WAR in the COAL FIELDS
By WM. Z. FOSTER

SCOTTSBORO'S TESTIMONY
By JOHN DOS PASSOS
VIEWS OF THE MONTH

Upper left: Worker athlete preparing for Spartakus in Berlin, where workers of the Labor Sports Union all over the world will compete.
Upper middle: State police in Pennsylvania Coal Strike riding down strikers.
Upper right: Matthew Wall, vice-president of A.F. of L., traitor to working class, talking about booze instead of bread. How do you like those jowls? Starvation for him?

Left: Ham Fish preaching war on Soviet Russia. Attend the conferences July 1-10 to prepare for Aug. 1—day to demonstrate against bosses' war.

Right: Three workers beaten by Youngstown steel police and thugs at Youth meeting where seven boys and children were shot by cops; more than 70 arrested. The steel bosses are slashing wages and are afraid of the workers' organization—e'en when workers' kids meet for sports events.

Young Defenders demonstrating for the 9 Scottsboro Negro boys, in picture at extreme left.

Right: Workers marching in Tokio, Japan, against wage cuts and starvation. The crisis is world-wide wherever capitalism exists. Hundreds of militant workers and students are in the Japanese prisons—many condemned to die. Demand their freedom!

Left: Typical miners, half-starved near Harlan, Kentucky, jailed for striking for bread.

Three young miners of the Pittsburgh area beaten up by coal thugs. The one in the center was shot in the arm. They are (left to right): Edward Sherwood, 18, of Pittsburgh; Mike Skrabin, 35, of Gilmore; Wm. Parsons, 26, of Slocan. All were arrested. The I.L.D. is on the spot fighting for the miners.
War In the Coal Fields

By WM. Z. FOSTER

The miners, 40,000 of them at the time this is written, are in a desperate strike against starvation. This is no ordinary mine strike.

It is not called by a reactionary United Mine Workers with all the police formalities, the long notice given, and the orders to the strikers to “stay home—go fishing—let us handle the strike,” which the officials of the U. M. W. used to issue.

The splendid fighting ability of the coal miners, which many times in the past has broken through the U. M. W. program of letting a strike die through inaction, has now no restraint.

The strike itself started with mass picketing, and from the first, mass marches of thousands of miners, with their wives and children, have spread it.

The strike has already swept into Ohio and West Virginia coal fields, and is spreading there with the greatest rapidity. There are 5,000 miners on strike in Ohio, at this time, while the first mines to come out were, late last week, the Hanna Coal Co., mines at Pinefork and Dillonvale. Others followed, and on one day, June 15, 200 more came out at Gaylord No. 1, and 300 more still at Big Run. A frame up proposition is under way there, with the arrest of several persons for an explosion. Friday 750 struck at Powhatan, and 300 at Provident, Ohio (June 13).

The District conference of the Ohio miners held with 109 delegates from 27 mines and with a steel workers delegation present offering support, was denied a hall in Bellaire June 14 by the police, and adjourned to Dillonvale, 26 miles away.

In West Virginia mines are coming out daily. Eight hundred men struck June 15 at two Constanza mines. Others struck previously and the movement is spreading.

Naturally enough, the coal operators fear this strike as they never feared another. They dread to see it spread, day by day, with big lunes forward, particularly on Mondays, following the great mass meetings and preparations on Sundays. They know that the iron has bit deep into the minds of these men, who starved along on $6 and $8 or even less a week, nominal wages—nominal because they never saw any of the money in most cases. Company charges, powder, caps, doctor, insurance, board or rent and store bills (at double prices) take up all the man earns. He lives in penance. Against such a system the miners strike saying: “No worse to starve striking than to starve working.”

In this kind of a strike, then, you can expect plenty of terror. Already ten men have been shot for picketing, fortunately none of them killed. Strikers are shot at by state police, coal and iron police, and deputy sheriffs. State troopers, deputies, and green khaki coal and iron cops ride madly over the countryside, armed with tear gas, clubs, and all kinds of guns: shot guns, pistols, rifles, and machine guns.

They have beaten severely, wounded by breaking their bones, cracking their skulls, knocking out their eyes, about three or four hundred men, women and children.

The natural desire of the policeman who crippled a miner is to arrest him and charge him with some crime, so as to give himself a defense.

Thus Adam Getto, organizer of the N. M. U., at the march on Ellsworth mine, where the crowd charged four times through a tear gas cloud and drove the deputies behind their barricade, was clubbed until he had to have six stitches taken in his head, and then arrested.

Over in Ohio they charged young Leo Thompson with attempted murder, and everything less, and hold him on $50,000 bail because he spoke at a meeting of 3,000 workers at St. Clairsville Court House. The meeting was in protest against the arrest of pickets, and they drenched that meeting with tear gas and arrested 9 more.

There are 140 arrested so far in western Pennsylvania, and forty of these are still in jail. Some are held under as high as $6,000 bail. These men come up before “squires,” the justices of the peace, and in small places before “the burgess,” who is a combination mayor and judge. These fellows are usually hooked up with the coal companies. When Pat Fagan, Pittsburgh District President of the U.M.W. comes to town, he makes the burgess or the squire a part of his “local union.”

Pinchot steadily adds more state troopers to the strike section, and permits the illegal “proclamations” of the sheriff of Washington County, which prohibit assemblies of more than three in streets or vacant lots of towns. There are eviction notices in plenty.

Governor Pinchot is now publishing statements declaring that “peaceful picketing and marching” is to be allowed, and asking the evictions around Avella be stopped. The hypocrisy of this action of the governor is evident when it is considered that he simultaneously increases the armed force, that on June 18 he presided at a strike-breaking conference of himself, Phil Murray, vice-president of the United Mine Workers, and president Pursglove, of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Co. This will probably (though not certainly) result in a scab agreement, which the miners of the seven Terminal mines on strike will meet with mass picketing. Then Pinchot will try to force the miners back with force.

This is one of the great, heroic strikes of this century. The miners now on strike fight for the first time under their own leadership. It is a good fight, and terror will not crush it. But the working class of the world must not stand idle and let these brave men, women and children, starving but fighting, go needlessly to prison, fall before the bullets and clubs of the police. There must be mass protest against the terror; there must be great collection of funds and food, for they were starving when they started to strike.
Starving miners and families gather to picket. Machine guns are trained on them.
COSSACKS TO KILL

By ANNA ROCHESTER

serve the state militia and the United States army.

The steel strike of 1919 marked a new stage of frenzied cruelty against Pennsylvania workers, when state cossacks used their horses to literally trample and bite their way into the masses, pregnant women were clubbed, workers’ homes were invaded, and machine guns appeared on fortifications around the mills. Coal and steel workers will not forget how Fannie Sellins, able and courageous organizer, was shot in the back on August 26, 1919, and her dead body brutally mutilated and dragged away by a drunken group of sheriff’s deputies who were never brought to trial. But Fannie Sellins was not the only worker who fell in the steel strike, when—as Foster has summed it up—“a score were killed, almost all on the workers’ side; hundreds were seriously injured; and thousands unjustly jailed.”

Coal miners in their widespread strikes of 1922 and 1927 faced greater brutality and a larger army of gunmen in Pennsylvania than in any other state. For Pennsylvania stands alone in giving state approval to the system of private armed guards employed by the corporations and functioning with police power granted them by the state.

After the assault on John Barkoski in 1929, when he was beaten and murdered in cold blood at a barracks of the Pittsburgh Coal Company police, the state legislature went through the motions of abolishing the “coal and iron police,” but they put in its place a new “industrial police” hired and paid by the operators and still available to threaten and beat up any workers who revolt.

But the three main branches of the capitalists’ industrial army all function together. There is little to choose between them. It was deputy sheriffs who killed Fannie Sellins; it was coal and iron police who killed John Barkoski; it was state police who rode into the Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting at Chessick in 1927, throwing gas bombs and pursuing the workers with clubs. The state cossacks, or mounted police, are the rapidly moving cavalry—

with pistols and gas bombs and machine guns in reserve; the “industrial police” and the deputy sheriffs make up a more numerous infantry corps, at hand for day by day threats, insults, evictions, and attacks.

