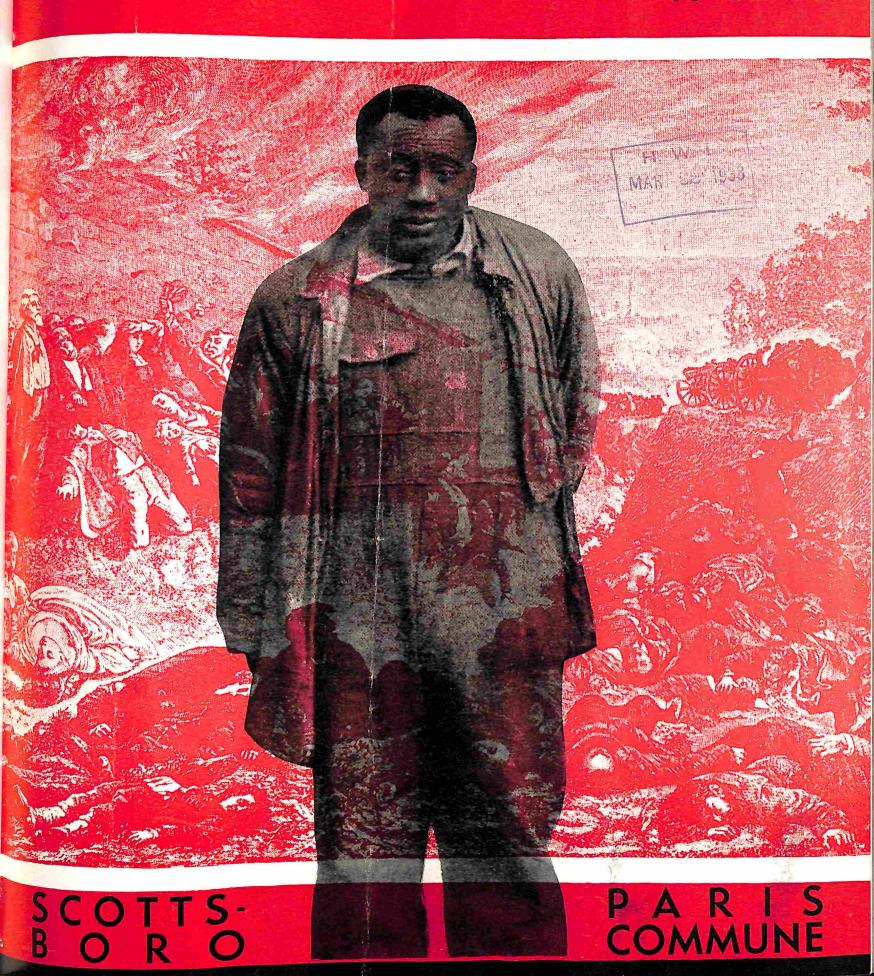
ABOR DEFENDER

MARCH, 1933

10 CENTS



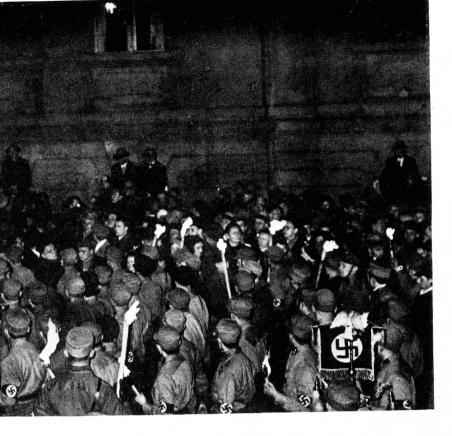
LABOR DEFENDER

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SCOTTS-BORO P A R I S COMMUNE











MONTH THE

1-Nazis celebrating the appointment of their leader, Adolph Hitler,

as chancellor.

The Farmers fight for their land, household goods and farm animals.

animats.
3—Miners' wives and daughters march on the State Capitol at Springfield, Ill., protesting against the terror of the State Militia. Make March 8, International Women's Day, a day of fight against terror

all over the country.

4.—Breadlines for the "Forgotten Man."

5.—Ready for all "emergencies."

Special police detail at Lincoln Park, Chicago, ready to



LABOR DEFENDER

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THE case of Angelo Herndon, the young Negro organizer arrested because he led a demonstration of unemployed Negro and white workers in Atlanta, is a history-making case. It has sharply raised in a decisive form the whole question of the relations of Yankee imperialism working through the Southern Bourbons and the national liberation struggles of the Negro masses. The State based its case against Angelo Herndon on the charge that he had advocated unity between Negro and white workers, and that he had advocated unconditional equal rights for the Negro people and the right of self-determination for the Black Belt, where the Negros are a majority of the population. An old slave law, going back to 1861, to the days of chattel slavery, which makes the advocation of unity between Negro and white workers punishable by death was used against him. This law which was intended to keep slaves bound to their masters, had been continued on the statute books after the legal disappearance of chattel slavery, with but a minor change in the wording. Thus the Southern Bourbons openly stated that the modern equivalent of chattel slavery is wage slavery. The State made an open class attack, and the I.L.D., through its two Negro attorneys, made a class defense which soon became an offensive.

In the court, the large working class crowd broke the Jim-Crow rules and Negro and white workers sat side by side. The attorneys for the I.L.D. forced the prosecutor to address Angelo Herndon as "Mr. Herndon," just as he addressed the whites. The I.L.D. attorneys extracted a statement from the Assistant Solicitor, Reverend John Hudson, that Negroes had been excluded from juries for years. They conducted a spirited case bringing out the class issues clearly, and Angelo Herndon used the stand himself as a tribune for the complete statement of the Communist position on the Negro question.

The hand-picked, all-white jury felt the working class spirit in the room, felt the solidarity. It did its best to pass a death sentence and yet hid its actual nature. The sentence was eighteen to twenty years on the chain gang—not a death sentence, and yet meaning death.

As a result of the nation-wide protests even the Macon Telegraph had to "deplore" the chaingang sentence. Throughout the South a protest involving a large section of the liberal and even usually reactionary elements resulted. The feeling is that, in face of the growing liberation struggles, and the militancy and solidarity of Negro and white workers, the Bourbons must go more easily. The working class and the poor farmers on advancing toward an offensive which will relentlessly drive a reaction before it.

ERNDON is in jail, but the questions he raised, the problems of "bread and work" for the whole working class haunt the ruling class of the South like a hideous spectre. The question of "land and freedom" for black men still enslaved has not been answered. History has placed these problems on the order of the day. Thousands of thousands of other An-

gelo Herndons, black and white, will arise to demand their solution.

Bread and work—land and freedom—these demands against a common foe will unite the Negro and white masses. From all races, nationalities, toilers of all color and religion, those who demand an answer will be drawn together. Their mass power will make of them an irresistible force. Those who seek to prevent a solution of these demands, Negro and white, ruling class and its reformist and social fascist agents combined with the hooded thugs of the Ku Klux Klan, will be linked together.

The International Labor Defense stands on the side of the toiling masses. Around their struggles against starvation and for emancipation a wall of defense must be built. The rights guaranteed the toiling masses must be theirs to enjoy. The banner of the International Labor Defense must be raised high in the forefront of these struggles. Angelo Herndon must be saved. Preparation for the defense of the thousand other Angelo Herndons stands on the order of the day.

AITI is an island republic in the Carribbean. Its population is Negro, and it has a Negro government, in theory. In fact, the Haitian Republic is ruled by U. S. Marines, and the President, Stenio Vincent, is no more than a puppet of the Haiti-American Sugar Company, (Hasco) a Wall Street firm, the United Fruit Company, and the National City Bank of New York.

The crisis has hit Haiti deeply. Its Negro population is exploited by American imperialism in just the same way as the Negro masses of the Black Belt in the United States. The people of Haiti are in the main agricultural workers, like the Negro tenant-farmers and share-croppers of the South.

As in the Black Belt, American imperialism has tried to shift the entire burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the toiling masses of Haiti. They are exploited to the limit, their lands expropriated, and terrorism used to keep them from struggling against oppression. The chief instruments of terror are the American Marines and the Haitian Guard, organized and commanded by an American, R. P. Williams.

Last year, the workers of Haiti began to organize for the first time into militant unions. The point of concentration was the HASCO plantations. In December, a reign of terror was unloosed in Haiti. The object was to prevent organization of any kind of the Haitian workers.

Ten workers were thrown into jail, and with them four of their children. Most of these workers were Negroes, some were Negro women. They were the leaders, the most militant and class-conscious of the workers of Haiti. They were held incommunicado, fed on a handful of raw cornmeal for each individual, child or adult. A campaign of terrorization was carried on through the bourgeois press of the island, which published in every issue attacks upon the workers and their organizations. Commander Williams outlawed every organization of workers, including any possible defense organization.

for the imprisoned men, women and children. Jacques Roumain, well-known Haitian writer, notified the International Labor Defense of the situation, by cable. For this action, he was himself thrown into prison.

The I.L.D. immediately undertook a campaign of exposure of the Haitian lackeys of Wall Street Imperialism and their terror—and immediately became itself the object of daily attacks in the Haitian bourgeois press. A mass meeting to protest the terror was held in New York, a delegation went down to demand from the Haitian consul in New York that the prisoners be released and the reign of terror ended.

Cooperating thus with the struggles of the Haitian workers themselves, whose indignation was high and made itself felt in spite of the repressive measures taken by the reactionary government, the I.L.D. has been able to assist in forcing the release of all but one of the workers.

The one remaining prisoner is Benjamin Peguero de la Paix, a white Dominican worker, fugitive from the persecution of the Wall Street government of that other island republic, for his working-class activities. Him, the government wants to deport to certain death in Santo Domingo.

The workers of Haiti, with the cooperation of the I.L.D., are fighting to obtain also his unconditional release. The workers of America, and every member of the I.L.D. must support them in this fight against American imperialism, on the basis of the already achieved partial victory in the case of the other prisoners, raising the level of the struggle to force the Haitian authorities to free this worker also.

