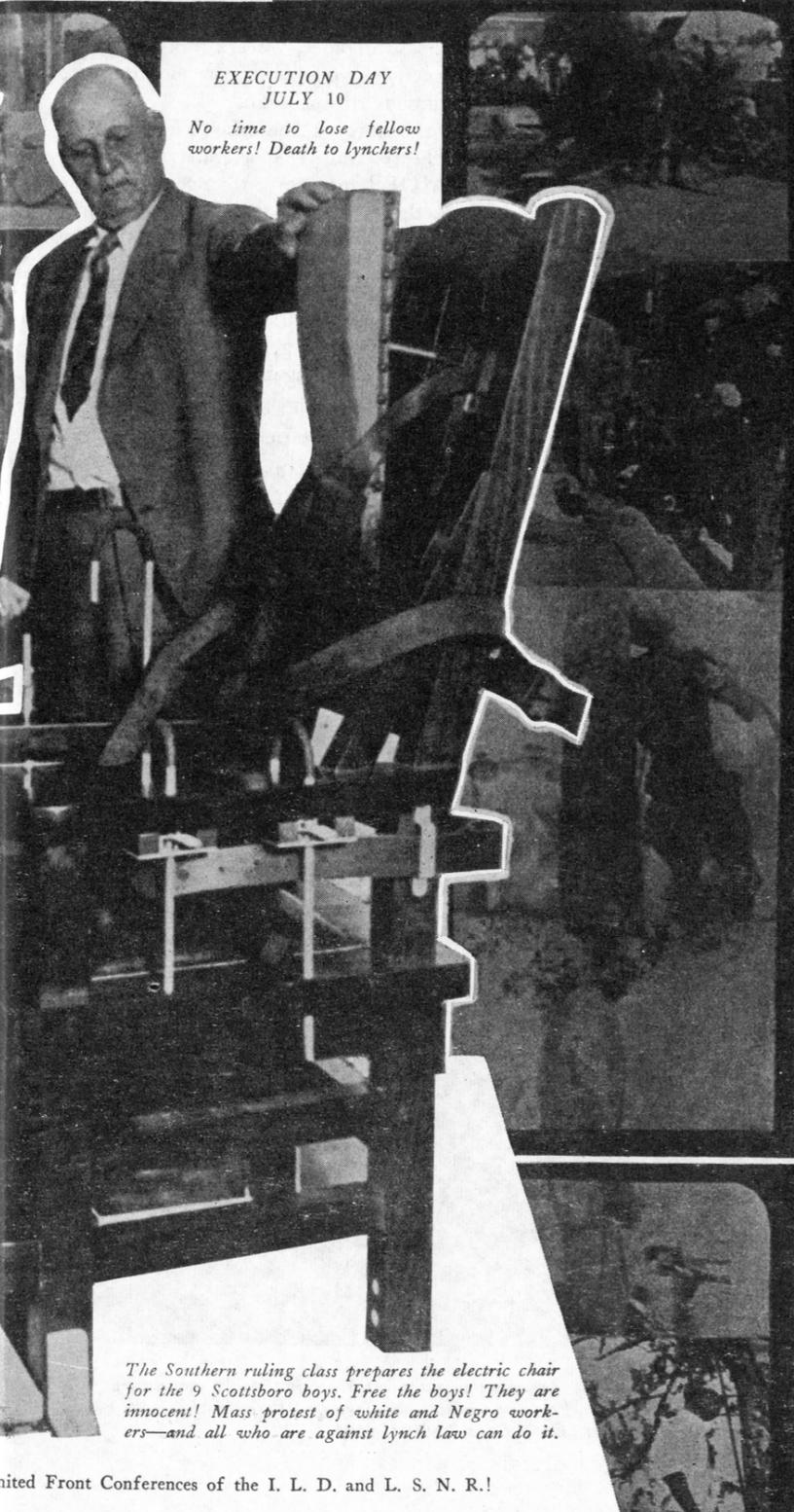


13,000,000 NEGROES IN THE U.S.A. must join with the white workers to halt the Scottsboro frame-up. A broad united front backing the I. L. D. and League of Struggle for Negro Rights can do it.



## EXECUTION DAY JULY 10

No time to lose fellow workers! Death to lynchers!



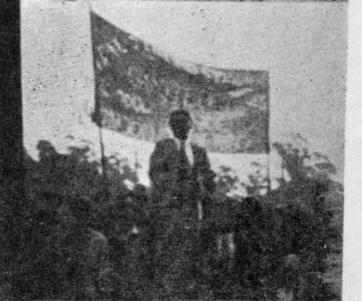
## LYNCH LAW ON THE JOB

Terror scenes in the U.S. A. are shown in the left hand column. They are almost weekly occurrences. The top two scenes are of burnings!

From 1885 to 1927, according to figures published in the *World Almanac*, 3,326 Negroes were lynched in the United States. During the same period 1,407 white persons were lynched in the United States. From 1885 to 1889 Negro lynchings ranged from 71 to 95 per year. In 1891, 121 Negroes were lynched. From 1891 until 1895 Negro lynchings ranged from 112 to 155.

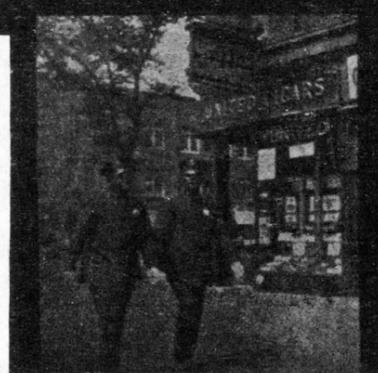
During 1927, 21 men were lynched — three of them burned to death.