As the steel strike twelve years ago marked then a sharpening of the struggle, so the present mass uprising of hungry miners under the leadership of the National Miners Union brings another stage in the war of the classes. Some new tactics have already been used against the workers, while the solidarity and determination of the strikers and their families have reached a new high level.

The new sharpness of the struggle in Pennsylvania reflects the depth of the crisis which has sharpened the class line-up in every capitalist country.

STRIKING miners in the Pittsburgh district, revolting against starvation, have come again into open conflict with the lords of the great twin industries, coal and steel. As hungry men, women, and children on the picket lines face clubs, gas, and machine guns in 1931, they are carrying on the long tradition of struggle in Pennsylvania against the capitalists’ apparatus of oppression and terror.

This Pennsylvania apparatus of White Terror has been perfected in recent years. It includes judges and local governments; state police, sheriffs and sheriffs’ deputies, and private armies of gunmen; it uses yellow-dog contracts, evictions, blacklists, sheriffs’ proclamations, injunctions, ordinances, criminal sedition laws, frameups, clubbing, shooting and murder. It reaches up into the president’s cabinet, where Andrew Mellon talks of “good will” when he travels abroad, while the Mellon family coal companies carry on war against their workers in Pennsylvania. It holds in re-

Stella Baubles, strikers’ daughter, after tear-gas attack.

FREE THE IMPRISONED MINERS!
The International Labor Defense is fighting for the freedom of hundreds of these miners—Rush funds to the National Office of the I.L.D., Room 430, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

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Hunger’s Cry From Kentucky

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

I HAVE just come from the depths of the Harlan County Jail, in Harlan, Kentucky, heart of the Eastern Kentucky coal fields, that spawn riches for some of the greatest corporations in the land; hunger, misery, death, for the miners, their women and children.

Nearly 100 miners and their sympathizers are crowded into the dark cells of this prison. A score are charged with murder, carrying the death penalty. Scores have been indicted for “banding and confederating.” Criminal syndicalism is supposed to be the crime others have committed, for speaking at meetings.

No one knows, not even the jailed union officials or the lawyers, exactly how many prisoners there are. Warrants for arrest are out for scores more. New prisoners are being brought in practically every day.

The Eastern Kentucky coal miners cannot fight this out alone. Whether in Harlan’s dungeons or out in the dark mine pits of the hills and mountains, they write under the heels of such great combinations of organized dollars as the United States Steel Corporation (The Steel Trust); the Peabody Coal Company of Chicago; the Peabody-Insull interests; the Wisconsin Steel Company; the Commonwealth Edison power monopoly.

Exactly at the moment that the Steel Trust heads, Farrell and Schwab, in New York, were hypocritically voicing their opposition to wage cuts, and “Sammy” Insull was advancing millions of dollars in loans out of his stolen wealth to his newly-elected Chicago municipal government, the gunmen and thugs of these “interests,” recruited from the dregs of bootleggers, rum runners and hijackers, were pouring broadsides of murderous dum-dum (mushroom) bullets from machine guns and high-powered 20-shot rifles against striking Eastern Kentucky coal miners, seeking to utilize the strike weapon in defense of their efforts to organize, to fight wage cuts, to resist the lowering of their starvation standard of living so low that in many instances working miners were forced to ask for charity to keep alive.

But the mine owners’ press (the press that licks the boots of the Farrells, the Schwabs, the Insulls), the press of the Harlan County Coal Operators’ Association, races through the countryside, Governor Sampson orders out the state militia, Sheriff John Henry Blair deputizes new hordes of criminal scum; Circuit Judge D. C. “Baby” Jones calls a special grand jury; boss class “law and order” seeks the blood of workers because in their attack on the coal miners’ “free city” of Evarts, in May, several mine owners’ gunmen were also numbered among the dead. It was Gastonia all over again, exactly two years after the textile workers in the Manville-Jenckes' mill town of North Carolina had stood their ground against the armed lynching mob attack led by the Chief of Police Aderholt.

I talked with W. B. Jones, secretary of the Miners’ Union, sitting in his prison cell. He told of oppression of labor through these Kentucky mountains that made human slavery in the pre-Civil War days of more than 70 years ago seem paradise. For struggling against these conditions he is charged with murder.

This is a fight for the lives and for the freedom of the 20 already in jail charged with murder. It is a fight for the freedom of the scores of others facing the yawning steel gates of boss class penitentiaries prepared to swallow them alive. It is a fight for the organization of the mine workers for living standards higher than the starvation level.

I pledged the Miners’ Union, through its representatives, President Hightower and Secretary Jones, that the International Labor Defense would do all in its power in the struggle for their lives and their liberty, that it would seek to develop the widest possible protest of American and international labor while at the same time helping to build the struggle in the boss class courts for so-called “justice.”
No Race Hatred In Worker's Russia

By William L. Patterson

NEVER in the history of the struggles of the Negro masses of America was it so important that they take full stock of their miserable position.

To the mob violence, lynching terror, discrimination and segregation which is every day a part of their lives has been added all of the burdens of this period of hard times — unemployment, wage cuts, speed-up on the job and starvation. Where is the solution? Have oppressed nations no escape from oppression? To these questions the Russian Revolution with its slogan of the right of self-determination to oppressed minorities gives an adequate answer.

Nineteen hundred and fourteen saw the beginning of a world war supposedly for the liberation of “small nations,” for the right of national minorities to have a voice in their own government. Of the millions of soldiers on the fighting front more than two-thirds came from national groups which were politically and economically exploited and oppressed by the great nations.

But the end of the war was for the submerged peoples characterized in all cases save one by the transfer of masters. Newly created European states came into being only as pawns of the great powers in the struggle for markets and sources of raw materials. Only in Eastern Europe did freedom come to any oppressed nations and there when the workers and farmers took the government in their own hands.

More than fifty different oppressed national groups whose position was like that of the 13,000,000 Negroes in the U. S. paid tribute to the Czar. Free cultural life was denied these people. They lived only to advance the glory of “great Russia.” But those who steered the reign of struggle for a government of workers and farmers believed that only the voluntary cooperation of peoples, who controlled their own political and cultural life could be

There were no reservations. This right included the right of complete separation. Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and several other states elected under the influence of former privileged classes to break away and did. Yet the masses in these countries became enslaved by their own ruling classes who were but the tools of Western imperialism.

The freedom of those who elected to remain part of the Soviet Union was complete. They secured political and cultural self-rule. The peasants were freed from age-old slavery to the soil and to the cities. Loans came from the state. Machines began to take the place of wooden agricultural implements. The workers and peasants in their own Soviets became their own masters. Women were freed from their enslavement to men and household drudgery for the first time in the history of the world. The native language came back to the schools.

The cultural backwardness of these peoples, forced upon them by the ruling class of the oppressor nation, was the basis for the theory of their inferiority. The wiping out of that backwardness and the explosion of the inferiority idea is a product of workers and peasants self-rule.

The solution of the question of oppressed nationalities is of the utmost importance to the millions of Negroes in the Southern states, the millions of Mexicans in the Southwest, and the other national groups oppressed by American imperialism.

These oppressed millions must give the utmost attention to passing events. History has put on the order of the day the solution of their problem.
SCOTTSBORO'S TESTIMONY

Our legal procedure is a kind of map of our ruling-class mind. In the South, in a case where Negroes are involved, every white man is given the luxury of being part of the ruling class. You have to realize how physically and emotionally undernourished and starved the small tenant farmers, the small storekeepers, the jellybeans and drug-store loafers who make up the lynching mobs are, to understand the orgy of righteousness and of unconscious sex and cruelty impulses, that a lynching lets loose. The feeling of superiority to the Negro is the only thing the poor whites of the South have got. A lynching is a kind of carnival to them.

Reading the testimony in the Scottsboro case, you feel all that—the band outside the courthouse, the mob starved for joy and sex and power hanging around, passing from mouth to mouth all the juicy details of the raping. You feel that filthy prurient joy in the courtroom, the stench of it is in the badly typewritten transcript of the court procedure, in the senseless ritual, the half illiterate, poorly phrased speeches of the judge and the solicitor, the scared answers of the two tough girls, evidently schooled for days in their story, sometimes seeming to enjoy the exhibitionism of it. Evidently the court stenographer didn’t take the trouble to put down what the colored boys said in their own words; what they said didn’t matter, they were going to burn anyway.