They can participate by immediately sending protests, from individuals and organizations, to President Stenio Vincent, at Port-au-Prince, demanding the immediate release of de la Paix.

THE terror is raging in Germany. Never in the history of that country has there been a more open flouting of so-called democratic institutions. Never has there been a more open denial to the working class of the rights which they have won through centuries of bloody struggle.

The bloody regime of Hitler in Germany, the most "democratic" European country, must be an example to the membership of the International Labor Defense. Nowhere today does a better example present itself of the fundamental value of a mass defense organization bulwarking the struggles of the working class. Workers defense is fulfilling its historic task in Germany.

The German Red Aid with its more than 300,000 members, stands as a towering defense to the heroic German working class that is struggling on the streets to maintain the last vestige of democracy and to prepare itself for the historic struggles of the future. Against the blood and iron of Hitler is the steel fist of Germany's hundreds of thousands organized in defense. Similar struggles lie ahead of the Amer-

(Continued on page 34)

But There Will Come Other

Thousands of Angelo Herndons

"You may do what you will with Angelo Herndon. You may indict him. You may put him in jail. But there will come thousands of Angelo Herndons. If you want to really do anything about the case, you must go out and indict the social system. But this you will not do for your role is to defend the system under which the toiling masses are robbed and oppressed."

ANGELO HERNDON.

(Ed. Note. The following excerpts were taken from editorials in leading Southern newspapers, Negro and white. Three are examples of rabid race hatred and lynch spirit and three are more sympathetic. It will be very clear to readers of the Labor Defender that even these more favorable editorials still believe in the possibility of getting justice in capitalist courts. Or better, want to make their readers believe in the illusion of fairness and impartiality in capitalist courts. Only mass pressure can save Angelo Herndon.)

HALT!

Angelo Herndon, 19-year-old Cincinnati Negro, comes down to Dixie on a "crusade."

It seems that the sole purpose of his jaunt below the Mason and Dixon line is to promulgate the many "blessings" and "advantages" of communism.

But Georgia's Judge Lee Wyatt, after a jury had found the Negro guilty under an old law passed during the troublesome days of reconstruction that followed the war between the states, passes sentence of 18 to 20 years against the youthful Negro and he will now have plenty of time to ruminate upon the blessings of freedom—if he had it.

The South needs none of his kind.

The better class of the Negro race knows that communism has nothing to offer, save chaos and destruction.

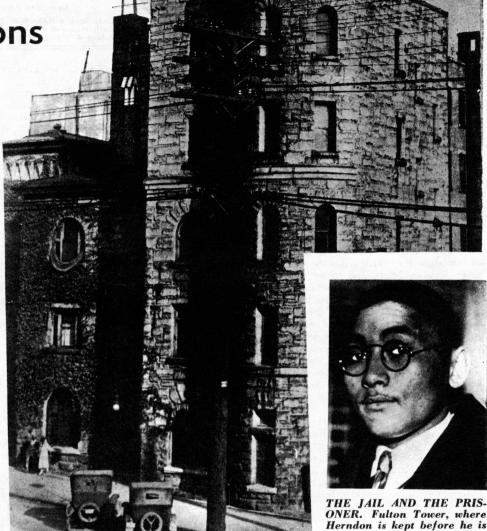
We white people of the South, having lived in close touch with the Negro race for years and years, are well aware of the fact that communism is a deadly "intoxicant" that leads to trouble—not only for Negroes who listen to its tempting lies—but for law and order as well. Under the old Georgia law by which Herndon was tried and convicted, the death penalty is possible, but the jury, as well as the judge feels that a command to "halt!"—brought by an 18-20-year prison sentence—will effectively curb the culprit's "Teachings."

Meridian (Miss.) Star, Feb. 4, 1933.

THE HERNDON CASE

"If Herndon dies, the responsibility for his death will rest not only upon the planter-manufacturer dictatorship of Georgia, but upon the Communist party, which persists in callously sending these youngsters down to certain imprisonment and death. His imprisonment and the jailing of others in Georgia and adjoining States is not only a disgrace to American civilization, but a severe indictment of the Communist party policy, which persistently ignores realities while chasing Marxist will-o'-the-wisps."

Pittsburgh Courier, Feb. 4, 1933.



GEORGIA'S MISTAKE

"Without a doubt, the result of the trial of Herndon, the Negro youth who invaded the State of Georgia as he left his Cincinnati environs, was just what the radical Communists expected and wanted. If the decision of the jury had been different, they would have been disappointed, for the wide-spread publicity which was given their cause would not have come about following an acquittal of the defendant. It has been referred to time and time again that Communism lives on publicity and its most thriving periods grew out of the widespread publicity that is directed at their insincere and destructive tactics, not only in the South, but in every other section of the country. But for the publicity connected with the unfortunate Scottsboro affair, involving nine Negro youths, the Communists would have manifested no interest in their behalf.

"Editor W. P. Dabney, writing in his Cincinnati Union properly sums up the Atlanta situation as he opines:

"Georgians would have exhibited far better judgment by taking the unknown young Negro youth by the seat of his pants and kicked him across the state line with a warning to return to his Ohio city . . ."

to his Ohio city . . ."

"And such is exactly right. The pursuance of such a course would have allayed much of the racial animosity, saved the taxpayers of Georgia

much money for conducting the trial and further, Georgia would have been spared the condemnation and undesirable publicity that has been directed at her by fair-minded people in all parts of the nation because of the extreme to which she has gone in an effort to make an example of Herndon in suppressing Communism."

E. Tenn. News, Feb. 9, 1933.

sent to the chain gang.

19 YEARS-FOR WHAT?

"The cause which Herndon represented is eternal and those who are to deal with it cannot hope to stop its progress by imprisoning a few leaders. The same drama was staged in the days of slavery. The Negro slave spoke of his condition in a low breath. The abolitionist who spoke out against slavery endangered his life. Prisons and death stared those in the face who would dare speak out against slavery. 'John Brown's body lies a molding in the clay,' but his truths are marching on. The protest of Herndon has resounded the world over. No doubt, it has been heard in every language in the civilized world. The significance of his statement and the righteousness of the cause he represented have been heard by everybody except the people of Georgia, particularly the prosecutor, the judge and that class who is still asleep to the onward march of civilization."

St. Louis Argus, Jan. 27, 1933.

SHAMEFUL VERDICT

"I NDOUBTEDLY there was about it the element of 'teaching a Negro a lesson,' as the attorneys for Herndon charged. A statute that was 62 years old was raked out of the dusty law books as the basis for a grand jury indictment. The law itself represented the thinking of other days and conditions of other days.

After all, those who stupidly use our courts for such purposes ought to keep in mind that the ultimate purpose of Communism is to provide enough food and clothes and shelter for oppressed people and that the danger of overthrow, if there is any danger, is not from outside propaganda, but from fathers who look into the faces of pinched and hungry children and mothers who are not able to protect their children against the most intense of all suffering, the suffering from cold.

"The Telegraph hopes that the supreme court of this state will substitute common sense for the Bourbonism of the jury that tried Herndon."

Macon Telegraph, Jan. 20.

"MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE"

"Not even the infamous Scottsboro cases surpass in hideousness and barbarity the judgment entered by a Georgia court sentencing Angelo Herndon, 19-year-old Negro to twenty years in the living hell of a Georgia chain gang. Herndon's crime was having books and other literature in his possession exposing the iniquitous injustices of the be-nighted Southland to millions of American citizens. It is better expressed, however, in a sentence taken from the argument of Ben Davis, Jr., one of his lawyers, as follows: 'The only offense Herndon committed was that he asked bread for children—his only crime is his color.'

"So hideous and revolting is this sordid crime committed by the State of Georgia which has representation in the national law-making bodies and is recognized at the seat of the national government as one of the sovereignties which comprise the United States of America, that one chokes when requested to sing, 'My Country 'Tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty.'"

Richmond Planet, Jan, 28, 1933.

This is a part of the law under which Angelo Herndon was sentenced to 18 years on the chaingang. It was passed in 1861. Its cruelty and viciousness speaks for itself.

"Whoever shall excite an insurrection or revolt of slaves, or attempt by writing, speaking or otherwise to excite an insurrection or revolt by writing, speaking or otherwise to excite an insurrection or revolt of slaves, is to be punished with death. . . Whoever shall circulate . . . any printed or written papers for the purpose of exciting insurrection, revolt conspiracy or resistance on the part of slaves, Negro or free persons of color in this state . . . shall be guilty of high misdemeanor which is punishable by death."

This poem was written by a fellow prisoner of Angelo Herndon. His name cannot be given for obvious reasons. He says it can be sung to the tune of "There's a Rainbow Round My Shoulder."

T

There's a chain-gang down in Georgia Where the judge is sending me It sure will hurt To sling the dirt Till I come free There's a chain-gang down in Georgia That's where they're keeping me It makes me sick To swing a pick It's misery Halleluiah! how I hate this job And this dirty, rotten, lynching mob How I long to get a chance to get away There's a chain-gang down in Georgia That will soon be missing me For by my soul A "brush parole" Will pardon me.

TT

There's a chain-gang down in Georgia Where they work the men to death They are so rough It's mighty tough To catch your breath There's a chain-gang down in Georgia Where they keep the men in chains The keepers there Are never fair They have no brains Halleluiah! how I hate this job And this dirty, rotten, lynching mob How I long to get a chance to get away There's a chain-gang down in Georgia That will soon be hunting me You can bet your roll A "brush parole" Will set me free.