During 30 years between 1889 and 1918 the North reported 219 lynchings, the South, 2,834, and the West, 156. Georgia leads the list of states with 386 lynchings; followed by Mississippi with 373; Texas with 335; Louisiana with 313; Alabama with 276; Arkansas with 214; Tennessee with 296; Florida with 178, and Kentucky with 169. Lynchings in 1930 jumped to 43. Whenever there is hard times, unemployment — lynchings increase under instigation of the boss-class. Halt lynchings!



## THE HARDEST WORK

Column to the right: Scenes show; (1) Unemployed Negroes in Phila.; (2) Negro women at work in a Southern quarry; a laboring gang; child labor in the cotton fields, the small girl is 6 years old. The bottom scene is of Negro cops in Harlem, who slug Negro workers just the same as the white cops do.



## WHITE AND NEGRO WORKERS — UNITE!

The column to the right shows scenes of demonstrations in which workers of both races united under the banner of the International Labor Defense, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Trade Union Unity League and Communist Party.



# A Letter From the Red Army

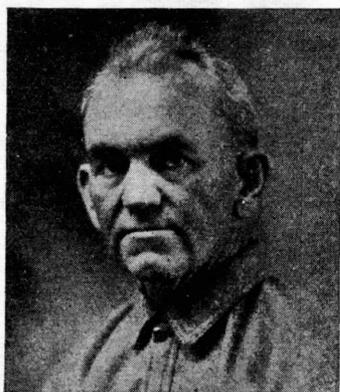


At a meeting last month of the I.L.D. members of the Moscow Military Hospital for Red Army men. J. L. Engdahl spoke at the meeting.

Moscow, April 19.

To the political prisoners in San Quentin, California, U. S. A.

About four years have passed since our MOPR nucleus of the first Moscow Communist Military Hospital, in answer to the bestial execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, adopted the prison where you are languishing.



TOM MOONEY: one of the prisoners the Red Army wrote to.

Until now all our attempts to establish a connection with you have been in vain. In spite of this we are following with the greatest attention your fight in the prison, on the basis of the new material in our possession.

At the end of 1927 our hospital was visited by the member of the Central Committee of the American Young Communist League, Comrade Paul Crouch, who related to us some details of your life and promised us to contribute to the establishment of a contact with you. It seems, however, that the walls of the American prisons are too strong and that Comrade Crouch was not able to forward our letters.

At present, in connection with the staying of the secretary of the American I. L. D. — Comrade Engdahl — in Moscow, we are again trying to establish connection with you, as during all

these four years, we haven't got any letter from St. Quentin.

Some information on your life we have got from articles written by the German writer, Ernst Toller, who has visited your prison.

Recently we have been informed of the appeal to the workers all over the world, issued by one of you, dear comrades, Comrade Tom Mooney, and published in his pamphlet.

With the greatest indignation we are once again seeing, what means "American Justice," and what part the social-democracy, those lackeys of the bourgeoisie are playing.

Under the leadership of our Communist Party we are victoriously progressing and have obtained such enormous successes in our work, which enabled us to face the task of realizing the Five-Year Plan of the great socialist construction in four years.

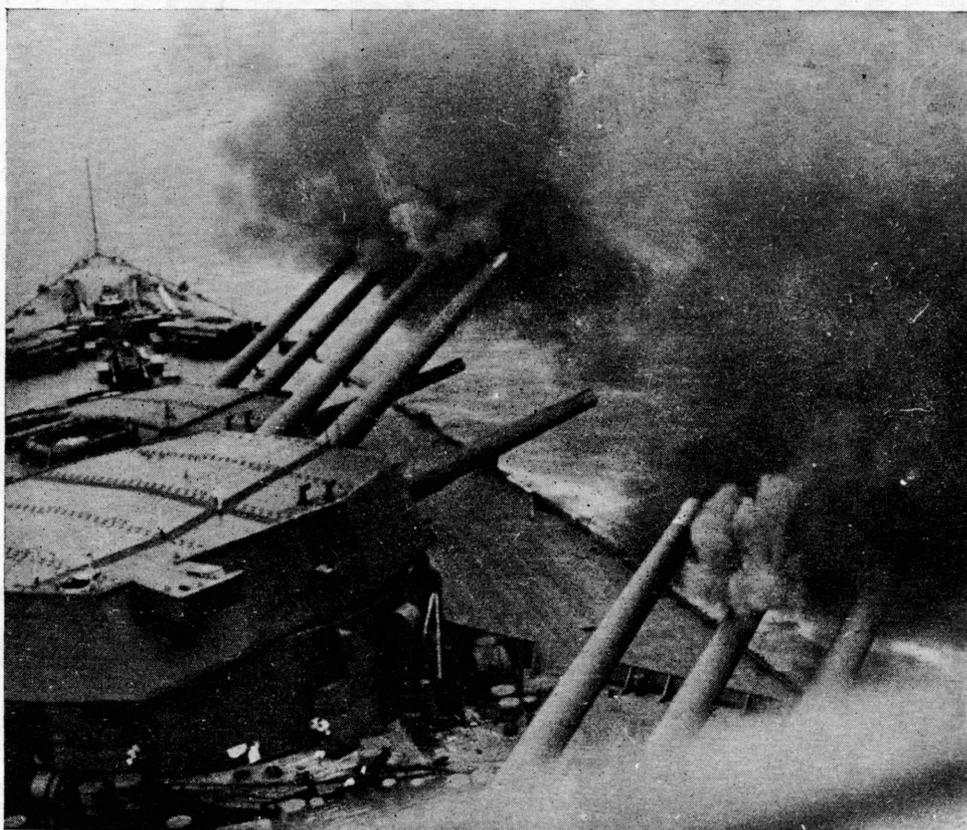
Labor in this free country has become, instead of something low, a great thing and with the aid of socialist competition and shock brigades, we are promoting our construction work and consolidating the foundations of socialism.