From the testimony you can’t make out what actually did happen on that train—full of white and colored boys between Chattanooga and Paint Rock. But you do reach the certainty that it couldn’t have happened as told in court and that, even granting that the two girls were forced by some Negroes or whites on the train, there’s no particular reason why it should have been the boys who are now held in jail to give the righteous churchgoers of Jackson County, Alabama, the pleasure of legal lynching. Whatever happened, however it turns out, what a pretty picture that case offers (a man has to have a strong stomach anyway to read legal testimony without gagging) of a little corner of civilization in Mr. Hoover’s greatest nation on earth. What a story of miserable starved lives, prostitution, rape and sickness comes out between the lines of the courtroom testimony.

Lynching and race hatred, like pelagra, are diseases of poverty and ignorance.

As far as I can see, since the days of the old Abolitionists, no one has had the courage to publicly face the problem until the International Labor Defense and the Communist Party came along with their slogans of equality and cooperation between white and Negro workers. For that reason alone, I think those organizations deserve support, even by outsiders who do not subscribe to their entire creed.

By John Dos Passos

WILL HER BOYS BE LYNCHED?
A Birmingham mother, Mrs. Wright, mother of 2 of the Scottsboro boys, is in the North struggling to save her sons.

NO COAL AT HOME:
a common scene in the North during winter.

Mrs. Ida Wright, mother of two of the Scottsboro boys, appeals to all workers and sympathizers to rush funds for the defense of the youths doomed to die July 10. Go to organizations, collect funds from house to house, distribute leaflets and the Scottsboro pamphlets—let the whole world know what the Alabama bosses are trying to do. Rush funds to the I. L. D., 80 East 11th Street, Room 430, New York City.

SOME SOUTHERN SCENERY:
Lynched in North Carolina. Death to lynchers!
DEATH AT THE RIO GRANDE

By R. RIBAUD

"—eating nothing but grass."
"—manure eaten in desperation of hunger was found in their stomachs after autopsy."

These are a few phrases from newspaper accounts in Mexican papers of the unimaginable agony of the thousands of starving Mexican workers deported from the United States to their native land.

The New York Times reported that of 16,631 persons deported in 1930, 8,518 were Mexicans—more than 50%. Shoved out of this country by Uncle Sam, penniless, carrying their worldly belongings on their backs, they are pushed across the border to die of starvation.

Mass deportations—the gruesome creation of the Hoover government and Secretary of Labor Doak—is the weapon being used principally against the Mexican workers.

According to immigration officials on the frontier during the last year there was a daily average of 5 or 6 deportations from the most important frontier cities. The El Paso office registered 6,572 deportees since September, 1930. According to reports of the immigration officials they have labored more—in deportations—than during the 10 previous years put together.

The persecutions and bitter treatment of the deported workers do not cease at the border. Across the Rio Grande in Monterey, Nuevo Laredo, Mexicali and the other border towns, thousands upon thousands of deported workers are herded, hungry, among other workers without possibility of making a living.

During the month of February in Mexicali, 3,000 unemployed workers seized food of the Mexican bourgeoisie in order to exist for a few days.

The background of these deportations is the enormous scale of unemployment—misery due to the crisis. Yankee imperialism's attempts to "solve" unemployment has increased its pressure and persecution of the working masses—especially the oppressed racial groups, such as the Negroes and Mexicans.

Laws to segregate the Mexicans are being passed. The California senate passed the Bliss bill in April which forces Mexican children into segregation in the public schools—to give but one example. Last year the U.S. government passed the Harris law, by means of which the immigration of Mexican workers is restricted to about 1,500 a year.

The deportations are daily growing. The New York Times reported that "10,000 Mexicans, men, women and children have been leaving Southern California every month. With approximately 35,000 repatriates already gone it is estimated that 75,000 will have departed by midsummer."

The American workers must see that this attack on the lives of the Mexican workers is the prelude to the attack carried out all along the line—on American workers as well as foreign-born. Therefore now is the time to fight against deportations, against the murder of Mexican workers, against the Harris law, against discrimination and segregation.

Support the struggle for political and social equality of the Mexican masses of the Southwest!
WAR is near!
War on Workers’ Russia!
“War! War! War!” is in the headlines of the newspapers over the world. In the minds of the statesmen dancing to the tune of the capitalist master class. A death dance with the Morgans, Rockefellers, Fords, Schwabs, Mellons and Hoovers of the world piping the music.

The capitalist world is preparing for war night and day. Air maneuvers; fleet maneuvers; feverish meetings of the War Board in Washington; talk of “drafting labor and capital for the next war” in all the press. All this behind camouflage of “peace guarantees” — talk of disarmament-peace treaties, etc., etc.

For the capitalist world, squirming in the deepest economic crisis in history, has run frantically up a blind alley. It sees no other way out but WAR.

On whom? Soviet Russia. The workers and farmers in the Soviet Union are making such tremendous advances that the entire capitalist world stands fearful of the results on the starving masses in their own countries.

As a result the war drums beat for a slaughter. For another 1914-1918. This time against the advance guard of the world’s working class, the Soviet Union!

So the United States drives toward war.

It is spending 90 per cent of its enormous budget for war purposes, for the army and navy forces, war pensions and interest on war debts. Meanwhile it refuses the slightest aid to the starving tens of millions of unemployed and the several million starving farmers.

As the pamphlet War Against Workers’ Russia by Earl Browder states: “Mobilizing the masses for war, the capitalist press is engaged for the past year in a gigantic campaign of lies, slander and demogogy. The masses are told that the Five-Year Plan is failing, but at the same time that it is the cause of the crisis in capitalist countries. The farmers are told that Soviet wheat caused the agrarian crisis and Soviet operations on the grain exchange caused the recent drop in the price of wheat.

The millions of unemployed are told that their misery is the result of a devilish plot by the “dictator” Stalin. The religious masses are told that in the Soviet Union hundreds of thousands of priests are murdered in cold blood every year.”

The Socialists, the American Federation of Labor misleadership are lined up with the fascists of the Hamilton Fish type in screaming for war.

Workers, fight against imperialist war! There is no time to lose. Support the broad united front conferences against bosses’ war being called by the Communist Party and other militant working-class organizations, as the Trade Union Unity League, Friends of the Soviet Union, etc. July 3 to July 10! Prepare for August 1, the international fighting day against imperialist war!

Down with imperialist war!
SCOTTSBORO GOES TO COURT

ORDINARILY sleepy Scottsboro was electric today. Half hidden up among the hills, the streets were again alive with crowds.

It was in the same courthouse which saw eight Negro boys condemned to the electric chair several weeks before, April 9th.

It was before Judge Hawkins, the same judge who pronounced the sentence of death on the boys.

Today we were here to plead for a new trial. Behind us sat one-third of the town's population of 1,500. Tense, glowing, their faces were dark with anger.

Outside of this court several weeks before, 10,000 mountaineers came down from the adjacent hills, toting the long, ugly shotguns. Business-like — and their business was lynching. The Jackson County Sentinel had beat the drums rallying all "good and true Southerners" to "take the shortest way out."

By HARRY WATSON

Today we came to argue for a new trial. We had affidavits to show the two girls were prostitutes. Their word was the only evidence upon which the state had based its prosecution — was not trustworthy.

We had proof that the juries that condemned the boys to death were swayed by the ponderous weight of the mob outside — waiting with shotguns.

We shouldered our way through the crowds from the train to the court.

Mutterings — sullen looks from the natives. Many of them halted in their tracks — turned and watched us go by.

"There goes them damn New York Reds."

You could feel the loose dynamite laying around everywhere. As you walk down the street you feel their hostility. The courthouse in Scottsboro — with the imitation Southern plantation mansion style — was already surrounded by crowds.

We make our appeal — presented the legal points for a new trial. The prosecution moved to file additional briefs. Judge Hawkins decreed that on June 13th, further briefs should be filed. He banged his gavel — rose and left the bench.

Immediately the crowds in the courtroom rose — moved to the front — and surrounded us.

A florid-faced tall Scottsborian elbowed his way through the crowd. He flourished his fist in my face. "You god-damned Red," he said, "we're out to get you — and we'll get you yet."