Fulton Tower, Where Herndon Faces Death By JESSE CRAWFORD

Jesse Crawford, young Negro worker, saved last month by the I.L.D. from being sent back to Georgia, where chain-gang torture awaited him, from Michigan, in this article describes Fulton Tower, the Atlanta Ga., prison where Angelo Herndon is confined. Crawford, framed time after time to the Georgia chain-gang, tortured in all the fiendish ways so dear to the Southern bosses, escaped. He was caught in Detroit, and Georgia sent officers to bring him back. The I.L.D., by mass protest, exposure of the chain-gangs of the south, and legal steps, forced the governor of the state to refuse to extradite him. His own life-story, a dramatic, moving exposure of the whole system of oppression of the Negro and white workers of the south, showing the links between the lynchers of the Black Belt with the northern bosses also, will soon be published in pamphlet form by the I.L.D.

• • •

The Fulton County Jail, where Angelo Herndon is now because he organized the Negro and white workers to fight for bread, is the filthiest jail I ever saw. I was held there in 1931 on the charge of stealing an automobile which I really bought.

The ward I was in had about 16 cells. Each cell was about five feet wide and seven feet long, with two bunks and an uncovered toilet-bowl with flies and bugs flying and crawling all over and all around it all the time. The whole jail was full of lice.

At night, we were locked into the cells. It was so hot we couldn't sleep. They packed as many into a cell as could stand up in it, pretty near. The cell I was in, there were eight of us. Four of us slept in the two bunks and four on the floor. In the night we would have to get up and mop up the water from the toilets that ran all over.

It was so lousy in this Atlanta jail the turn-keys would bring rags tied around a piece of iron and give it to us to soak in a bucket of kerosene and light it and burn all the corners and cracks to try to burn up the lice. But it didn't do much good, and if anybody came to see you, you would have to go into a little room

to talk to them so they wouldn't get all covered with lice, and the lice would bother you so you would forget what you had in mind to say.

If we made any complaint, the turnkey would lock us up in the dungeon. Sometimes they would take our clothes away and squirt water at us from a hose, so hard it took our breath away, and they would laugh at us and curse us.

We were fed twice a day, from rusty pans. We got syrup or grits for breakfast and four biscuits. We could find almost anything in those biscuits-bugs, flies, sticks, and pieces of dirt. At one o'clock we got dinner-peas or greens, or rice with chocolate over it. A lot of the boys was always sick from eating this rotten food, but they never got any medical treatment. One day in June we had greens for dinner, that weren't cooked, and a lot of the boys refused to eat. A boy called Ben Billups ate them and his stomach swelled up. I don't know what the greens were. We all thought he was going to die, so we called the turnkey and asked him to get the doctor. About five hours later the doctor came. Instead of doing anything for him, he wanted to know what was wrong with Ben. We told him we were not doctors, so we didn't know. So he got angry and left without doing anything for the boy.

We were in misery all the time. I don't believe there is any jail worse than Fulton Tower. I stayed there four months before I was sent to the chain-gang.

Jesse Crawford.

Mass pressure
led by the I.L.D.
saved him from
the Georgia
chain gang.



Jesse Crawford.
Mass pressure
led by the I.L.D.
saved him from
the Georgia
chain gang.





These are 25 of the Meerut prisoners.

Meerut vs. British Imperialism

By CONRAD KOMOROWSKI

UT of the original thirty one Meerut prisoners, one is dead, three have been acquitted, and the rest, except for eleven who received four and five year sentences of rigorous imprisonment, have been exiled for life, for twelve years, or ten years to the Andaman Islands. These are death sentences comparable to the sentence Angelo Herndon received. His sentence was to eighteen to twenty years on the chain gang, and that means death! These workers, in being sent to the Andaman Islands, are getting death, for this prison camp is the worst in the world, lying as it does almost on the Equator, in a heavy swampy jungle, the driest part of which receives 136 inches of rain a year.

Three of these workers are English; the rest are Indians. They were charged with "conspiracy against the King-Emperor" and their trial lasted four long years under the prison regime in the oven-like prisons of India. The trial cost the Government 120,000 pounds sterling (about \$480,000)! The acts of their indictment charged them with the organization of a demonstration in commemoration of the Russian Revolution, another for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti, with the organization of trade unions, a Communist Party, and with the leadership of strikes. The Judge in the case was assisted by Five Assessors, but it is the Judge who pronounced the sentence and who was not bound by the decision of the Assessors. The Assessors found fourteen not guilty, but eleven of these were sentenced by the Judge!

The legal issues in the case were these: They were refused trial by jury (due to the fear of acquittal); they were refused bail and had to remain in prison for four years; their trial was dragged on while the prosecution studied the documents (such as The Communist Manifesto, Lenin's works, etc.) to bring against them; their

trial was moved by the Government from the industrial center where they lived and worked to a little provincial town (this was done for fear of the organized action of the proletariat); and they were not tried for specific illegal acts but for Communism. The very fact that they belonged to the Communist and the Workers' and Peasants' Party proved their guilt in the eyes of the Government!

Tremendous protests arose out of this case. Trade Unions passed resolutions demanding the release of the workers condemned for the sole reason that they were organizing the exploited natives. In Glasgow, forty Labour Party and Independent Labour Party Councillors, violent anti-Communists, signed a petition demanding release and demanded that the City Council itself pass a similar protest. At Bathsea a twenty-four hour protest strike was called. Workers everywhere were aroused at this terrorist invasion of elementary rights.

But what is the real significance both of the case itself and of the actions of the Government? The bourgeois press does not publish much about the labor movement in India; most of its information is concerned with Ghandi and the Nationalists, with religious battles, and with the wise and just rule of Britain and its attempts to bring "civilization" to an ignorant tradition-bound people. It is the great problem England is struggling with for humanity's sake, we are told. It is the romantic land of filth and degeneracy, with animal worship and castes and child marriage, incalculable wealth and unimaginable poverty and dirt.

On April 27, 1932, Sir Samuel Hoare admitted that in March there were 26,000 political prisoners in the imperialist dungeons. But Pandit Malaviya challenged his confession by stating that over 80,000 arrests were made in four

months only, and that firing took place at least 29 times, and that the police charged crowds in more than 325 places. In a debate on India in the British House of Commons, Sir Samuel Hoare

MOTHERS OF MOTHER INDIA. This picture was taken 2 years ago when the Indian masses flocked to the passive resistance campaign of faker Gandhi. Today they realize that only mass action and not inaction can free them from British imperialism.

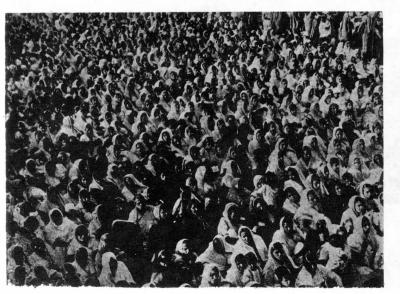
began his speech by stating that "if a foreign visitor came over here today . . . he would imagine that this country and India were in a state of war." At one time 30,000 Red Shirts, of whom 8,000 were women, were encamped around Mardan. This fact is particularly significant because in the East, it is only the most revolutionary section of the working class and peasants that has gone so far in the emancipation of women. We hear these facts about the revolutionary emancipation of women in the national minority territories of the Soviet Union and in Soviet China. Now the Indian revolutionary movement has advanced so far as to have almost 25% of one of its contingents composed of women!

This is a startling fact exposing at one blow the tremendous strength of the upheaval going on in India, an upheaval symbolized to tens of millions of Indian workers and peasants by the Meerut prisoners. It was against this force that British imperialism struck. It struck against the leading and best loved leaders of the Indian trade union and working class movement. It struck with the intention of intimidating, and of ending trade union organization.

Prior to 1919 a strike in Indian industry was practically unknown. But with the development of industry in India, where the British found the cheap labor they needed to swell their profits, there was created a proletarian class. With the development of the proletariat, daily becoming more class conscious under exploitation, grew huge strike movements despite the tremendous obstacles and the fierce repressive brutality of British imperialism. The sharpest struggle came in 1928 when 150,000 cotton textile workers stood solid for six months. It was during this strike that the Girni Kamgar Union was formed in definite opposition to the Trade Union officials (nominees and agents of British imperialism). As a result of militant struggle every member of the Executive Committee of the new workers' own trade union was seized along with prominent members of other Trade Unions. Then came the political frame-up. Their conspiracy consisted of the organization of workers against the actual starvation conditions forced upon them by the blood-sucking imperialists. Their crime lay in the organization of the revolutionary struggles of the workers against their oppressors and exploiters.

Has British imperialism succeeded in its purpose? The news of martial law being proclaimed in province after province, of fierce struggles perenially breaking out (disguised as "Hindu-Moslem" fights), of armed rebellions, of

(Continued on page 37)



Karl Marx, Defender of the Paris Commune

By FRANK SPECTOR

On March 14th the world toilers will commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, the founder of Scientific Socialism and the organizer of the 1st International, the first general staff of the revolutionary vanguard of the working-class.

A greater and greater part of the workingclass is rapidly learning the full influence which Karl Marx's teachings had upon the struggles of toilers by every land against their oppressors. Yet, still very little is known to the broad masses of the outstanding role Marx played in the defense and relief of the tens of thousands of French Communards who became victims of the bloody French boss-class, after the fall of the Paris Commune.

It is therefore befitting that the International Red Aid, the general staff of the world army battling boss-terror, should, with the coming 50th Anniversary of Karl Marx's death, begin the widest spread of knowledge of the magnificent role Karl Marx, personally, played as the in-spirer and organizer of the defense and relief of the French Communards.

Already in April, the month following the establishment of the Paris Commune, Marx expressed the gravest concern for the fate of the Paris Commune and its heroic supporters. This anxiety came with Marx's ability to clearly see the fatal weaknesses of the Communards who realized only too late the need for drastic, resolute measures for crushing the counter-revolutionary forces of the French bosses. Though he foresaw the fall of the Paris Commune he maintained an unbounding faith in the masses. While predicting the Commune's fall he said, "but the Communes are permanent and cannot be destroyed. They will assert themselves again and again till the working-class will be free, prophecy fully realized by the victorious Bolshe vik revolution of October, 1917.