In the days of the May First celebration, the festival of labor and freedom, we 800 MOPR members are once again joining in the protest of the American workers and the toiling masses throughout the world — demanding your release. We are promising to strengthen still further the work of relief to all victims of the class struggle, and having adopted your prison, are taking the obligation to develop with all might the campaign for your release.

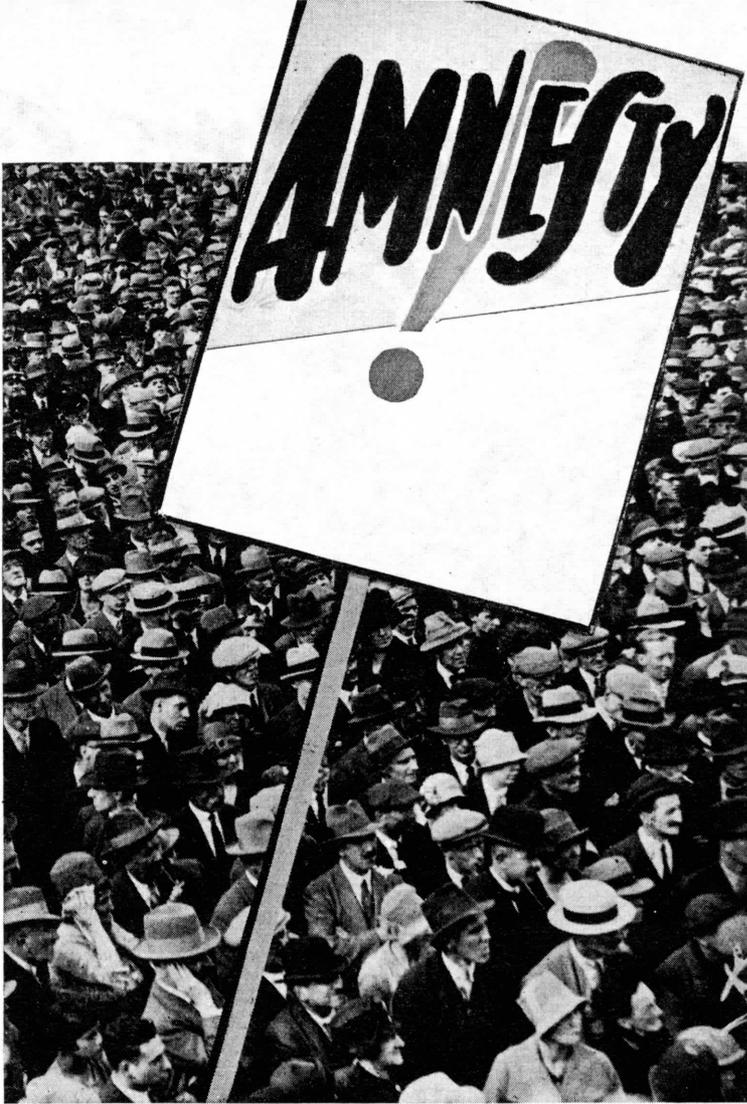
With fraternal greetings,

THE MOPR MEMBERS OF THE MOSCOW COMMUNIST MILITARY HOSPITAL.

P. S. Please send your answer to the MOPR Nucleus of the said Hospital.



AIMED AT THE SOVIET UNION: American monster warboats in Pacific maneuvers. The guns of all capitalist countries are aimed on the workers and farmers of one sixth of the world surface. The bosses prepare to attack! Defend the Soviet Union!



LONDON MAY DAY MEETING: At which Tom Mann spoke demanding amnesty of all political prisoners.

By J. LOUIS ENGDahl

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

ONE of the first questions flung at me upon my arrival in Moscow to attend the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid (International Labor Defense) was:

"WHY DON'T YOU GET TOM MOONEY OUT OF PRISON?"

This was also true of England and Germany, two countries through which I passed.

Europe knows Tom Mooney. Under the leadership of the workers of Lenin-grad, in 1917, they saved Tom Mooney from the gallows. But the death sentence was only commuted to life imprisonment.

In London, I met with the National Buro of the Trade Union Minority Movement under the chairmanship of George Allison, presenting the whole case of the class war prisoners in the United States and Canada. It was immediately voted to cable President Hoover demanding the release of all political prisoners in "The States" and pledging themselves to mobilize the masses in Britain in support of this demand. Enthusiastic support was voted

for the International Day of Struggle for Amnesty

With the developing wave of strikes the list of class war prisoners also grows in the British Islands, especially in the coal and textile industries. Probably one of the best known veterans in the struggles of British labor is Tom Mann, for many years active in the councils of the Red International of Labor Unions, having served upon its commission to China in 1927. Tom Mann declares:

"I am right glad to know that the Amnesty Campaign for the release of the class war prisoners is now being run by the comrades in the United States. Comrade Tom Mooney has maintained a stout heart for 15 years in San Quentin. I rejoice to see from his pamphlet that he is clearly alert and militantly hopeful. We revolutionaries in Great Britain will join vigorously in the agitation for his release."

The whole situation concerning the class war prisoners in America was discussed with James W. Ford, the secretary, and other leaders in the work of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, that has its headquarters

at Hamburg, Germany's most important seaport. Ford was for some time head of the Negro Department of the Trade Union Unity League.