The crowd's excitement heightened. The air crackled with tension.

Another mean-faced, angry mobster pushed forward. "We'll get you outside," he said. "We'll show you Reds coming down here in Alabama."

The crowd drew closer.

A reporter from one of the Birmingham, Alabama papers stepped forward.

"Judge Brotsky," he said, taking his arm, "I'd like to see you for a moment for an interview." He, Attorney Chamlee and I edged through the crowd, into a small side room. We went out a back door, and into a waiting automobile.

We stepped on the gas — and whizzed through the countryside — out of Alabama to Tennessee where the lynching spirit was more dormant. Where the dynamite was not waiting for a spark at that moment.

You can get a picture of the atmosphere in which the boys were tried — by this little description of the sentiment prevailing when their attorneys appeared on the scene.

"A fair trial in a Southern court for a Negro?" Judge for yourself.

FREE THE IMPERIAL VALLEY PRISONERS!

The Attorney General of California has appealed the entire decision of the Appellate Court of that state which last week was forced by the weight of mass protest to decree the freedom of Frank Spector, an Imperial Valley worker, sentenced to 3 to 42 years imprisonment, and who is still at San Quentin prison.

The Appellate Court also set aside two of the three counts against five Imperial Valley prisoners. Each count carries one to fourteen years.

As the International Labor Defense was about to file an appeal to the State Supreme Court on the one sustained count in the Imperial Valley cases the national office

By WALTER SMITH

was notified by its California district that the Attorney General has appealed from the decision of the Appellate Court.

The California district of the I.L.D. notified the national office in the same wire that their attorneys are going to court with an application for bail for the imprisoned workers and that this demand that they be released on bail will be "backed by an intensified militant campaign in California."

Since their imprisonment of fifteen months ago, hundreds of organizations, trade unions, liberal groups, workers clubs,

Communist and other working class organizations have been protesting their imprisonment under the leadership of the International Labor Defense.

Notice To All Subscribers

If you move or change your address notify the National Office immediately so that you can get your Labor Defender in time. We are getting many returns because of wrong address or moved and left no address.
PEONAGE IN U.S.A.

By WALTER WILSON

SINCE the close of the Civil War in 1865 which was to have freed the Negro slaves in the United States, there has existed a form of slavery under another name—peonage. Peonage is a system of forced labor which is essential to the rich planters (landlords) in maintaining their status. It operates through indebtedness of the poor share-croppers (tenants who give part of their crops as rent) to the planter who advances the credit and supplies upon which the crop is made. The planter keeps the

railroad and turpentine camps of the South and Southwest, but in other sections of the country also.

In 1919 the Negro share croppers near Elaine, Ark. tried to organize a farmers’ union to fight peonage. A meeting of the farmers’ union was attacked. An unknown number of Negroes—officially set at 50 but nearer 500—and five white persons were killed. Thousands of cases of peonage were brought to light during the long trials that followed much rioting.

THE WHOLE FAMILY IN THE FIELDS: Note the child in the left corner. The Scottsboro boys came from such environment.

In 1920 many magazines reported widespread peonage in Early, Dooley, Decatur, Worth, Toombs, and Morgan counties, Georgia. Just following this report in 1921 Gov. Hugh Dorsey of Georgia made a report as to “The Negro in Georgia” in which he stated “In some counties the Negro is being held as a slave; in others he is being driven out as though he were a wild beast.” The governor’s report lists 19 cases of peonage and many others were brought to light later. One of which was the John S. Williams “murder farm” case where 11 Negroes were murdered by Williams from 1910 to 1921. Some of those killed were too old and infirm to work. Others were murdered when it was discovered that there would be an investigation because they knew too much.

Peonage is not restricted to the South. It was in Maine, home of Congressman Nelson of the present-day Fish Committee who is making the howl about forced labor in Soviet Russia, that peonage flourished and even exceeded the South. Even a Congressional committee has stated, “There has probably existed in Maine the most complete system of peonage in the entire country. In 1907 a bill became a law which made failure upon the part of an immigrant employee to carry out all provisions of a labor contract a criminal offense. Under it the failure of the immigrant to pay everything owed the lumberman for supplies, advances, etc., was evidence of intent to defraud. By falsifying the accounts the immigrant was kept perpetually in debt by the lumberman. The Committee’s report said, “Considerable peonage has resulted from the statute. . . . soon after its passage the jail at Dover, county seat of one of the large lumber centers, was filled with laborers convicted of defrauding their employers. . . . involuntary servitude results in utilizing the statute to intimidate laborers to work against their will. The contract-labor law has become a club which the foreman and superintendents draw on the laborers who refuse to work or continue at work. If a man leaves his employer before settling for advances, he will be pursued and apprehended, or someone will telephone the constable who will arrest the laborer. He will then be brought before the justice, and sent ‘down the river’ to prison, or if he consents to labor until he has reimbursed for all advances, and the fine and costs of prosecution, the employer will settle with the court and constable will take the laborer back to the forest.”

The Committee found “many cases of involuntary servitude in the lumber and railroad camps of Minnesota and North Dakota.”

The complete result of the investigation was that “in every state except Oklahoma and Connecticut the investigators found evidence of practices between employers and employees which, if substantiated by legal evidence would constitute peonage as the Supreme Court has defined it.”

In flagrant violation of Federal laws a system of forced labor called peonage has existed and exists today in the United States. If the Fish Investigating Committee will secure authorization and protection of Federal troops from Congress, for hundreds of people I know they can help him discover enough cases of forced labor—not in Russia—but in the U. S. to keep him busy for a half dozen years making out a detailed report.
FOR THE YOUNG WORKERS

Spartakiade

The finals in U.S.A. for this meet took place on National Youth Day, May 31st throughout the United States, stretching across the 3,000 miles from New York to California.

In New York, at Ulmer Park, Brooklyn, over two hundred athletes representing clubs in the New England, Eastern and Middle Atlantic states came by trucks, train and by foot to participate in the biggest athletic event in years. An event which was to decide the sport delegation to Berlin, Germany where the long heralded International Workers Athletic Meet, the Spartakiad takes place July 4-12. May 31st is past and with it the many championship meets, only one of which failed to come off, that at Youngstown, Ohio, where the hirelings of the steel trusts attacked a parade of young workers demonstrating against wage cuts and the miserable conditions of the workers. In the conflict that ensued all athletic equipment was burned by the police and more than 70 worker athletes were arrested.

But such episodes as the Youngstown battle may be expected by the working class, which should serve to encourage the fight against the bosses more and more.

In Berlin there will gather over 100,000 athletes all demonstrating their solidarity with the working class. Close to a half million spectators will witness the gigantic demonstrations and cheer in support of the R.S.I.; in the meantime the Lucerne S. I. splits the workers sports movement by holding its Olympiad in Vienna at the same time as the Spartakiad.

Here in the U.S. the bosses growing panic over the steady desertion from their ranks of the working youth are planning their own Olympics in Los Angeles in 1932 as a means of attracting the thousands of worker athletes to their "games." The latter, however, with their total participation of 4,000 athletes (a liberal estimate) is a feeble gesture in contrast to the colossal workers Spartakiad. The working youth must be won over!

YOUNG DEFENDERS ON THE MARCH

On the eve of the third memorial of the murders of Sacco and Vanzetti, a group of young workers and students organized the first youth branch of the International Labor Defense.

The Young Defenders started with 4 members in New York City. Today, we have 6 branches in different parts of the city, one of them a Spanish speaking branch. Working along the old lines of the youth branches did not prove suitable for the newly formed Young Defenders.

With the help of the Prospect Workers Club, we formulated a system of committee work. From then on, the entire membership was divided into 3 committees - educational, I. L. D. and membership. Every member must choose one committee to be active on.

In the short time of our existence, we have accomplished the following: Organized 3 new branches of the Young Defenders; raised $135 for the I.L.D. Bazaar, sent Comrade Wing to Russia and raised his fare of $150, established the record of raising over 2,000 signatures for the Amnesty Drive and over $100 in cash, established a monthly periodical, the Young Defender with a circulation of 700 copies, adopted a prisoner; participated in the forefront of the May 1st demonstration Scottsboro Demonstrations, and collections, and National Youth Day Demonstrations. We intend to keep up our good beginning and prove to be the most active branch of the International Labor Defense.