Marx's anxiety for the fate of the Paris Commune shortly became a reality. After a brief existence of 72 days the Paris Commune fell. unable to withstand the savage blows of the combined forces of the treacherous French bourgeoisie and Bismarck, who rendered the full aid of his military hordes for the bloody extermination of the Communards. In the bloody "May Week," from May 21st to 28th, nearly 30,000 defenders of the Commune were murdered, until

"the river Seine has flown red," as history records.

Marx and the General Council of the 1st International were faced with the tremendous problems of defense and relief for the victims of the bloodiest terror in Europe's history. After the fall of the Commune the full weight of the savage hatred of the international bourgeoisie, led by the heads of the Versailles government, Thiers and Favre, was brought down upon the heads of the surviving Communards, threatening their complete extermination. A most vicious campaign of lies and calumny exceeding even present unceasing campaign again the Bolshevik revolution, vilified the Paris Commune and hounded its heroic fighters.

In this campaign of boss-class hatred, the most reactionary government—Prussia, Spain and Italy—and the most "liberal"—English, Belgian, Swiss, etc.—joined hands. The Pope of Rome played the same putrid role in the hounding of the French Communards as his present successor Pius XI now plays in the counter-revolutionary front of Imperialism against the Soviet toilers. In his report to the General Council Marx quoted the following excerpt from the Pope's address before a delegation of Swiss Catholics: "Your country is a land of great liberty, yet it offers asylum to many bad people who wish to destroy every law and order and who wish to do to Europe as they have done to Paris." Then, hinting at the desirability to turn the French Communards over to the bloody Versailles government, he termed the Communards "the devil's incarnate," hypocritically adding that—"all we can do for them (the Communards) is to pray for them. . . .

This campaign was joined, in their special fashion, by the treacherous leaders of the English Trade Unions, who bitterly attacked Marx and the General Council for upholding all the acts of the Commune-then as now acting as bosses' agents in workers' ranks. In the "democratic" Belgian parliament the foreign minister denounced the French Communards-refugees in Belgium—as "people steeped in sins for which they must be punished," denying their status as political emigrants. The "liberal" English government indicated its intentions to prosecute individual Communards on pretext that "they were guilty of criminal acts." The reactionary Spanish and Italian governments promptly and completely closed their borders to the hounded Communards.

To counteract effectively the vicious campaign of lies about the Commune, through which the French bosses were rapidly poisoning and inciting the minds of the European people against the Communards, Marx and the General Council decided as their immediate main task the broadest circularization of the Manifesto of the 1st International on the "Civil War in France," which brought to light the real aims and the role of the Communards exposed before the whole world the role of the treacherous murderers of the French people—the Thiers, Favres and their ilk. The Manifesto was met with a conspiracy of silence on the part of the kept press. However, through almost superhuman efforts of Marx and his associates the manifesto on "Civil War in France" soon became the topic of world-wide discussion.

Despite the most vicious attacks directed against Marx personally for his authorship of the most devastating exposure of the crimes and treachery of the French ruling clique, and most brilliant defense of the Paris Commune, Marx



KARL MARX, THE LABOR DEFENDER. Drawings on this page are taken from the pamphlet "Paris Commune in Pictures." this pamphlet at your Paris Commune Scottsboro meetings. Order them at once.

and the General Council were able, thanks to the sensational discussion, to place volumes of material before the reading people in defense of the French Communards. Thus in a great measure they succeeded in turning the tide of hatred aroused by the French government against the Cummunards, against their enemies the Thiers and Favres, and tremendously aided the cause of the struggle against attempts of the various governments to turn the French emigrants over to their murderers. Even some newspapers began to speak more of the "crimes of Versailles" rather than "crimes of Paris Commune."

Marx and the General Council fully realized the importance of proper legal presentation of legal defense for the Communards in Thier's Courts. Thier's line was to place on trial the entire 1st International whom the ruling class rightly considered as the real inspirer of the Commune. His intentions were to turn this trial into a mighty propaganda instrument through which he could appear as the savior of France and the rest of the civilized world from the "bandits"—the Communards and the 1st International. Through fabricated documents he intended to show the close connection of the Commune with the Prussians and reveal the 1st International as Bismarck's secret agents. (Just as the boss-class in 1917 hounded Lenin as the Kaiser's agent.) In this way he hoped to counteract Marx's and the Communards' merciless exposure of himself and his government of "National Defense" as Judas, who for a pottage sold France to the Prussian militarism.

The tremendous importance of the trial placed upon Marx's shoulders, the additional burden of preparing and supplying the lawyers with reams of material necessary for the case. At the same time he and the General Council worked feverishly to arouse tremendous mass-pressure in support of the legal defense of the Communards.

News was also percolating through the rigid censorship of the frightful treatment of Communards in prisons. Through the aroused masspressure even some of the hostile press was compelled to publish descriptions of the brutalities against the imprisoned men, women and

(Continued on page 37)

Free Mooney and Billings

The Call of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee for an international Free Tom Mooney Congress has been launched. This historic congress will be held in Chicago from April 30 to May 2, 1933.

April 30 to May 2, 1933.

The Call of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee demands united front action.

The response must be unhesitating and immediate.

A tremendous battle for the leadership of the Mooney defense will take place. This must be prepared.

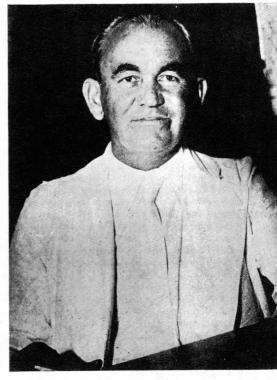
The Tom Mooney Congress will affect the entire struggle of the workers of America in a very definite way. Within this united front the membership of the I.L.D. has a historic task. It must be their aggressiveness which assures the success of the Congress. Every mass organization, every A. F. of L. organization, clubs, fraternal organizations, Negro and white—all of these must be reached in the preparatory stages. Delegates must be secured from them. The interest of the membership of the International Labor Defense in the preparatory conferences now being arranged by the Mooney Molders' Defense Committee must be as great as their interest in the Congress itself.

There must, however, be no illusions. The enemies within the working-class, the corrupted

leadership of the A. F. of L.; the Socialist Party leadership, which has aided in the betrayal of Mooney, by supporting the A. F. of L. in its activities; the Negro reformists sabotaging all working class defense struggles will present a united front there.

The reformists in every way will try to split this united front. This is their task. In the name of a united front of the working class they seek to draw the workers into the web of class collaboration. The membership of the International Labor Defense must not be provoked by reformist slanders and calumnies. The united front must be held together by them by the correctness of their political position. Within the united front we must draw on past experiences to irrefutably show the correctness of the class struggle also. Mass pressure is the only judge the workers can rely upon.

While functioning as an inseparable part of the united front defense for Tom Mooney, the International Labor Defense as such has an independent role to play. As an independent organization the attack at this moment against the reformists must be sharpened. This, however, is not the task of those of the I.L.D. who are in the united front. It is the task of the organization as such. Build an irresistable united front of defense for Tom Mooney and Billings.



TOM MOONEY calls on every worker in the U.S. to support the Free Tom Mooney Congress, Chicago, April 30-May 2, 1933.

War and Terror on the Far Eastern Front

By R. DOONPING

TAPANESE imperialism is determined to invade the Chinese province of Jehol and add it to the territory of Manchuria, the newly acquired colony of Japan under a nominally independent government. In China, the anti-imperialist sentiment of the mass of the population has become so strong that any government showing any hesitancy about resisting Japan will be swept off its seat of power. Therefore, the Nanking Government is forced to make the most militant declarations through the mouth of its acting premier, Dr. T. V. Soong. Uncle Sam, of course, is taking advantage of this situation and

is preparing his lackey, the Nanking Government, so that, at the proper moment, it will be ready to take a sector in the Far Eastern front in the coming world imperialist war, as a contingent fighting for the interest of American imperialism. The American Army, Navy, industry and finance have long been "mobilized" and are being more and more put on a war basis. The long expected war for the redivision of the world is certainly not far beyond the horizon.

It will be a serious mistake for any one to entertain the illusion that the extremely sharpened conflict between the imperialist powers would mean a slackening of the imperialist drive against the Soviet Union and Soviet movements in other countries. The United States is doing its best to try to involve the Soviet Union into trouble with Japan so that it can strengthen its position in the Pacific by weakening two of its worst enemies. On the Western front, Hitlerite Ger-



JAPANESE IMPERIALISM IN ACTION. The Jaanese war lords are determined to rule Manchuria.

many is making a desperate attempt to consolidate the rear, by suppressing the militant working class movement, in order to prepare the way for a black holy crusade against the land of revolution and socialism!

In China, the Nanking Government flatly refused the offer of the Red Army to cooperate in the war against Japan, and answered the sincere call for united effort and arming of the whole population for the national emergency, issued by the Chinese Soviet Government, by a new military campaign against the Soviet territory. This new anti-Red campaign was made financially possible by the credit of \$80,000,000 worth of wheat and flour extended to Chiang-Kai-Shek by U.S. Farm Board. In the meantime, white terrorist

measures have become even more stringent. A recent decree of the Nanking Government laid down the rule that no political prisoner serving a sentence in jail can be released at the end of his term without the special examination and approval of the Kuomintang party headquarters. Many political prisoners who have served their term in Chinese jails in many cities are thus detained indefinitely! An indefinite jail sentence is, of course, the lightest a political prisoner can expect in China. The nor mal sentence is death, as is well known! This is the way the Nanking Government, which professes to be fighting Japan,

treats militant workers, peasants, students and other revolutionary elements, the best and most determined fighters against Japanese imperialism! The world-wide protest which was hurled upon Nanking immediately after the arrest of Huang Ping evidently forced the Nanking Government to go against its usual policy of murdering all militant leaders of the workers and peasants in this one case. This victory must be followed up by other campaigns of mass pressure against the white terror in China and Japan. With the aggravation of the situation, terror will necessarily reach its height of cruelty. The struggle against terror is an integral part of the struggle against war. The anti-war campaign must be strengthened by the anti-terror campaign. The war and terror in the Far East must be turned into mass struggle against war and terror throughout the world!