Ford points out the necessity of linking up the struggle against Wall Street's persecutions of labor in America with the fight against imperialism's bloody attacks on the workers in Africa, especially the Negro workers. He declares:

"The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers is glad to join in the campaign by our American comrades for the release of all class war prisoners, especially centering around the release of Tom Mooney, a militant battler against American capitalism. We join wholeheartedly in this campaign along with the fight conducted by our American comrades in defense of the Negro and white workers facing the electric chair at Atlanta, Georgia and Scottsboro.

"We view the campaign from its international point of view—for the release of the 33 native workers imprisoned in South Africa, in the campaign that will mean the release of our native comrade, Thuku, of East Africa, for the release of the class war prisoners of all countries."



HENRY EISMAN IN RED ARMY UNIFORM Deported from New York after getting 5 year sentence. This scene, in Moscow, was taken when J. L. Engdahl, national secretary of the International Labor Defense presented this banner to Moscow district of M.O.P.R. (I.L.D.) last month

# Nicaragua Fights On



ARMY OF THE LIBERATION SOLDIERS, NICARAGUA: Ready to fight or die until Yankee imperialism is driven into the sea.

**N**ICARAGUA has been under the heel of U. S. Marine intervention since 1908.

Since 1926 alone, 3,765 Nicaraguans have been killed.

In 1927 Ocotal, Chinandega and other northeastern cities were bombed by U. S. airplanes. Hundreds of inhabitants were murdered in this hail of death.

Because the Zelaya government, in 1908, tried to get a British loan, was ready to cancel an American mining concession—and had failed to quickly suppress a strike of banana workers on an American plantation—the Yankee showed his teeth. Battleships and Marines — and interventions.

Under American intervention Diaz and Chamorro won power. They signed two consecutive international agreements which recognized the right of U. S. intervention; gave permanent interocean canal concession and provided the establishment of a canal route under American sovereignty.

In 1924 a Liberal government tried to regain the National Railroad, the National Bank and the customs house from American influence. During this time marines were withdrawn to facilitate another Chamorro-Diaz “revolution” that took place in 1926. Again Diaz was elected as provisional President but the Liberal government of Sacasa began armed struggle led by Moncada.

Marines and battleships arrived at Bluefield on May 7th, 1926, “to protect American citizens and properties,” establishing “neutral zones.” In 1927, Henry L. Stimson reached an agreement with Moncada to put down his arms, paying \$10

By EL NEGRO

for each weapon held by the “revolutionists.”

Augusto Sandino with a group of the army soldiers refused to carry out the Stimson-Moncada agreement and went to the Nueva Segovia department to continue the struggle as the Army of Liberation unless American marines will be withdrawn.

Since 1927 the Army of Liberation under Sandino has been fighting American marine domination. Daily skirmishes and battles have taken place between the Army of Liberation soldiers and the invaders’ troops.

From November, 1930, to March

20 the casualties of the Army of Liberation soldiers totalled 76 killed and 119 wounded. Twenty army camps have been destroyed. Martial law has been enforced since 1926 and under its provisions many workers and peasants have been shot. The leaders of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor were arrested, tortured and deported due to the fact that this organization joined the Latin-American Federation of Workers.

The last events of the fight in the northeastern area of Nicaragua indicate the rise of a new force of workers in the lumber camps, banana plantations, railroads and mines of Puerto Cabezas to struggle against imperialism. It is the force that will take the leadership in the anti-imperialist struggle, which until now has been under the wobbling petty-bourgeois direction of Sandino.

Parallel with the sharpening of the anti-imperialist battles in Nicaragua rose the movement in Honduras led by the Indian General Ferrero and composed of the “unemployed, banana plantation workers, communists, political leaders of the small towns and riff-raff”—as the *New York Times* described them.

Workers of United States should support the Nicaraguan and Hondurian fight against imperialism. We must help the wounded of the Army of Liberation and the families of the injured and killed! Demand the immediate withdrawal from Nicaragua and Honduras of United States marines, the Yankee officers of the National Guard and other civil and military U. S. officials. Hands off Nicaragua and Honduras!

## NEAR DEATH

*Agustin Marti, representative of the Caribbean Secretariat of the International Red Aid at Salvador, and former general of the Nicaraguan Army of Liberation was arrested last November because of his activities in the revolutionary movement. Deported from his country, all ports of Central America, United States and Panama refused him entry. On return to Salvador, he was thrown into prison. He is now on a hunger strike for freedom.*

*American workers!  
Fight for his release!*





# Voices *from* Prison

(From Milan Resetar, who is serving a five-year sentence for his working class activities and has been in the state prison at Pennsylvania since 1929.)

Blawnox, Pa.

Dear Comrades:

Today is Sunday, the most dreadful day in prison life, for it is filled with monotonous environment. The moments are weary and move with such slowness that one is led to believe that a whole year has terminated when the day is at an end. But when Monday rolls around one realizes that after all only one day has passed.

I will not dwell too much on prison life, but will come to the point of asking a few questions pertaining to our case. Now is the time for a pardon demand, high time. I believe in my letter to you, if I can recall my words correctly, I said, "Spread the word that letters are very welcome," in spite of that, I have not received any letters from any comrades. The platform of the I. L. D. is that the comrades in the various branches should write frequent letters to the prisoners. Won't the comrades write letters to us to Box 56, Blawnox, Pa.

Trusting to hear from you in the near future. You undoubtedly know that we are not receiving Communist Party or International Labor Defense publications, and we have to be content with the bourgeois press.

From the Woodlawn Class War Victims,  
MILAN RESETAR.