From now on, the Young Defender will have a special youth section in the Labor Defender every month — you must write and report what is going on in your district and what chances you have to organize branches. Write to the Labor Defender, 80 East 11th Street.
The Steel Barons Shoot Children

About 3,000 youths gathered in Youngstown, Ohio on May 30. They came from five different states. Quite a great number of them were children and the bulk in their teens. As each delegation pulled in with their trucks and cars, they were greeted by the earlier delegates with warm cheers and songs. Banners were flying high and without exaggeration the whole town, every section of the city was aroused.

NEGRO YOUTH LEADING the parade in Patrician on National Youth Day.

After the baseball game the crowds once more reconvened in the same hall and the schedule then called for a parade, and here is where the slaughter begins.

Here we had about 3,000 youngsters who could do nothing else but parade. There was no room for them to stay in the hall till evening, when a dance was supposed to have taken place. Therefore, they milled up and down the stairs and streets, till instructions were given for all to gather in a back yard where at least 100 cars and trucks were parked. This lot was surrounded on all sides with buildings and had one avenue out into the streets.

Well, at this time one comrades mounted a truck and started giving directions for the parade. I better inform you that no permit was granted in spite of continual requests. The instructions were to fall in line, with members of the Young Communist League in the lead, Labor Sports Union and Pioneers to follow. You must understand that entirely new clubs, who knew nothing of the class struggle, were approached for National Youth Day and hundreds of them responded. Detroit, with a League of about 150 brought out over 300 delegates, even though it is about 250 miles from their homes; Buffalo with only 30 or so brought out close to 100, etc. Exactly at this time six mounted cops and about twelve unmounted, entered the lot, and waited until we were ready to start parading. Then the mounted cops charged right into the crowd, having us cornered pretty nicely, with no outlet, and we were easy prey for them. We had nothing else to do but to find some means of defense. Bricks, sticks, stones, etc., were easy at hand and we therefore started bombarding them with these. We had a few very good baseball teams with excellent pitchers, who proved their skill by striking a few on the horses quite squarely on the nut. Then the cowardly police were reinforced by hundreds of plain clothes men, legionnaires and some national guard boys. The most cowardly shot immediately when they were struck by the bricks, at first in the air, then right into the crowd. Result: 75 arrested, 25 or so in hospitals, including 12 cops; about six children with bullets in their bodies; all cars and trucks on the lot confiscated by the police, after which they searched all and burned right on the lot all literature, food and clothing that the delegates had brought with them, smashed windows of the cars, and established peace.

All young workers should join the Labor Sports Union and develop themselves physically. Don't belong to the bosses' organisations like the Y.M.C.A., or summer military training camps—but build up the working class movement. That's where all young workers belong.

However, we are used to such things, though not to such vicious attacks, and this was not the worst of the day. Unprecedented confusion then reigned supreme. No one knew where to go, the children and all others were detached from their captains. It really was a miserable state of affairs for a few hours. Here and there little skirmishes would break out, bloody workers would pass you up time and again, with no one to direct them to any doctor or drug store. Comrades rescuing their friends or comrades from the hands of police, only to be arrested themselves. The whole street looked very similar to a czarist regime. However, once more we heard instructions passed around: "To the auditorium" and gradually the crowds started drifting away from the battle field towards the Auditorium. There the dance was supposed to have been held but instead "Frames of an Empire," a Russian movie, was shown, and the leading comrades delivered short speeches.

Here we were faced with one more difficult problem. We had to clear out of the hall by 12 midnight. Dozens of dicks and legionnaires were standing by the door to see to it that we would clear out and to further arrest comrades who succeeded in getting away during the fight.

Those arrested in the first fight on the lot had the names and addresses of the workers whose homes were to be used as lodgings for the delegates, and without these we were left as helpless as children. Strangers in the city, children still drifting in the streets, thugs and police waiting for us to adjourn so as to be able to nab more, for they were afraid to stop inside the hall, where the hate towards the cops and whole lousy grafting city administration was so great that any attempt to molest inside would have resulted in another bloody battle.

Our comrades are going back with broken bodies but with strengthened spirit, to continue the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of our Fatherland. Our Pioneers and the other children especially deserve credit for their excellent spirit and determination. It really is remarkable how these children are trained in the class struggle and how hardened they become in the fight. While I'm concluding this they are all gathered now in one room singing the International.

Young Finnish and native born toilers at Duluth, Minn.
THE INQUISITION LIVES ON!

By R. GOMEZ

IMAGINE, if you can, a string of human beings hung up alive on meat hooks along the principal street of a city.

This is not done to horrify you—but to give you a picture of the furious reign of terror in the Realm of Oil, Venezuela.

Humans strung up by their throats on hooks—like slabs of beef in a butcher shop—humans chained to the floor in medieval dungeons with water dripping drop by drop for weeks on their heads until they go mad with pain and fear; humans tortured by every conceivable method.

Latest reports reveal that the newly formed Communist Party leadership and 1,000 workers were thrown in the torture den—La Rotunda—for printing a leaflet.

Gomez the president, represents the Venezuelan feudal class. His government dances to the tune of Yankee and British imperialists, exploiting the Maracaibo oil fields.

The reign of Gomez is literally written in blood. To mention a few examples: In 1913 an uprising took place in the state of Bolivar. One hundred and seven peasants were arrested. After 9 years Gomez announced amnesty for the prisoners. When relatives of the prisoners went to the dungeon gates to greet the freed peasants—they were horrified when only seven walked out of the gates. The remainder had been murdered in jail.

In 1914, 300 workers, peasants and students were arrested, the majority of them still in prison. Ground glass was discovered in their food, fed to them by the jailers. In 1928, at a students' demonstration in Caracas, 30 were shot down. The most militant workers of the oil fields have been persecuted and sent into forced labor on the highways. It is estimated that now there are more than 5,000 political prisoners suffering brutal tortures in the jails of the following cities: San Carlos, Cumana, Marquisimeto, Cuidad Bolivar, Coro, San Fernando Calabozo and Maracy, and in La Rotunda, where the most refined tortures are applied.

The Caribbean Secretariat of the International Red Aid is conducting a wide campaign to demand amnesty of all Venezuelan political prisoners; to expose the brutal tortures of the imperialist Gomez regime; to halt the killing of workers and anti-imperialist fighters.

The duty of the American working class is to participate in this campaign demanding the halt to the bloody persecutions in Venezuela.

Freedom for the Communist militants!

FIVE WHO MUST NOT DIE!

By Carl Hacker

THE five Paterson Textile workers who were framed-up on murder charges for killing the boss against whom they were striking, have been released from prison on bonds. It was through the efforts of the International Labor Defense and the National Textile Workers Union, both organizations of which they are members, that this was achieved.

And while the release of these five militant leaders of a strike can be considered an important victory for the working class, yet there is a great danger behind this move of the bosses. They have announced that in all probability the charges of murder will be reduced to lesser charges, perhaps manslaughter. And here lies the danger. The bosses know very well that the frame-up charges of murder will perhaps not stand before a jury, particularly if workers happen to get on it. They are using practically the same method that was used in the case of the textile workers in Gastonia, North Carolina, where there, too, because of the storm of protest that went up in every corner of the country they reduced the charges to murder in the second degree. Then they were able to get a conviction and 20 year sentences were flung quite freely. And here in Paterson they are resorting to the same methods. They feel that by reducing the charges they are more certain of a conviction. They also feel that by reducing the charges they will be able to dampen the movement against this frame-up. Whether or not they are able to get away with even this much will depend upon the working class of this country. Whether these workers spend a single day in jail will depend upon the movement of protest we are able to mobilize throughout the country.

The danger is great. The bosses, in their attempt to smash the militant National Textile Workers Union are using every means at their disposal. The shooting in Gastonia, the wholesale arrests at Lawrence, Philadelphia and other places where the N. T. W. U. has been conducting struggles against wage cuts, etc., the arrest and jailing for one year of Pat Devine, National Secretary of the union and now the Paterson cases where the attempt is made to railroad off to the electric chair five militant workers, are all part of the general campaign against the whole working class and particularly against the revolutionary unions of this country.