WE INDICT THE ALABAMA LYNCHERS

By WILLAM L. PATTERSON

"The ugly demand or threat from outsiders that Alabama reverse its jury decision and the FILTHY INSINUATIONS THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE MURDERERS when they were sincerely being as fair as ever in the history of the country IS RATHER STRAINING ON OUR IDEA OF FAIR PLAY."—(Emphasis, W. L. P.)

Thus wrote the Jackson County Sentinel April 16, 1931, the same edition commenting editorially on the case wrote, "The swiftness of JUSTICE has added to its impressiveness."— (Emphasis, W. L. P.)

The editorial continued, "The only regrettable development in connection with the trial was the intrusion of certain Northern organizations with charges concerning the trial and demands concerning the criminals. . . Interference of this kind can serve no purpose other than to make it more difficult to stop lynchings in the South.

On the 5th of January, 1932, Ruby Bates wrote to her sweetheart: "Those policemen made me tell a lie. . . . Those Negroes didn't touch me."

Who were "the criminals"? The Jackson County Sentinel was referring to the nine innocent Negro boys whom with inconceivable viciousness it had earlier labelled "beastly rapists," "brutal black fiends." It had made this reference with knowledge of these boys innocence. It had lyingly written, "There was no demonstration" when its provocation of lynch hysteria had created the mob which marched around the court house with its band playing "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight."

The letter of Ruby Bates has stripped the last shred of decency from those who control the courts of Alabama. It has disclosed the manner and the wherefor of legal lynch frame-ups.

The criminals were already murderers in their minds. They had legally lynched nine innocent boys. The electric current was only to add the official touch. Their hands were on the way to the switch. The hands of the murderers were

stopped by those who had on so many occasions before (Pennsylvania, East Ohio, West Virginia, and Kentucky miners' strike, National Hunger March, Bonus March, etc.) shown such fearlessness in leading the struggles of the American workers. The murderous criminals are the bloody landlords and mill owners of Alabama and their tools, the scribblers on that slimy sheet, the Jackson County Scriinel.

The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments in the United States Constitution supposedly guarantee certain "rights" to all. Particularly are these amendments supposed to apply to Negroes, yet no official voice from the Republican Party spoke out to save these innocent black boys.

The Alabama Legal Code guarantees, they say, "A fair and impartial trial," yet no official voice from out the Democratic Party demanded this for these boys when the very "swiftness of justice" was obviously one of the most unjust factors associated with the case.

The silence of the Socialist Party leadership was of the same death-like character. The Negro reformists when they broke their silence, entered into a flood of abuse and condemnation against the Communists and in praise of those now shown to be the murderous criminals.

These elements without exception called for reverence and faith in the courts.

"The courts belong to the lynchers," said the Communist Party, calling for a mobilization of mass protest in defense of the innocent Negro boys. Only those from whose ranks these innocent victims come can save them. They are framed because the terrible conditions under which workers are now forced to live, breeding revolt, have caused unrest, have caused rebelliousness amongst the poverty-striken, the most oppressed, and the Negroes must by terror if necessary, be kept from a struggle for their rights. These were the words of the International Labor Defense which rallied first to the cause of the Communists for mass action in behalf of the Scottsboro boys.

Now Ruby Bates, the star witness of the State

of Alabama, against the Scottsboro boys, affirms the correctness of these statements and indicts that State. The State of Alabama has been indicted by the hundreds of lynch murders committed against known and unknown toiling Negroes and poor whites for which there has never been a conviction. It has been indicted by its murderous chain-gang system. Its own witness, Ruby Bates, only adds a new indictment—"The policeman made me tell a lie. . . Those Negroes didn't touch me."

The State of Alabama prepares the new legal lynch trial of the innocent Scottsboro boys and the Jackson County Sentinel now incites to mob lynching for fear the legal lynching apparatus will prove ineffective, even after the implicit instructions handed down in the new trial decision. A wild wave of white Chauvinism (capitalist prejudice against Negroes) sweeps not only the South, but the entire country.

Angelo Herndon in Georgia, a black boy, was sentenced to 18 years. He had led an organized protest of Negroes and whites against starvation in the land of plenty. Black sharecroppers at Camp Hill and Reeltown, Alabama, were murdered in cold blood. They had voiced a protest against the legal robbery of Negro and white farmers. Unemployed Negro workers were murdered in cold blood on the streets of Chicago and Cleveland. They were against the eviction, against the shutting off of gas, electricity and water of unemployed Negro and white workers. Is there a white worker or poor farmer who cannot see in these things for which these black men gave their lives issues against which white and black men must jointly fight? This is not a question of race or nationality or color or religion—this is a question

The Jackson County Sentinel echoes the entire press of capitalism when it says the only regrettable thing is that certain organizations seek to prevent the mass imprisonment, starvation and murder of millions of America's workers and where these are black the Jackson County

(Continued on page 37)





I Have Learned

A STORY

PERHAPS you will think I should be ashamed to tell this story. In a way I am ashamed of what I have done, but the first part must be told because it leads up to the second. Steve, my husband, thinks I am right in telling the whole story.

We were married in 1920, just after Steve came back from the war. He was twenty-three, and I was nineteen. Both of us got jobs in the Briggs Plants near Detroit, and we determined we would make something of ourselves. And because our fathers and mothers hadn't been able to do much for us we said to each other that we could and would do a great deal for our children. Wasn't this the richest country in the world? And shouldn't we get our part of the riches?

As soon as possible we began buying the house we now live in. It is a frame house of five rooms with a porch and a furnace.

I worked in the plant for two years. Then, in 1923, our boy was born, and in 1925, our daughter. We

had to save on everything in order to pay the interest on the mortgage, and the taxes. But we were determined to own that house

completely. When Stella, our little daughter, was two years old, I was sick for a while and we had doctor's bills. So when the interest came due we had to borrow money. In order to pay it back I found a job as scrub woman in one of the office buildings. I used to sneak out at five-thirty in the afternoon, leaving the children alone in the house until Steve came home. Steve wanted me to get one of the neighbors' little girls to come in and stay with the children, but I had a lot of pride, and didn't want the neighbors to know I was cleaning up offices.

In 1926 some men were laid off in the Briggs Plant. They had been turning out 4,000 doors with 225 men in the department. Then, about 1926, they laid off 30 men, and made the rest speed up to 7,000 doors, and take a wage-cut, too. Steve told me about it, and I could see he was worried.

Then, in 1927 I think it was, there was a fire in the plant and 21 workers were burned to death. Steve said it could have been prevented. The spraying was carried on upstairs instead of in a one-story building as the law called for. Also, he said, there was no ventilation to carry off the fumes from the spray guns. The fumes are very easily ignited. The inspector and the papers said the fire was an act of God, so I tried to persuade Steve that they were right. But he wouldn't be persuaded. He was certainly angry for a time, then he seemed to forget, and I was glad, for we were going to have another

child and I wanted him to think of the children and the house.

Of course Steve's work was not regular. Every fall they let up on work while the new models were being prepared. There are times in the automobile industry when the new model is everything.

About sixteen months ago Steve got laid off entirely, and I had to go back to scrubbing, while he stayed at home with the children in the evening.

In the day he went out to look for a job. One afternoon, last year, he came back home with his clothes dirty, and one sleeve ripped out. He had been in an unemployed demonstration in front of the Ford Plant out in Dearborn!

"But Steve," I said, "what have you got to do with those people? What you've got to do is to find a job again in the Briggs Plant. Those are Ford workers, or else they are just bums. We've never asked for charity."

"This isn't charity," Steve told me, and he looked sullen and ugly. He hadn't changed his clothes, though I had brought out a pair of clean overalls. "This country owes us a living," he said. "If it can't give us jobs, it's got to give us a living."

"Why does it owe you?" I asked him. "A person has a chance to rise in this country. He should save and get ahead."

"Well," he told me, "we've saved, and we haven't got ahead."

"We've got a house."

"And have to pay taxes to a government that can't guarantee us a bare living."

Still I felt it was somehow our fault because Steve was out of a job, and we were having hard times, and I told him so.

I said, "It's each man for himself. Men who own these plants have got to think about themselves. It's only just and right, since they put

By GRACE LUMPKIN

their money in, that they get something out." Steve came over and stood above me, near my chair. "Listen," he said. "Their money would be worthless, if we didn't put in our muscles and brains. We could build without them, but they can't build without us. Your father was a bricklayer, wasn't he? If him, and other bricklayers hadn't been there to put one brick on another, there wouldn't be any plant. The bricks, for all the money that owner had, would be lying right now out in the rain, doing nothing useless and worthless. If it wasn't for us in the plant the parts that make up a car would be lying around rusting, worthless and useless. No machinery, no amount of gold would put those parts together. It's us workers who make the wealth of this country.'

In the fall the Briggs Company took on workers, because Ford needed bodies for his new model. It was put in all the papers, but not nearly all that went got jobs. Steve did, because he was an old and skillful worker.

One day this January he came home early, and said, "Well, we've struck."

"What?" I asked him.

"We've struck," he repeated, "at the plant." He forgot I was angry with him, and that he was angry with me, and went on talking. "I was head of a shop committee," he said. "On the different floors we told the workers, 'We're striking,' and they came out solid. It's good to see we're still men. And you ought to have seen those girls! Some of them get eight cents an hour for lifting seventy-five pound weights. They get less wages than men, and we thought maybe they wouldn't come out. But every one of them walked out, shoulder to shoulder with the men. Those are real women for you."

"And I suppose," I said, "you think I'm not

"And I suppose," I said, "you think I'm not a real woman, because I think you should keep on working."

"Mary," he told me, "yes, I do think you are, only you don't understand."

"Then why don't you make me?" I asked.