\* \* \*

(From Roy Wright, one of the three 14 year old Scottsboro defendants.)

Birmingham, Ala.  
May 16, 1931.

My Dear Friends:

Just a few lines to let you all hear from me. Doctor was down here today and was trying to get me to sign some paper. I told him that he did not have no paper for me to sign and that Doctor lives here in Birmingham. He give me two packs of cigarettes trying to get me to sign those papers. But I would not do it. I wish you all could send somebody down here for my lawyer. I receive the shoes you all sent me and was glad to get them and I thank you all for them. The lawyer come and and cash my check but I did not get time to talk to him. My sister was down here today. I never have found that lawyer number down here. Write me a letter as soon as you get it. And this old Doctor say that he will be back as soon as I change my mind so I am going to keep my word about signing no paper. I will close.

From ROY WRIGHT,  
County Jail.

(From Bert Bland, a class war victim who is serving since 1919 a 25-40 year sentence in Walla Walla, Wash., as the result of a boss class attack on the I. W. W. hall in Centralia.)

Walla, Walla, Wash.

Dear Comrades:

Received the \$5 check which you enclosed as Class War Prisoner Relief Fund. Thanks for

same. There is no doubt about the scarcity of finances and I only wonder at any labor organization being able to survive this crisis.

Great fields are open now for work on industrial lines which I realize are hampered for lack of finances. Organization must be held together at all cost, for the need is self-evident. Handwriting is appearing on the wall which is beyond the capitalists to erase. The test is not far in the future and is beyond any power to avoid. The workers must be prepared and not kid themselves, for it isn't a boy's job that confronts them.

Fraternally,

BERT BLAND.

(*"This is our twelfth May Day in Prison,"*  
*writes John Lamb, one of the Centralia victims*  
*at Walla Walla.*)

Dear Comrades:

I received your very interesting letter with the \$5.00 prison relief check and many thanks. You can rest assured that the prison relief and the dependent relief checks are of such value the class war prisoners and their dependents will never forget.

How on earth would the class war prisoners and their dependents exist through all of these long years of persecution if not for the relief checks that we receive from our Defense.

We know that our many friends are growing more eager each day to see the class war prisoners return to their own. The May Day

of this year will make 12 straight May Days that the Centralia defendants have spent in prison and still we have no idea when we will gain our release but we do know that our friends are busy on the job and that is what counts.

And now it is up to labor to battle onward and make this world a safe place for the workers to live, and live on the outside world, not in prison.

I am thanking you once more for myself and my loved ones for the relief checks. Please write me a line just as soon as you receive this letter so I know that it reaches you in time for the LABOR DEFENDER.

Yours for Industrial Freedom.

JOHN LAMB.

Prison Road Camp, No. 40.  
Frametown, W. Va.

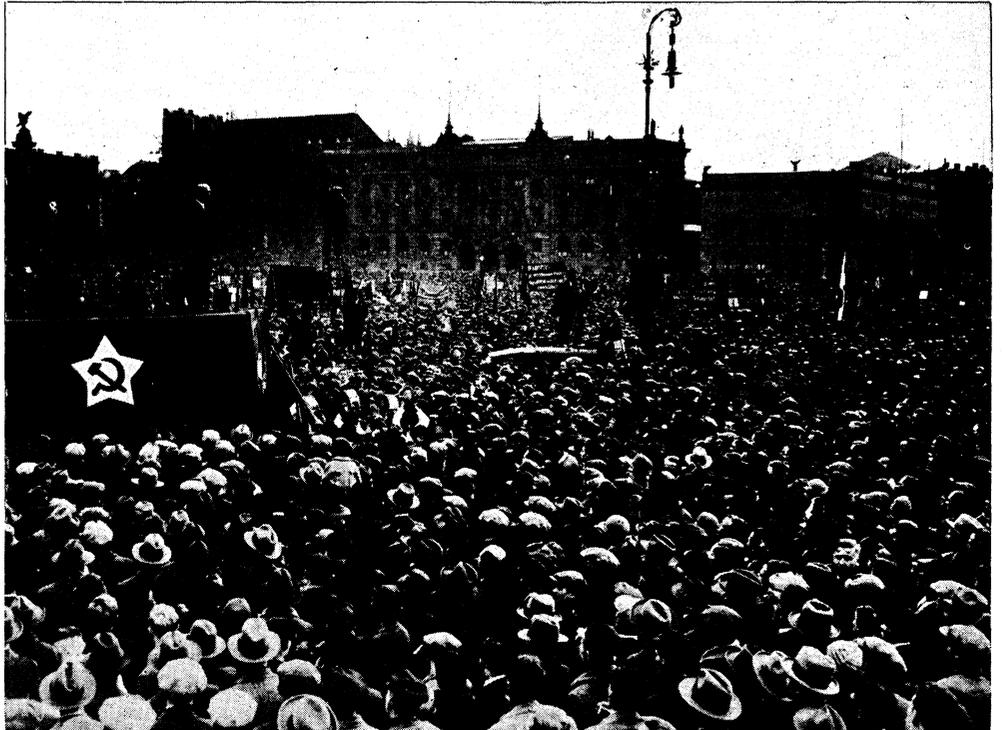
Dear Comrades:

I received your letter and check and also heard from my wife and I am thankful to you, for sending her a check.

Comrades, any reading material, that you can send to me to this prison, I'll appreciate.

I want to try and express my gratitude and appreciations to my friends and comrades for being so considerate of my family and I during my confinement here in prison. I want you all to know, that your checks were received at a time when they were most needed. And I can never forget your comradeship. Greetings.

JOHN M. LYNCH.



HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS—a sea of heads. Berlin, May Day. They demand "Amnesty!"



*HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS—a sea of heads. Berlin, May Day. They demand "Amnesty!"*

# Will YOU Go to The Soviet Union?

NO doubt this is the question that occupies many of the active I. L. D. members and readers of the **LABOR DEFENDER**. The contest has started for the first prize in the **LABOR DEFENDER** sub campaign. Letters are beginning to come in to the National Office from comrades who want to participate in the contest for the first prize. But it is not only the prize that spurs on the comrades to work for the **LABOR DEFENDER**. It is the conviction of all I. L. D. members and readers that the **LABOR DEFENDER** is the best working class pictorial and is the only one of its kind in the country. This labor pictorial must be spread and brought home to every worker. The big issues of the American workers at present make the necessity of this magazine bigger than ever before. This issue is specially suited to get subs among the Negro workers, bringing the Scottsboro cases in the forefront. But let the comrades who are in the contest speak for themselves.

## *Suggests Four Months Plan in Two Months*

Comrade Trachtman from Brooklyn, N. Y., writes: "Prize or no prize, I want to see the **LABOR DEFENDERS** spread far and wide. You give us four months to bring in 5,000 new subs. I'd like to see the comrades dig into the work and *reach the mark in half that time*. The comrades in the USSR have set the pace — let us keep it up.

"Send me at once 100 subscription blanks and twenty copies of the May 1st edition which I intend to use as samples. My hat is in the ring."

This is a ringing challenge. Let the comrades in the whole country answer it. Comrade Ethel Lang from Denver, Colo. writes in her letter: "Wish to enter my name in the subscription drive for the **LABOR DEFENDER** beginning June 1 and ending September 30. Of course I want to work for the first prize, a trip to the Soviet Union, *and get it*." Comrade Lang gives her plans how she is going to get the subs. She intends to visit all working class organizations, invite them to affiliate to the I. L. D. and get subs from their individual members. This comrade also intends to get all her friends and acquaintances to subscribe and make a regular canvass among them. Comrade Lang also says in her letter that "Personally, I want more than anything else to see the I. L. D. grow in Denver, and I think the surest way to get it started is to get its official magazine among the working class." This is important and we advise every I.

L. D. member active worker to take note of this.

Here is another comrade who has the whole plan figured out and is ready to start in with full force. This is the plan of Comrade Manuel Fernandez.

*"How I expect to win the first prize?"* The only way to win anything, and especially a first prize is through hard and

not so easy through 122 days. However, I think I can make it, and here is hoping. On to five thousand subs for the **LABOR DEFENDER** and may the hardest worker win." It seems this comrade also means business. The National Office is ready for the flow of subs which will begin to pour in on June 1. So don't keep the subs in your pocket, but let us have them in time.

## *A Few Tips to Sub Getters on How to Win*

1. Visit every meeting and workers' gathering place for getting subs.

2. Always have copies of the **LABOR DEFENDER** with you when you go to these places.

3. Don't leave your subscription blank book at home. Have it always on hand.

4. If you are a member of the I. L. D. check up on how many members of your branch are not subscribers to the **LABOR DEFENDER**, and get a sub from each one of them. If you are not a member of the I. L. D. then join the nearest branch and do the same.

5. Insist that at every I. L. D. branch meeting the question of the sub drive be taken up. Have the comrades report on what they have done since the last meeting.

6. Insist that at every mass meeting the speaker talk about the sub drive, and have comrades ready with sub blanks and **LABOR DEFENDERS** to take the subs at the meeting.

7. Organize a group of comrades from your branch or friends and sympathizers to get subs for your credit if you want to win the first prize.

8. Visit other branches in your city and get them to work on the sub drive to give their subs to you.

9. Work out a plan together with your branch for house to house canvass with **LABOR DEFENDERS** to get subs.

10. Send in reports and photos of local working class interest; also photos of scenes where the **LABOR DEFENDER** is sold. This will help you to popularize the **LABOR DEFENDER** in your city and will make it so much easier for you to get subs.



*For Release of All  
Class War Prisoners*

## **LABOR DEFENDER**

*Official Monthly Organ of the*

**INTERNATIONAL  
LABOR DEFENSE**

SUBSCRIBE—\$1.00 A YEAR

constant work. So I pledge myself to "work my head off" from June 1 till the gong strikes. Of course some sort of planning is necessary. If we figure that 500 subs will win the first prize then we'll have to go out and get those 500 subs. Now, that means a monthly quota of 125 or more, or four subs every day of the drive. Four subs a day ought to prove easy, but

*Who Will be the*  
**LABOR DEFENDER  
DELEGATE**  
*to the*  
**SOVIET UNION?**

# For a Class - Struggle Defense Policy

Resolution of the National Executive Committee of the I.L.D.

The increasing struggles of the working class against wage-cuts unemployment and starvation bring about a more ruthless oppression and greater terror on the part of the ruling class against the toilers of the country. Hundreds of workers are arrested and convicted to long term prison sentences because they dare to organize and fight against their miserable conditions. Workers are being framed up by the capitalist courts under the most vicious charges in order to force the working class into submission to misery and starvation. Under such conditions it becomes one of the prime duties of all workers to build a strong mass defense organization which will be able to carry on the struggles together with all militant working class organizations. In this period we must clearly lay down the policy to be followed in the activities of the I. L. D. and all working class organizations in their campaigns for the defense of the workers who fall victims to the terror of the capitalist class and its courts.

talist courts through legal maneuvering by some capitalist lawyer. By demanding the "best available lawyer" in working class defense issues, meaning the best capitalist lawyer who knows all the technicalities and loopholes of the law, we forget that against all legal procedures and maneuvers which help to keep out of jail the capitalist crooks and grafters, the ruling class has hundreds of other reasons to keep the militant workers in jail.