The International Labor Defense must rally every force possible in this fight to save the five Paterson silk workers from the electric chair. The I.L.D. must and will mobilize all of its forces in the fight against all persecution and deportations of workers.
Wanted: 5,000 Labor Defender Subs

WHAT are YOU doing in the drive? While we have reports only of the first two weeks in June, the results are not as good as they should be for the beginning of the drive. The drive is slow in getting on the way.

WILL HE WIN THE TRIP TO U.S.S.R.? Gus Spanoudis, of Huntington, W. Va., has already got 21 subs in 2 weeks. He is sure he is going to win the Labor Defender first prize. How about you?

The workers everywhere want the Labor Defender. The June issue was sold out the first week of the month and we had to print a second edition. With the important campaigns that the I. L. D. is carrying on at present the Labor Defender must serve not only as an agitator but also as an organizer for the International Labor Defense. In order to get the best results out of the Scottsboro campaign and win the freedom for the nine boys we must spread the Labor Defender to workers especially Negroes who have never heard of our movement before.

In order to carry on a successful amnesty campaign we must bring the Labor Defender before the American toilers and explain to them the horrors of the capitalist class justice and the suffering of the working class militants in prison.

Very encouraging letters are coming in from various parts of the country showing that the drive will not only be successful but will even go over the top. Here is a letter from Virginia of Syracuse, N. Y. and this is a challenge to all those who are competing for the first prize:

Dear Comrades-Competitors:

In front of me is 100 copies of this month’s Labor Defender. Turning to page 120 I see “Who will go to Soviet Union?” I wonder who will go? Maybe it will be I? I am also in for it Dear Comrades. All I can say is that you all buckle up. For I shall work hard, double hard, comrades. My goal is also towards the trip. Nevertheless I wish you all good luck. I shall not rest till my branch and district is on the top. More Labor Defenders and more of them to be sold in the streets of Syracuse, or any place be it city, town or country.” Comrade Sam Ger-

DISTRICT CHALLENGES

SO FAR the following challenges have been received in the National office:

Detroit Dist. challenges Cleveland Dist.
New Jersey Sub Dist. challenges Phila. Dist
New York Dist. challenges Chicago Dist.
Cleveland accepts the challenge of Detroit. Chicago raised their quota of 700 subs to 1,000 new subs. New York district decided to raise their bundle order to 10,000 copies per month by the end of the drive. New York district is now getting 5,000 a month. Two months ago they were getting only 2,500. Detroit district has already raised their bundle order to 1,500 copies per month. Cleveland district also raised their bundle order. This looks like a good fight. We have not heard anything from Philadelphia yet. What’s Philadelphia doing in the drive? Seattle has a good program worked out! So has San Francisco and Los Angeles. But these programs must be put into practice. Otherwise they will not do any good. What about the other districts? Why don’t we hear from Boston, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Connecticut and the other districts? Boston in the last few months has completely fallen down in their sales of Labor Defenders. For the month of May Boston district received only 75 copies of the Labor Defender! This certainly is an impermissible situation and those responsible for this negligence will have to be called to responsibility. This neglect of the Labor Defender reflects itself in the whole organization in Boston. This proves that with an effective Labor Defender apparatus the organization can not be built!

This is how the drive stands up to June 19:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam Gerber, Los Angeles</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Weissman, Philadelphia</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gus Spanoudis, Huntington, W. Va.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Lerner, Astoria, L. I.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Gasparac, Cleveland, Ohio</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Trachman, Brooklyn, N. Y.</td>
<td>8½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Kazakovich, Detroit, Mich.</td>
<td>5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Frantzis, Waukegan, Ill.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Sorokoski, North Roslyn, N. Y.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Pollack, Sioux City, Iowa</td>
<td>3½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Pennala, Phelps, Wis.</td>
<td>3½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Thomas, Philadelphia, Pa.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lith. Work, Women’s Alliance Bklyn.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 236½

S. A. Johnson, of Newark, N. J., sold 200 Labor Defenders last month. He is also out to win the 1st prize. He says he can get 500 subs himself by going from house to house in workers’ neighborhoods.

THE OLD AND THE NEW: In Leningrad, 1931. Will YOU see this?

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(A cry from behind bars for all workers to heed is this letter from the miners of Harlan, Ky., pleading for food for their families.)

Harlan, Ky.,
June 10, 1931.

Mr. J. Louise Engdahl,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Engdahl:

Your letter of June the 8th at hand and contents read and I note where you wrote to Mr. Darrow as chief counsel for us fellows. That was fine. We haven't heard from the Court of Appeals yet, but we ought to in the next day or so.

I haven't, up to the present time, received the material you sent me under separate cover but I think I will in the next day or so; and I haven't received the material yet that you sent me regarding the Scottsboro case. I will, in my next letter, send you a report about the conditions of the white and colored folks, both W. B. Jones, Evarts, Ky. 8
C. O. Chamblee, Cawod, Ky. 9
W. M. Burnett, Evarts, Ky. 3
A. L. Benson, Evarts, Ky. 3
Alic Kusick, Evarts, Ky. 4
W. M. Hightower, Evarts, Ky. 4
F. M. Bratcher, Evarts, Ky. 6
Andy Vaughn, Evarts, Ky. 3
Walter Camp, Gulton, Ky. 7
Hugh Lester, Evarts, Ky. 8
John Lester, Evarts, Ky. 5
Willie Eichols, Benham, Ky. 1
W. M. Brackett, Eunshine, Ky. 6
W. M. Green, Evarts, Ky. 5
Carl Williams, Evarts, Ky. 6
W. M. Turpin, Evarts, Ky. 5
Chas. Broderly, Evarts, Ky. 9
Floyd Murphy, Evarts, Ky. 2
Logan Green, Butlins, Ky. 3
Tom Hicks, Black Joe, 4
W. M. Hudson, Evarts, Ky. 4

we can help them and keep them from starving and if you help us, we will help you. THE COAL MINERS OF HARLAN Co., Ky.

W. B. JONES
P. O. Box No. 484
Harlan, Ky.

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

Birmingham, Ala., County Jail,
June 11, 1931.

Mr. J. Louise Engdahl.

Dear Sir:

Received your letter. Glad to hear from you. Do you know whether you can have my trial any time this month. There haven’t been here to see me yet. I received your check and write and told you. I received it and I was glad to get it. I am feeling very well now and when these few lines reach you all it will find you all the same. Write back and let me know can you all have my trial this month.

Give my love to my Mother and my sis in these coal fields. I am willing to help you in any way that I can to expose the conditions that now exist in this part of the country. But if I could get out of jail, I could do a lot better job of it. It will be glad when the books you have for me arrives as the time drags on slow for me for I have been very active all my life.

I am going to send you the names of all the people that are in need here and anything that you can do for them will sure be appreciated. I will assure you of that, for they need food and clothing—both. I am sending only the men’s names that are in jail.

Family
Alex Reed, Harlan, Ky. 5
Morris Hansford, Evarts, Ky. 4

Jim Reynolds, Clover Fork, Ky. 4
Tom Bosick, Evarts, Ky. 5
Johnson Murphy, Evarts, Ky. 1
G. G. Green, Evarts, Ky. 1
Robert Smith, Kitts, Ky. 3
J. W. Holdaclaw, Devils Fork, W. Va. 8

These people can all be found at the address given here and all these men are in jail here in Harlan over the labor trouble so come to their rescue, if you can, for they have starved all winter and if there is no relief soon some of them will starve to death. So come to us everybody and help us lest we perish. We love our wives and little children. Do help us so Lucile. No body been here to talk to me but a newspaper man. 2 men from Birmingham News but I played dumb. They can’t make no fool out of me no way they take me I wish you would send a lawyer to talk to me. Got a letter from Chattanooga from Defense. I am answering they letter today and one from my Bro yesterday. I have already answered his letter. He said he was well. Write you all. I believe I come free of all this some day. Write back as soon as you receive this letter. Let me know about my trial this month so I guess I will close for this time.

From a lonely friend
But I remain yours respectfully,
ROY WRIGHT,
patiently waiting in my cell.