"I've tried," he said, very

Then he did sit down and talked to me, and what he said kept in my mind, so that I thought about it during the day while he was on the picket line. I would think he was right, and then I would feel it was wrong for them to strike when times are so hard.



HENRY FORD LOOKS BACK OVER HIS CAREER — The 20 millionth Ford was produced in April, 1931. The bottom picture shows him driving his first car. On the second day I went down to the picket line to take Steve some food, for I was afraid he wouldn't eat otherwise. The two older children were at school, and I took our youngest with me.

So I had been thinking that Steve and the others were right in many things. Then I got down there and saw the lines of pickets at the different gates and I realized how brave they were. For, though there were more pickets than police and militia, the police and militia were armed and the workers were not. To me it seemed there were hundreds of police and soldiers, but the pickets went right on marching.

I was across the street from one picket line, trying to pick out Steve when the police and militia began breaking it up. I saw the police beat up men and women, too. I don't know how or why I did it, but when I saw the blood that came from their wounds, I forgot everything except that I must get on their side. I took my child in my arms and crossed the street. A policeman came at me with his club. I turned quickly to protect the child's head, and in doing that I slipped in some blood that was on the pavement. Maybe he saw the child for the first time; maybe he didn't care about the child, but thought I was already hurt, for he let me lie there.

When I got up most of the people were gone. I couldn't find Steve anywhere. I went to strike and relief headquarters and asked for him, but they couldn't tell me. Then someone said, "He may be arrested. You go to the International Labor Defense, or telephone them and they'll let you know if he is."

So I telephoned, because my child was crying and I wanted to get him home. The girl there said, "Wait a minute." And when she came back to the phone she told me Steve was among those arrested. She said I could come to court, and she told me when.

I went to the court. I will never forget that judge. Dressed in his black robe, leaning over that counter, he looked like a buzzard I saw once in a moving picture about the war. It was peering over the body of a horse. If I ever saw hate in a man's eyes it was in that judge's eyes toward those strikers. I had always thought of judges as serene, good men, sort of Angel Gabriel's of the government, who couldn't do any wrong, because they must follow that teaching in the Bible which says, "Judge not that ye be not judged." He sneered at the workers and their lawyers, while he was setting the bail. He said they must get five hundred dollars bail for each worker. It had to be on property within eighteen miles of Detroit, and worth at least a thousand dollars, clear of mortgage, with the taxes paid up. And the owner must turn over the deed.

They got Steve out one of the first, because he was head of one of the committees and was needed. But there were many others left in jail, because the bail couldn't be raised.

I was so glad to have Steve home again, but I couldn't sleep that night. I got up and covered the children. The house without furnace heat was so cold at night I had done that before. But I got up again, and then again, because I couldn't lie still. The last time I went into the kitchen where there were still a few coals in the stove, and stood over it to keep warm. I had to think out several things.

The next morning I went to Steve, and said, "Steve, we've got that deed here. It's clear of mortgage and clear of taxes. We could get one worker out."

It wasn't that I thought getting one worker out would win the strike. But I felt I had to



MASS PICKETING AT THE BRIGGS BODY PLANT IN DETROIT. Workers refuse to starve at the mercy of Ford's "new models."

do something to put myself where I felt I belonged. I had to prove it to Steve, and to myself.

When I said that Steve looked at me. He said, "Mary!" in the most astonished voice I have ever heard.

He reached over and took my fingers in his hand. "Well," I told him, "we've got to help, haven't we? We've got to stick together, haven't we?" He let go my hand, and his arm came around me. I was glad.

Later we turned over our deed to that judge, and one more worker came out on the picket line because of it.

We won that strike. I say we, because I

help with the relief committees, and got the grocerymen in the neighborhoods to help. They were interested because they knew if we got a raise in wages they would get more money from us in trade. And many other people in other plants have joined in the strike, so that there are somewhere from 10,000 to 14,000 people out. It's a good feeling to know that you are standing together with your own people. It is better to feel strong and proud in being a worker and have some real hope for the future. Because I have learned a lot. The owners are trying to run the world on an old model. But a new model is needed, and only the workers can build it.

Levon Carlock, Lynched by Memphis Police

Levon Carlock, 19 years old, Negro, was shot and killed by 6 policemen in Memphis, Tennessee, on Saturday, February 25. He was waiting on a corner for his wife Eula May, who just finishing her day's work at 3 a.m. Saturday morning.

Six policemen who happened to pass the corner wanted to know what the hell he was doing around there. Levon explained that he was waiting for his wife. "Don't try to lie," answered one of the policemen, and to emphasize his statement slammed him in the face. "We tried to get you last night, but you got away. Tonight we'll fix you." "Please," Levon tried to say, "if you think I've done anything take me for a ride to the police station and arrest me."

"We'll take you for a ride alright. Two rides. The first one will be to the undertaker and the second to the cemetery."

Across the street lived Ruby Morris, a prostitute. After they had clapped handcuffs on him the police took Levon across to her house.

Ruby Morris came to the door. "Is this the man?" asked one of the cops.

"Yes, that's the one," Ruby obligingly answered. Her story was that she had been "raped" on Friday morning, early Friday morn-

ing. It was dark and she couldn't see her assailant's face. But she knew he was a Negro and she recognized his voice as Levon's.

"As soon as she said yes, they commenced beating him over the head with their clubs. They beat him so they broke his neck—I tell you his neck was really broke—and they took him in the alley." This is part of the long affidavit sworn out by an eye witness, Fannie Henderson.

In the alley, the cops finished up their work. Four bullets were fired into Levon's body.

Even the whitewashing coroner's inquest, which lasted only 10 minutes, could not hide the fact that he was shot after he had been knocked to the ground.

The verdict returned by the jury is the usual thing: "Justifiable homicide on the grounds that Levon Carlock resisted arrest and tried to escape."

Eula May was not called to the coroner's inquest. She couldn't have gone anyway because she is sick in bed. But she is relying on the International Labor Defense and the thousands of workers we must rally in protest against this police lynching. "I'll do anything you say. They can't scare me. Levon can't be brought back but maybe we can stop this murdering of Negro people."

"No Shark Fishing Allowed"—Machado

By ANITA BRENNER

EEK by week luxurious liners take people with money to spend on vacations to Havana. Some of them are business men and some are politicians and some are gangsters. When they get to Havana they put up at fine seaside hotels which do not allow Negroes in their dining rooms, although most Cubans have some Negro blood, and so it means that the fine clubs and dining rooms are for Americans only: Americans with money to spend. They put on fine summer clothes and panama hats and start out to look at the city. First they see the drive along the beach, built by Cuban workers for people with automobiles. Then they see the capitol, which looks like the White House, sitting in the middle of the main plaza like a big fake wedding cake, all sugared over. Then they drive out to the Tropical Beer gardens and drink free beer, compliments of the brewery, and then they pass by a house which belongs to the brewer and they get out and look through the door and they see a floor inlaid with mother of pearl. But that's nothing. In the middle of the main hall of the capitol floor there is a big diamond.

What else? The Corona Corona factory, dollar cigars; and the race-tracks, and all kinds of cabarets and rum joints and whore houses. Also a filthy movie which is owned by Dicator Machado in the name of his barber. There is plenty to do in Havana, all right, but there are two things that even people with money can't do. First, they can't ask questions. If they happen to walk out late at night and find a body full of bullet holes and with a few bones broken, too, they'd better forget it. Plenty of people have found them; there are plenty to find. If they ask questions they are told there was a street fight, or that gangsters put the guy on the spot, and if they notice that the body is all tied up and the dead man couldn't have been fighting they'd better not notice it out loud. There could be another "street fight" easy enough. Or a disappearance. Anyhow nobody would answer their questions, because anybody who does and is found out disappears at once. Maybe they find a wounded man, and maybe they see the paper a few days later and read in it that soand so, found wounded in the street, has died of gangrene. That's what happened to Boris Waxman, member of the I.L.D. He was twenty years old, a student, one of the thousands of students sacrificed by the Machado-Electric Bond and Share government of Cuba.

The other thing that tourists can't do in Havana is go shark-fishing. It is absolutely forbidden to fish for shark anywhere in the sea near the city, especially near Morro Castle, the fortress surrounded by water where political prisoners are usually taken. The rule about sharkfishing was passed because too many fishermen began finding human bones and clothes in the sharks' bellies, and a few times they were able to find out who the clothes had belonged to, by the watch, or buttons, or something special, and it always turns out to have been somebody

who "disappeared."

Still, even a tourist can go to Havana and not notice that most of the doors are closed tight and most of the windows are down. He thinks it's because of the heat. He sees a lot of policemen patrolling the streets and he feels pretty comfortable about that, and he may happen to pass the cemetery and see it surrounded by police and he'll think it's just a custom of the country. If he goes in he'll generally find one grave piled high with flowers. It is marked MELLA. Mella? Oh, a student killed in Mexico. Yes, killed by an agent paid by Machadohis wife told the whole story to the papers a long time afterwards-because he was not afraid to open his mouth and say that Machado is a dummy president keeping wages down and taxes cheap for the power trust, the tobacco kings, the rum and sugar barons. Why? Fifty million dollars loaned to Cuba by the Chase Bank; and Machado is vice-president of the Cuban Electric Bond and Share. So why shouldn't he keep taxes down and wages low and why shouldn't the Cubans pay twenty and thirty cents a kilowatthour for their light?

Fine roads lead from the capital to Mr. Hershey's sugar plantation and to Mr. Bacardi's rum distilleries. Even a party of tourists if going fast and feeling happy can't help hitting a cow that may get in the road. And one party will never forget what happened to the cow they had accidentally killed: in about fifteen minutes people came from God knows where, a lot of people, and fell upon that cow, and tore it to pieces and ran, each with a bloody hunk of meat

to the Cuban Constitution, made after the United

States took Cuba away from Spain, that the

United States would be responsible for individual

in his hands. There is a provision in the Platt Amendment

liberty in Cuba. But two Cuban policemen sit at the telephone switch in the American Embassy in Havana, so that anybody who telephones to Mr. Guggenheim can be checked up on. This saves Mr. Guggenheim some embarrassment, because it is plain that he is a close friend of Machado. He sees him day-by-day and he knows why people are found dead in the streets and why the sharks in the bay get fat and why Florida is full of Cuban refugees and why Cuban newspapers and magazines are suppressed and why the University is closed. He's there to see that the Chase Bank collects seven million dollars a year of interest on its loan, at least.