## United Front

This wrong conception has led to many intolerable defense practices. It is also responsible for the inability of the I. L. D. to become a broad united front mass organization. For instance when during the textile strike in Lawrence, Mass., the leaders of the strike were arrested and held for deportation, their defense became at first purely an I. L. D. affair separated from the actual struggle which caused the arrest of these workers. In the case of the Paterson, N. J., frame-up against five workers also arrested out of a textile strike the defense activities of the Textile Workers Union went to

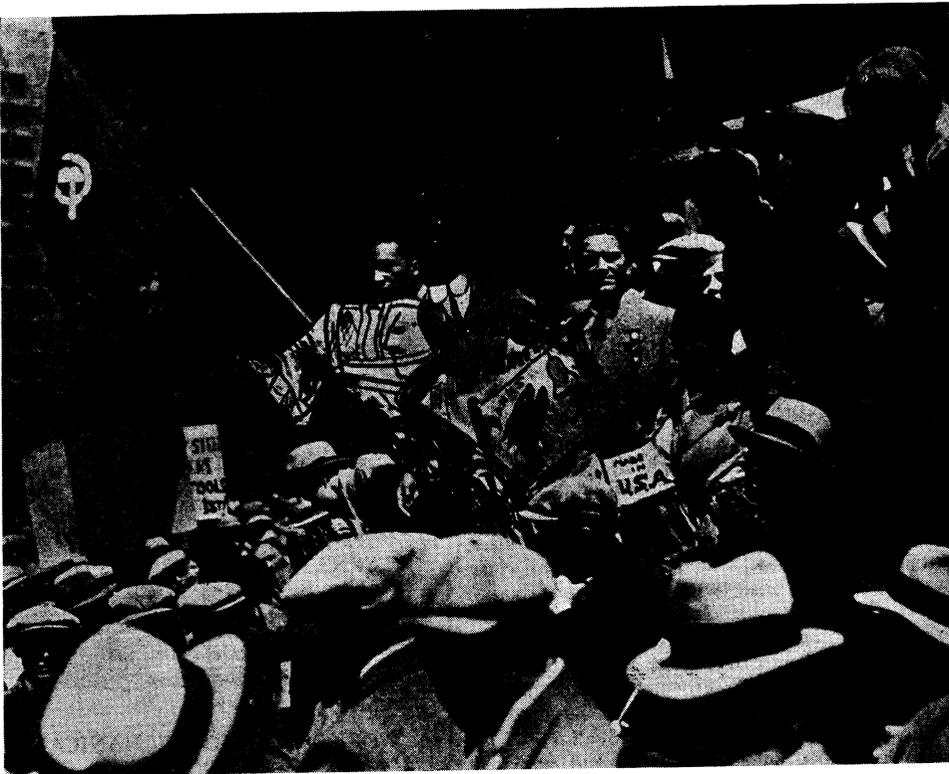
specific issue out of which the arrest resulted. The most effective means of defense is not the legal points raised by the lawyer in court but the mass pressure brought on the capitalist courts by the workers outside. Not only the I. L. D. must carry on the defense activities of the arrested worker but all working class organizations and especially the organization carrying on the activity out of which the arrest grew, must take part in united front mass activities under the leadership and guidance of the I. L. D. for the release of the class struggle victims. The release of Paul Kassay, framed under the Ohio Criminal Syndicalist Law, would have been impossible without the broad mass campaign and mass protest against the very law which caused his arrest. The correct policy followed by the Cleveland district of the I. L. D. relying mainly on the mass united front activities and the mass pressure brought on the courts out of these activities is responsible for the victory of the working class in this case. The acquittal of Roy Mahoney, Negro worker leader of the February 25th unemployed demonstrations in East Liverpool Ohio is also due to the mass demonstration organized in front of the court where Mahoney was tried under charges of Criminal Syndicalism. The only thing that will save the lives of the nine Negro boys framed in Scottsboro, Ala., will be the mass protest and mass united front movement organized by the I. L. D. and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. To save the five workers from the electric chair in Paterson, N. J., similar policy of the broadest united front must be followed under the leadership of the I. L. D. with the National Textile Workers Union making the defense of these workers their major campaign. The release of the workers serving long term prison sentences under various state Criminal Syndicalist, Criminal Anarchy and Sedition laws, will only be accomplished by a mass movement demanding the repeal of these laws and for the release of the prisoners. This mass campaign must be concretized in every district and locality for the release of the workers in jail in that district or state.

## "Fight for Your Demands!"

3. In the course of the sharpening class struggles it will be impossible for the I. L. D. to keep every worker out of jail. We must explain to the workers that the cause of their arrest and persecution is precisely the issue for which they are fighting and only a still further and broader mass fight will release the working class fighters. We cannot tell the workers "you go and fight, and the I. L. D. will keep you out of jail". But we can tell the workers: "you fight for your demands and we will help you and provide as far as possible for your dependants, and will carry on the struggle for your release if you fall victim to capitalist class justice". We can not keep all workers out of jail because of the very nature of the capitalist system, but we can and must support the militant fighters in jail and their dependents outside.

We conclude therefore that the relief for worker victims of capitalist justice and the relief for the dependents of such victims must be a first charge in the activities and finances of the I. L. D.

(Continued on next page)



KASSAY; FREED BY MASS PROTEST—in Cleveland May Day demonstration. Standing next to him, holding Red Flag is Herbert Newton, facing the electric chair in Atlanta, Ga. on charges of insurrection, for speaking to Negro and white workers. Free the Atlanta defendants!