Shackled in gangs, these miners arrested for striking in West Virginia. Similar scenes in Harlan, Ky.

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Shackled in gangs, these miners arrested for striking in West Virginia. Similar scenes in Harlan, Ky.
The IRA SURVEYS the ILD

During the recent Third Plenum of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid at Moscow, the following resolution was adopted on the I. L. D.:

The ever-growing crisis of the world’s capitalist economy has smashed the so-called American “prosperity.” It has created an ever increasing army of 10 millions unemployed. It has brought untold misery and starvation to thousands of poor farmers.

The resistance of the workers and poor farmers against these starvation conditions has caused the boss class to sharpen the terror in the United States.

Lynching of Negroes, deportations of foreign-born, shooting down and clubbing of protesting workers, prohibition of the mail to revolutionary publications, enforcement of exceptional laws against radical workers, etc., have become now more than ever the methods used by the dollar bourgeoisie to break down the counter-offensive of the workers.

In the American colonies and its dependent states of Latin America, the conditions are still worse.

The American bourgeoisie is increasing its military preparations in order to attack the Soviet Union in the hope of crushing the revolutionary stronghold of the exploited and oppressed toilers of the world and to fight for the redistribution of the colonies.

The International Labor Defense is therefore faced with tasks that will require all its ability to become a real mass organization of the revolutionary united front.

Since its Fourth National Congress (December, 1929), the International Labor Defense has performed a certain amount of work in order to build up an organization.

It has carried on numerous international and national campaigns, (Mexican, Columbia, Chinese, Indian, etc.) Gastonia, Imperial Valley, etc. It has rebuilt its organization and formed 18 districts into which all different language groups and international branches are united. It has defended thousands of arrested workers before the capitalist courts. It has begun to work among the Negroes and carried on a strong fight against lynchings. It has participated very actively in the fight against deportations of foreign-born (National Conference in Washington).

It has taken part in all the struggles of the working class (Gastonia strike, Imperial Valley, etc.). It has helped the International Red Aid section of Latin American countries (solidarity pact with Mexico, support of Caribbean Secretariat). Its organ Labor Defender has reached a circulation of 28,000 and numerous handbills, leaflets and pamphlets have been published.

At the same time the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of International Red Aid must point out the following main defects of the organization:

1. Lack of political life in the organization and insufficient international educational work performed.

2. Inability to enlarge its organizational strength by drawing in new members (stabilization and even regress of its membership). Almost no work in the factories and among the poor farmers, insufficient activity among the foreign-born and the colonial workers.

3. Very weak work among the affiliated bodies. No initiative groups are created there; dues are not collected, no graduated norms of dues for them exist; very small work among the unemployed (about one thousand members out of 10 millions unemployed).

4. Too much attention devoted to legal defense activity. Expenditures of large amounts for lawyers, bails and fines.

5. Highly inefficient member of Negroes in the ranks of the organization.

6. Too much dependency upon a big paid functionary apparatus and lack of building up of cadres of non-paid militants to perform the work connected with the absence of collective work in the committees and with the poor functioning of the paid district apparatus.


8. Publishing of the Labor Defender at a loss (with a circulation sufficient to keep it going even at a profit.)

9. Neglect of “Patronati” work.

10. Poor development of national and international patronage.

The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of International Red Aid calls for the carrying through of the following tasks before the International Labor Defense in order to meet the present situations:

1. Conversion into a mass organization, beginning this work from the bottom up by creating and strengthening groups of the International Labor Defense among all the toilers in the United States of America.

2. Internationalization of its work linking up every local and national issue with the international revolutionary struggle the world over.

3. Clarifying the character of the International Labor Defense as an independent militant class organization for the rights of the oppressed masses against fascism and white terror, for the creation of the international solidarity front and for relief of the victims of the white terror and their dependents the world over.

4. The section must devote more attention to the national issue with the international revolutionary struggle the world over.

5. Strengthen the work among the emigrants and especially among the colonial workers.

6. All the toilers’ mass organizations should be drawn in as collective members. There must be created initiative groups. Dues should be regularly collected. Norms must be fixed on a graduated scale. Special attention should be paid to the work among the unemployed. A special low reduced monthly dues should be fixed for them.

7. The work among the Negro toilers must be put as one of the most important tasks, because without large masses of Negroes in its ranks the International Labor Defense cannot effectively fight against the persecution of Negroes and against the white chauvinism of the backward strata of the white American toilers.

The utmost attention should be paid to the recruiting of Negroes—and they should, more carefully than other members, be drawn into the every day work of the organization as well as into its leadership. Each branch must become a fighting unit against all persecutions of the Negroes.

8. In the legal defense, there must be made a decisive turn. The International Labor Defense should supply lawyers only in very important cases where big political issues are involved.

Instead the membership and the masses of the toilers should be educated for self-defense in the courts, consultations on all legal questions for the defense of the workers and farmers should be established.

The International Labor Defense must make all attempts to create cadres of lawyers that would take up the cases free of charge.

The International Labor Defense must also establish fixed rates for the remuneration of the engaged lawyers and break with the practice of paying high lawyers’ fees.

The payment of fines, court expenses and of bail must be declined.

9. The Labor Defender and all other publications must be put on a self-paying basis, and the entire publishing should be financially separated from the other work. The issuing of leaflets, pamphlets, posters, etc. must be carried out according to a prearranged plan.

10. The patronage work must be developed on a larger basis. The International Labor Defense organizations should especially pay atten-

The American dole system: Hunting food.

tion to the prisons of the Philippines, Central and South America and China. Among the different masses of emigrants from countries of the white terror, should be created “Patronati” in accordance with the special instruction issued on this subject by the Executive Committee (loose mass organizations, but not small committees).

NOTE: An article on the Third Plenum of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid, recently held in Moscow, will appear in the next issue of the Labor Defender.

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INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE NATIONAL OFFICE
BALANCE SHEET — MARCH 31, 1931

ASSETS

Cash in Banks .................................................. $ 924.76
Petty Cash Fund ............................................... 50.00
Accounts Receivable (less reserves) ................. 13,416.49
Loans and Exchanges Receivable .................. 229.58
Deposits ......................................................... 240.00
Office Furniture & Fixtures (less reserves) ....... 2,113.07

Total Assets ...................................................... $16,141.61
Deficit January 1, 1931 (less adjustments) ....... 37,508.39
Excess of Income over Expenditures for the ....... 1,784.74
three months ...................................................

Total Deficit ...................................................... 35,723.65
Total Assets and Deficit ...................................... 51,865.26

LIABILITIES

Bank Checks Payable ......................................... 943.08
Notes Payable — Banks .................................... 5,200.00
Notes Payable — Miscellaneous ...................... 1,637.80
Loans Payable .................................................. 13,527.64
Accounts Payable ............................................. 7,570.72
Wages Payable .................................................. 6,256.83

Total Current Liabilities ..................................... 35,136.07
Unearned Subscriptions—Labor Defender ........... 1,474.12
Caribbean Section ............................................. 37.80
Greek Section ................................................... 75.87
Bail Fund ......................................................... 15,141.40

Total Liabilities ................................................. 51,865.26

STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENDITURES FOR THE
THREE MONTHS ENDED MARCH 31, 1931

INCOME:
Defense & Relief:
Prisoners Pledge Fund .................................... 814.17
Foreign Prisoners ............................................. 148.49
Miscellaneous Cases ....................................... 773.41
Special Campaigns ........................................... 1,857.26

Total ................................................................. 3,593.33

Administrative:
Membership Dues ............................................. 1,940.75
Initiations ....................................................... 267.50
Members at Large ............................................. 30.85
Application Cards and Membership Books ......... 86.32
Affiliated Organizations Fee ......................... 374.41
Charters ......................................................... 48.00
Bail Fund Donations ........................................ 914.09
General Donations .......................................... 2,889.35
Literature ....................................................... 321.50
Calendars ......................................................... 482.15
Language Sections .......................................... 26.80
Miscellaneous ................................................ 106.88

Total ................................................................. 7,488.60

Labor Defender:
Circulation .................................................... 3,735.33
Subscriptions .................................................. 1,231.00
Advertisements .............................................. 81.00
Donations ......................................................... 26.62