Nine tenths of the arable land in Cuba is owned or controlled by American corporations; the rest is mortgaged to Americans; eight-tenths of the sugar industry belongs to Americans; most of the tobacco industry belongs to Americans; nearly all the banks, railroads, street-car lines, power plants and telephone systems are also owned by American capital. What does this mean? It means that Americans in the cane sugar industry in Havana have to pay tariff because Americans in the beet sugar industry in the South beat them in Congress; and that Americans in the cigar industry in Havana have to pay tariff because Americans in the cigar industry in Florida also beat them at this game; and that in Cuba there is no show of "legal justice" and no bones are made about big stick methods, even on college professors and "nice people"; but mainly it means that Cuba occupies about the same position as Florida. It belongs to the United States, it is run by American bankers for the private profit of American bankers, and as for the workers? The difference lies only in the methods of terror in Cuba when they organize and fight, they get shot and fed to the sharks; and in Florida—Georgia—Alabama they get hanged and put on the chain gang. But terror cannot crush the fight against existing conditions, against misery, starvation and persecution. Thousands will take the place of those who fall victims and the fight will go on in spite of the Machados, in spite of chain gangs and in spite of lynchings.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

DUTCH FLEET MUTINY

THREE rebellions within a week, with 22 murders of sailors and over 700 arrests in the Dutch East Indies! Certainly the wave of national liberation struggles is rising over all the world, from our South to India to Indo-China to the Dutch East Indies.

A wage cut of 14% for the white sailors and 17% for the natives was the immediate cause of this rebellion which resulted in the world startling seizure of the cruiser De Zeven Provincien, its attempt to reach Surabava to free the workers previously arrested, and its pursuit and bombing by the whole Dutch navy and air fleet in Indonesian waters. Despite the disparity in wage cuts the white and native sailors struck together. Natives refused to fuel the pursuit planes. And in Holland tremendous demonstrations were held, with Civil Militia being thrown around the seaports for fear of an outbreak in the Dutch Navy in home waters.

A most severe censorship has been exercised by Dutch imperialism concerning the conditions in its colonies. But there are many facts of so grave a nature they cannot be withheld. For example, it is known that because of the rising tide of struggle the imperialist powers have forgotten some of their imperialist differences long enough to join in a united campaign for the suppression of all revolutionary Tan Malakka, movements. probably the best known revolutionary in the Orient, on whose head Chiang Kai Shek placed a \$5,000 reward, was arrested in Singapore by the British police and turned over to the Dutch authorities for deportation to the horrible prison camp of Digul, three hundred miles inland in the midst of malarial jungles.

Some time ago ten political prisoners managed to escape from the camp. Of the ten, five were eaten by cannibals in the jungle, and five reached Australian territory, only to be turned back to the Dutch authorities by the British imperialists.

The British police also turned over Joseph Ducroux, a French citizen, arrested in Singapore, to the French authorities who are keeping him in the dungeons at Saigon, Indo-China without trial.

These three imperialist powers along with the others are exercising the worst terror imaginable in conjunction. 10,000 natives lie in the French prisons in Indo-China. 80,000 were arrested in India in a period of four months. These are actions taken to keep the natives of the colonies in the most intense subjection, on a condition less than that of beasts.

It is under similar conditions that the natives of Dutch imperialism exist, and it was the gathering strength of the revolutionary movement there that was exemplified in the heroic act of the white and native sailors. Imperialism is dying under the blows of the workers and peasants of the world!

SOUTH AFRICA TERROR DRIVE

FIRST cousin to our own Ku Klux Klan has been organized in South Africa and is carrying out a campaign of vicious terror against the natives in South West Africa. As a result of new and savage anti-native laws recently passed, the Negro natives of South Africa have carried through many strikes, demonstrations, farmers' revolts.

Some of these new acts will sound familiar to Negro and white workers in our South. The Native Service Contract Act ties agricultural laborers and squatters to the landlord and makes them liable to imprisonment and flogging for breaking of contracts. Other laws make it possible for the government to send "any native agitator who seems dangerous" to prison for three months without any trial.

The imperialist government of Hertzog and Pirow since the beginning of the crisis reduced industrial production by 50% and now by 70%. Greater terror and restrictions became necessary with the rising discontent among the thousands of natives thrown out of work by the govern-

MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, protesting against the terror drive carried on by the Hertzog Pirow government.

ment's retrenchments. The growing unrest among the exploited natives assumed the proportions of a national liberation movement among the Ukuambi tribes of Ovamboland. The government sent a punitive expedition against them and slaughtered several hundred. The expedition was supplied with armored cars, artillery and bombing planes and drove whole settlements and villages of natives into the wilderness after burning their houses to the ground. Other "incidents" of the same kind occurred in Germistown and in Johannesburg itself. In Kenya the natives are being driven off the land that was set aside "for the use and benefits of the natives forever" by the Native Lands Trust Ordinance passed in 1930. The reason for this new attempt to squeeze the natives off the last patches of land that were left to them by the imperialist robbers, is the fact that new deposits of gold were discovered in this area. Not only have the natives been ordered to move their thatched huts off their own land and move them on to land that belongs to others who have the right to kick them off; no provision had been made for compensating them with other lands in Kenya. And the reason for this treachery is the fact that plenty of cheap native labor will be needed by the imperialist companies who begin to mine the gold. Dispossessed natives, with no place to go, will be drafted into service to mine gold for British Imperialists right on their own land!

Ikaka Laba Sebenzi, the South African I.L.D., is organizing and leading a mass campaign of protest against white terror against the natives in South Africa.

Huang Ping, chairman of the All China Trade Union Federation, is still in the hands of the Kuomintang Government. On February 24th, they issued a false statement saving that he was released. This was only done in order to stop the wave of protest from workers and intellectuals all over the world demand his release. A letter received here dated February 25th, states that this lie must be exposed. Huang Ping must be saved from the Kuomintang butchers at Nanking and Peiping. Flood the Chinese legation at Washington with demands for his freedom.

> THE League for Civil Rights places before the public and press an appeal from a group of political prisoners in the Military Reformatory in Peiping. The facts exposed in this document are so terrible that they challenge every living Chinese to immediate action, to immediate struggle to bring them once and forever to an end. They expose the system of torture still existing in the prisons of this country, a system with roots in the most despotic and tyrannical dynasties of the past. This system, however, is not at all confined to the Military Rcformatory in Peiping, but is common throughout the country, including prisons in the foreign settlements-as has been proved by recent exposures through released prisoners, their relatives, and letters from prisons.

The prisoners in the Military Reformatory in Peiping have placed their lives in danger by daring to send to the League of Civil Rights in an appeal for help. The progressive public and the Peiping branch of the League are called upon by us immediately and energetically to come to the active aid of those prisoners to prevent the prison authorities from subjecting them to new tortures because they have dared expose their suffering.

The appeal sent us shows that the men who write it are men of knowledge, thought, idealism, who even from their dark prison cells view the invasion of China with the deepest concern and desire to fight. We believe that the time has come when the people of China must demand individually, through their press and different organizations the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

This is the only way to end the system of torture that disgraces this country and to release the energies of countless thousands of idealistic men and women prisoners. Even in Fascist Germany and Italy, political prisoners have been granted a complete amnesty in recent weeks, although in these countries the most active political struggles are in progress. Our demand for the release of political prisoners should be fulfilled at once in China, where thousands of men and women are suffering a living death because they have tried to exercise the elementary rights of human beings; free speech, free assembly, free organization. - China League for Civil Rights.



NEWS FROM THE DISTRICTS

SAM WEINSTEIN CONVICTED
By M. KAMMAN

(EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR, N. Y. DISTRICT, I.L.D.)

Sam Weinstein, leader of a strike of furniture workers in New York City, was convicted by a jury Monday, February 20th, on a charge of second degree manslaughter. The jury's verdict is a serious challenge to the entire working class.

As in the Sacco-Vanzetti and other labor cases, the prosecution succeeded in securing a conviction on a minor charge so as to be able to bring Weinstein into court a handcuffed felon when he is later tried on a charge of man-slaughter which calls for a sentence of 20 years to life

In the summer of 1932, the furniture workers of the Muskin Manufacturing Company struck against a wage cut and for equal distribution of work among the employes. Sam Weinstein, decorated for bravery in the World War, was picked by his fellow workers as their strike leader. This was Weinstein's first strike, although he had worked from early youth. Until the strike he had voted the Democratic ticket. Until the strike he had had no connection whatsoever with the militant trade union movement.

While the strike was in progress, Harry Weissglass and his wife, relatives of one of the Muskin bosses, scabs at the Muskin shop, were attacked near their home in Bronx, New York. The wife fell down a flight of stairs while attacked and died from the injuries. Her husband recovered. On the same day of the attack a detective took Weinstein out of the picket line in front of the Muskin factory. Weinstein was charged with the assault on Weissglass and his wife.

From the very first day of the trial it was clear that the case against Sam Weinstein was a sheer frame-up. The witnesses for the prosecution, including the husband of the dead woman, a stool-pigeon, a detective, contradicted themselves crudely when cross-examined by Joseph Brodsky, defense counsel. It was clear that the questions asked them by the district attorney and that their mechanical answers had been prearranged. Even then it was apparent that the district attorney knew his case against Weinstein was weak. Repeatedly, he tried to drag the red herring of Communism into the case and to fix in the minds of the jurors that Weinstein had become a member of the Furniture Workers' Industrial Union, a militant organization.