The conception and practice, that one group of workers are organized into organizations doing the fighting and another group of workers are organized into organizations which defend the workers from capitalist class justice, must be fundamentally changed. The practice followed in the defense of the class struggle victims, making the defense of the worker purely a fight of the I. L. D. and reducing the defense to a mere legal defense in court is basically wrong and also hinders the building of the I. L. D. into a mass organization. This practice is a remnant of petit-bourgeois illusions, creating the idea that it is possible to get "justice" in the capi-

talist system. Here there was a tendency of taking the defense entirely in the hands of the union and relying mainly on the "best available lawyer" in Paterson who was retained for the case. In connection with the 1930 New York Unemployed Delegation arrested at city hall the defense of the arrested workers became a campaign of the I. L. D. only without even involving the Unemployed Councils in the defense activity.

## Build United Front

2. The only correct policy in connection with the defense of all militant workers is the organization of mass protest and mass defense on the



*KASSAY; FREED BY MASS PROTEST—in Cleveland May Day demonstration. Standing next to him, holding Red Flag is Herbert Newton, facing the electric chair in Atlanta, Ga. on charges of insurrection, for speaking to Negro and white workers. Free the Atlanta defendants!*

# Greetings to the International Labor Defense

(Continued from preceding page)

## Legal Defense Not All

4. The legal defense in court of class struggle victims of capitalist justice is merely *one phase* of the defense and not even the most important one. We enter this phase of defense first because efforts must be made to get out of capitalist so-called "justice" whatever can be gotten and second to teach the workers in the course of the dispensing of this "justice" by the courts that it is *capitalist justice*. Here also we must emphasize that to achieve both these aims mass mobilization is indispensable. It is not the quality nor the quantity of legal points raised by the lawyer of the I. L. D. that will free the accused worker. While we must utilize all possible loopholes of procedure in capitalist class justice we must not sacrifice the class struggle issue involved in the particular defense case for the sake of the best capitalist lawyer who knows all the tricks of capitalist court procedure. It is therefore advisable in many cases that the accused workers defend themselves. By this method we can prevent the drowning of the class issues in legal technicalities and bring out clearly the political character of the persecution.

## About Bail

5. The matter of bail has been handled, also, not from a class struggle standpoint but often from a bourgeois, sentimental approach. Releasing workers on bail is not a question of principle, but is rather a matter of political (class-struggle) expediency and necessity. Bail is not to be put up just to save a worker from spending a few days or weeks in jail, pending trial. Victories are not won in capitalist courts by legalistic methods, but are won with proper mass protest. In hundreds of these cases money spent for premium on bail, would be better spent for mobilizing mass protest, etc., and for the care of the dependents of the prisoner in the event that capitalist justice claims its victim.

Bail is most important politically when the defendants face long years in prison and who, because of their leadership in the workers' struggles, are needed out of prison to arouse and mobilize further struggle.

The unpolitical, bourgeois, sentimental placing of bail *as a rule*, as a *matter of principle*, has seriously interfered with the effective carrying out of the main tasks of the I. L. D. Even when bail could be placed free-of-cost (property, borrowed securities, etc.) it might be in many cases politically undesirable to release on bail-bond, because of the class-struggle considerations.

Wherever it is necessary because of these considerations or because of lack of funds to confine the release on bail to only part of the arrested workers, the choice as to who shall be released must be made only on the basis of the class struggle considerations. The practice of paying premiums for bail-bond and of putting up cash, must be avoided, to the greatest extent possible. In every city and town the workers' organizations should help the I. L. D. set up a Bail Fund—getting property and securities for bond from every possible source—sympathetic and friendly organizations and individuals—free-of-cost, thus not having to pay premium.

The capitalist courts with their graft and corrupt bail-bond trusts will put all obstacles to the

working class organizations in their efforts to release the class-struggle fighters. Here, too, we must rely on the strength of the workers and in the preparedness of the working class defense organization for such cases.

## About Paying Fines

6. The question of payment of fines must again be emphasized very strongly. Just as much as it can not be the duty of the I. L. D. to supply proxies (substitutes) to serve the jail sentences of convicted workers; on the same principle it can not be held the duty of the I. L. D. to pay the fines of convicted workers. To recognize such duty would paralyze the I. L. D. and also discredit it. With the tremendous increase of persecution of proletarians, because of the sharpening of the class struggle the payment of fines of these victims would easily and quickly exhaust all financial possibilities of the organization. *The I. L. D. must not undertake and must definitely refuse to pay fines. There shall be no exception to this rule.*

If any organization thinks that a worker convicted and fined in the course of his activities should be relieved from serving time by paying the fine, that organization must make the raising of the fine the basis of a separate campaign. In the course of the campaign the workers will show their agreement with the correctness of such a procedure by the organization.

## On Appeals

7. Appeals to higher courts from any sentences meted out to convicted workers are not mere technicalities of legal procedure but are a matter of political importance. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the question of appeal should be decided in each case separately. There shall be no appeal from any conviction except upon definite decision by the responsible leading committees of the organizations involved.

8. Only by the correct application of this defense policy can we really build the I. L. D. into a mass united front defense organization, and bring into play the greatest possible mass pressure for the defense and freedom of all class war victims. To achieve this aim we must popularize this defense resolution among all class struggle organizations and among the wide masses of workers carrying on a militant struggle against the whole economic system of exploitation. This resolution should be made a principal question of discussion in all I. L. D. branches, trade unions, fraternal and affiliated organizations.

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