Total Income .................................................... $16,155.88

EXPENDITURES:
Defense & Relief:
Prisoners Relief .............................................. 254.83
Prisoners Dependents Relief ......................... 340.00
Miscellaneous cases ....................................... 1,134.33
Special Campaigns .......................................... 570.09

Total ................................................................. 2,299.25

Administrative, Publicity & Organization:
Secretaries Wages ........................................... 1,415.00
Office Wages .................................................. 2,024.25
Office Rent ..................................................... 345.00
Organizers and Speakers Wages .................... 448.50
Organizers and Speakers Fares ..................... 258.73
Publicity ......................................................... 648.72
Telephone ....................................................... 255.64
Telegraph ......................................................... 43.11
Stationery and Supplies ................................. 155.33
Postage .......................................................... 303.16
Printing .......................................................... 2.00
Literature ...................................................... 100.47
Interest & Bank Charges .................................. 132.76
Depreciation on Furniture & Fixtures .......... 79.54
Language Sections .......................................... 292.85
Miscellaneous Expenses .................................. 47.99

Total ................................................................. 6,553.25

Labor Defender:
Printing ......................................................... 1,930.80
Binding .......................................................... 200.00
Mailing .......................................................... 217.84
Postage .......................................................... 255.53
Bound Volumes ................................................. 162.50
Editorial Wages ............................................... 385.00
Administrative Wages ..................................... 1,010.00
Cuts and Photos ............................................ 598.39
Promotion ....................................................... 237.23
Editorial Expenses ......................................... 118.20
Stationery and Supplies ................................. 176.58
Commissions on subscriptions ..................... 121.39
Labor Defender Ball ....................................... 103.18

Total ................................................................. 5,518.64

Total Expended .................................................. 14,371.14

EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURES FOR THE THREE MONTHS
ENDED MARCH 31, 1931 ........................................ 1,784.74

Note of explanation: The funds received for prisoners' relief up to
March 31, were sent out during the following month.

Go On Your Vacation To One of Our
PROLETARIAN CAMPS
Information for all four camps can be obtained at
26 Union Square, Room 505; Tel. STuyvesant 9-6332

CAMP KINDERLAND
All registration must be in the office a week in advance.
Children 7 years of age and over will be accepted.

CAMP NITGEDAIGET BEACON, N. Y.
Boats leave for the camp every day from 42d Street Ferry.
Good ENTERTAINMENT DANCES AT THE CAMP

CAMP WOCOLONA MONROE, N. Y.
Take 23rd St. ferry, Erie Railroad, to Monroe, N. Y.
A return ticket for the camp is only $2.60
Rates: July and August, $21.00 per week.
For good standing members of the T.U.U.I., $17.00 per week
Camp Phone: Monroe 89

CAMP UNITY WINGDALE, N. Y.
Autos leave every day, 3 p. m., Friday at 10 a. m. and 6 p. m.
Saturday, 9 a. m., 1 p. m., and 4 p. m. for the camp,
Autos leave from 32 Union Square—direct to the camp.
For information about any of these four camps—
Call Stuyvesant 9-6332
Proletarian Greetings to the Labor Defender, the Fighting Workers Pictorial. Fight Against Lynching!  
Amnesty for All Political Prisoners!

FINNISH CLUB  
NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.  

FINNISH WORKERS ASSOCIATION  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  

UKRAINIAN BRANCH OF THE I.L.D.  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.  

HUNGARIAN BRANCH, I. L. D.  
MILWAUKEE, WISC.  

ITALINA BRANCH I. L. D.  
ROCHESTER, N. Y.  

RUSSIAN NATIONAL MUTUAL AID SOCIETY OF AMERICA  
SCRANTON, PA.  

Matti Kokko, Warren, Ohio  
Elmer Maki, Warren, Ohio  
Erna Fisher, New York City  
Suzanne Ellenbogen, New York City  
W. F. & D. B. F., Belleville, Ill., No. 316  
Geo. F. Mitchell, New Orleans  
Gardner Women's Club, Gardner, Mass.  
Gardner Velkot, Gardner, Mass.  
Agitators Committee, Gardner, Mass.  
Pearl, Washington, D. C.  
T. H. Scott, Washington, D. C.  
Yetta Olof, Los Angeles, Calif.  
Minnie Pallen, Los Angeles, Calif.  
Thos. A. Bailey  
A Comrade, Detroit, Mich.  
Sadie Roskin, Detroit, Mich.  
Dr. I. Benish, Detroit, Mich.  
Sema Glick, Detroit, Mich.  
Paul Redstone, Detroit, Mich.  
Finnish Workers Club, Jamaica, L.I., N.Y.  
A. Brausky, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Mary Dzdzar, Farrell, Pa.  
N. B.  
N. N.  
Nichols, Mariners Harbor S. I.  
Joy Moss, Mariners Harbors, S. I.  
C. Fragiamento, Mariners Harbor, S. I.  

BARBERTON, O  ILD BRANCH 378  

HUNGARIAN BRONX BRANCH  

Frank Rothman  
Dengelige  
Martin Mayer  
L. Klein  
Folan Milgram  
Simon Miklos  
Dora Milgram  
Lajos Burger  
Rudolf Meyer  
Lewis Newfield  
Alex Schwartz  

JUGOSLAV BRANCH I. L. D.  

NICK SPANOUDAKIS BR. I. L. D.  
New York City  

INTERN'L WORKERS ORDER  
Bronx, N. Y.  

LENIN BRANCH No. 25  
INTERN'L WORKERS ORDER  

YOUNG DEFENDERS  
1400 Boston Road  
Bronx, N. Y.  
New York City Committee

Revolutionary Greetings to the Workers and Peasants of the Soviet Union.

BRONX COOPERATIVE COLONY

COOPERATIVE STORES (CONCOOPS)

COOPERATIVE CAMP NITGEDAIGET

2700-2800 BRONX PARK EAST

BRONX, N. Y.
They Are to Burn July 10

The Nine Scottsboro Boys
What Do YOU Say?
Shall the Bosses Murder Them?

IT’S UP TO YOU!

MASS PROTEST CAN STAY THE EXECUTION!
MASS PROTEST CAN WIN A NEW TRIAL!
MASS PROTEST CAN FREE THEM!

Join the International Labor Defense in This Fight!

RUSH FUNDS FOR THE SCOTTSBORO DEFENSE
to the
NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE I.L.D.
80 EAST 11th STREET, Room 430 NEW YORK CITY

PRISONERS RELIEF FUND
Organized under the Auspices of the International Labor Defense to Help Political Prisoners and Dependents

ARE YOU IN PRISON?

If not you will want to help this new committee formed to raise funds for one purpose — to help the political and class war prisoners and their dependents.

Regular amounts are sent to the prisoners and dependents. And nothing is deducted for “overhead.” Every penny you give goes to the prisoners and their families.

This is a permanent committee which aids the I. L. D. in this one job.

Contribute to the Fund. Make a pledge of say 50 cents or a dollar a month. Send us names of possible contributors.

Grace Hutchings, Treasurer
PRISONERS RELIEF FUND,
Room 430, 80 East 11th St., New York City

I enclose $............. for the Prisoners' Relief Fund.
I pledge $............. monthly, $............. every year.

Name
Street
City

Esther Lowell
Louis Lozowick
Helen Mallory
George Maurer
Claretta Michelon
Frank Palmer
Joseph Pass
Paul Peters
William Pickens
Hollace Randell
Anna Rochester
Edward Royst
Adelaide M. Schuckin
Bernhard J. Stern
Ruth Stout
Maurice Sugar
Charlotte Todes
Marguerite Tucker
Paul Winder
Arthur Warner
Anita Whitney
Walter Wilson
Charles Erskine Wood

Roger N. Baldwin
Silas Bent
Winifred Chappell
Malcolm Cowley
Horace B. Davis
Solon De Leon
Robert Cruden
John Dos Passos
Robert W. Dunn
Sara Bard Field
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Waldo Frank
Lydia Gibson
Michael Gold
Jack Hardy
Josephine Herbst
Henry T. Hunt
Grace Hutchings
Ellen Kenman
Walter Hinkle
Margaret Larkin
Melvin P. Levy
Jessie London