On the other hand the witnesses for the defense, among them men who had nothing to do with the strike, were not even interested in it,

testified that they saw Weinstein in the strike headquarters in Brooklyn at the very hour when the attack on the two scabs had taken place in the Bronx, more than an hour's ride by subway from the strike headquarters. Although he utilized every trick of his trade, the district attorney could not shake their testimony. Lawyers, present at the trial as observers, stated that the Weinstein defense was air-tight.

Not only for New York City workers but for workers of the entire country, the Weinstein conviction is of historical significance. The bosses have already had their say. "Look at what we did to Sam Weinstein! The same will happen to you, if you dare fight against our wage cuts; if you dare oppose our program of starvation."

The bosses have framed Weinstein. We must free him.

FIGHT CS IN CALIFORNIA

Organized mass pressure succeeded in wresting an order of voluntary departure for Peter Panagopoulos, a Greek, arrested in a raid by the Red Squad on a mass meeting at Long Beach, January, 1932. But a week before his departure Panagopoulos was arrested again in his bookshop, charged with criminal syndicalism and indicted by the Grand Jury. However, despite the threatened resignation of Captain Hynes, of the Red Squad, the District Attorney's office in Los Angeles agreed to permit him to leave the country voluntarily and, if he were gone by March 13, 1933, proceedings would be dropped. This apparent concession was the result of a tremendous campaign involving workers, liberals, students against the criminal syndicalism act organized by the ILD.

The courts had evidently decided, because of aroused opinion, to proceed in a manœuvre. Panagopoulos discovered from relatives in Greece that the Greek government, contrary to procedure, had been informed he was a "Red," and as a result his parents and relatives were threatened with deportation and deportation to an uninhabited island awaiting him. The ILD exposed this manœuvre. But the authorities now refused voluntary deportation on the grounds that it had been forfeited by his not leaving in December—this despite the fact he could not leave because of his arrest and the charge.

The I.L.D. obtained a writ of habeas corpus, but its lawyer, Leo Gallagher, arrived at the station too late to take Pangapoulos off. However, he was gotten off at Colton, and taken back to



JOHN LAW protecting the State Capitol of Springfield, Ill., from an "invasion" of miners' wives and daughters.

Los Angeles jail under \$3,000 bail. As the case stands today it looks as if the government is going to be forced to allow Panagapoulos voluntary departure, not daring to risk trying him under the criminal syndicalism law. For the Panagapoulos trial will be the focal point of the criminal syndicalism repeal campaign now going forward to 150,000 signatures to place the repeal measure on the ballot for the next general election. Assemblyman Maloney, of San Francisco, has introduced a bill in the Legislature for repeal, and it is being supported by the Los Angeles members.

GERMANY

(Continued from page 23)

ican workers. Already we hear the open call for a dictator. Give Roosevelt dictatorial powers they say-an open dictatorship replacing the now thinly concealed one. One by one the hardfought-for rights of the American working class are being taken from them. Free speech, freedom of assembly, the right to organize are openly denied. America is no longer an asylum for political prisoners from foreign countries. Her jails have become crowded with the political prisoners of her own making. The American International Labor Defense must do as its German brother has done-build a defense organization of such proportions as will be able to secure for the American workers working class justice in the ruling class courts of America. Just as in Germany, so here, the streets are the courts of the workers. Here their decisions must be passed so loudly that thundering against the doors of the ruling class courts they will force through the decisions that will release our classwar prisoners. The defense struggles of the American working class are in themselves a course of more than moral support to the German workers.

Build a mass I.L.D.!



"THE SALVATION OF THE STATE IS WATCHFULNESS IN THE CITIZEN." That's what it says on the State Capitol of Lincoln, Nebraska, and these 6,000 farmers who marched to Lincoln demanding relief came to prove that they are "watchful."

WHAT TO DO WHEN ARRESTED

These directions were written in answer to hundreds of questions sent in by workers on self defense in court. They are part of lesson in SELF DEFENSE. Watch the next issue of the Labor Defender for the rest.

The arresting cop is your enemy! Give no information to the policeman or sheriff, whatsoever. When being booked you have the right to give an assumed name, if you so desire (to save your job, etc.) To safeguard your home from raid give your Union or I.L.D. address (if these exist legally.) You have the legal right not to give any address. Give no information to the desk-sergeant or anyone else in the police station. Talk to no one about your case while in the station. Phone to your Union or I.L.D. headquarters and inform them of the arrest and charges. Give no other information over the telephone. Demand the right to see I.L.D. and Union representatives in brivate. Stand up under third degree methods like a militant; give no information!

PRELIMINARY HEARING

Its purpose is to present the complaint against the defendant; to give the defendant the chance to plead guilty or not guilty to charges made; to set bail; to assign the case for trial.

WHAT TO DO

Plead not guilty in every case. A worker arrested in class struggle is never guilty. It is the bosses who are guilty in suppressing workers' rights to fight for better conditions. Demand dismissal of the case. If dismissal is denied, demand release "on own recognizance" (pledge to appear for trial). If this is denied, request that bail be set at the very minimum. In some states there is the right to jury trial in every case—demand this right.

TRIAL BY JURY

When the case is called by the clerk, answer present and state that you will defend yourself (you have the full right). When the Panel is sworn in, object to the jury panel on the following grounds: it contains no workers from basic industries, no Negroes or other oppressed nationalities. Request that a new panel be called representing the cross-section of the city's working-class population-Negro and white, foreign born, from basic industries, unemployed, etc. If the objection is overruled, state "I take excep-(to the court's ruling) and note it as No. 1 on a sheet of paper. Do so throughout the whole trial when your objection is overruled. This serves as a basis for appeal. In the selection of the jury from the panel, question the prospective jurors as to: name, occupation, whether they read about the case, formed an opinion, are prejudiced against Negroes, are foreign born, unemployed, etc. Question with the view of establishing whether any prejudice exists in jurors' minds. If such is found, request "challenge for cause." If this is denied use your own right to challenge (usually 5.6 challenges are given to both sides) and dismiss the objectionable juror by saying "juror (name) excused." The jury is then sworn in and the complaint read to the jury. During the opening remarks by the prosecution and defense, give a brief talk stating your opinion of the arrest and charges. The prosecution then presents its witnesses who are in turn cross-examined by the defense. The prosecution closes its case after its witnesses are examined. During this procedure, object to any unnecessary questions asked by the prosecutor. Cross examine his witnesses to expose their lies against you. The defense then presents its witnesses under the same procedure Before calling your witnesses make a motion for dismissal of the case on the ground that the prosecutor failed to prove your guilt. Protect your witnesses against bull-dozing by the prosecutor by frequent objections to his questions.

Arguments before the jury go in the following rotation: Prosecutor opens; the defense follows; prosecutor closes (equal time is given to both—prosecutor divides for opening and closing.) Prepare yourself well. In your talk try your best to form a united front with the jury against the bosses' court, especially with workers if such are there. Bring forth the real issues underlying the case. Expose the bosses' terror as an answer to the workers' fight for bread.

The Judge then instructs the jury in points of law. The jury and bailiff in charge of the jury are sworn in. The jury retires to decide the verdict. The jury returns with verdict of guilty or not guilty. Case is discharged. (Notes: In some states the jury may fix the sentence. The verdict must be arrived at unanimously. Division of votes is a mistrial (hung jury) and the case must be retried with a different jury.) If the verdict is guilty the judge can either sentence at once or fix the date for sentence. State reason why you should not be sentenced—persecuted for fighting for your class, etc. Before sentence, the defense may make a motion for new trial. When sentenced, defendant may file a verbal notice of appeal. Base motion for new trial upon prejudice of jury, prosecutor, etc., if this is denied, file notice of appeal after sentence is set. Request release on own recognizance or The Judge sets appeal bail at his small bail. The Judge sets appeal bail at his discretion. Note: Procedure of trial by court (Judge) is same as points dealing with jury are omitted.

CONDUCT IN COURT

The worker on trial must conduct himself with proletarian dignity. His whole line must be to change from an accused to an accuser—he accuses the boss-class in crimes against the working-class. He must maintain a calm and deliberate attitude and not fall into provocation traps often set by the judge and prosecutor. Witnesses for the defense must act likewise.

ROLE OF I.L.D. LAWYERS

The I.L.D. does not eliminate lawyers by use of workers self-defense in courts. It draws friendly lawyers closer to the I.L.D. by assigning them the task of giving legal advice to workers' on trial, thereby aiding the defendant against court tryranny. In mass cases the I.L.D. assigns its lawyers as associate counsel to the workers defending themselves.

MASS SUPPORT

Workers self-defense must have strongest mass support through the courtroom packed with workers and by arousing support of workers from shops, factories, unions, fraternal organization, bread lines, flop houses, etc., through meetings, resolutions or protest, collection of funds, etc. Without such support workers' self-defense is greatly weakened.

BUILD THE I.L.D.

Throughout the practice of workers' self-defense the I.L.D. must be built by joining its ranks, rendering it financial and moral support. Mass organizations must affiliate with the I.L.D. and organize in their midst defense committees to cooperate with the I.L.D. in its struggle against boss-terror.

Lynchers Prepare Blood-Bath in Alabama

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The lynch-bosses of the south are tightening their forces into a state-wide organization, to prepare a blood-bath in the Scottsboro case. Every official force in Alabama is mobilized to burn the nine innocent Negro boys when they come up for retrial in March. An organization of "vigilance committees" is being perfected for an extralegal lynching in case of an acquittal. Their plans call for the murder, not only of the Scottsboro boys, but of their defenders, the representatives of the I.L.D.

Attorney-general Thomas E. Knight has announced that he will fight every move of the I.L.D. in defense of the boys. He will fight a change of venue from the lynch-town of Scottsboro. He wants the trial held in this small town where it has been been proved to be easy to organize lynch-gangs. The I.L.D. is demanding a change of venue to Birmingham, where the wide Negro and white working-class population will make organization of lynch-gangs more difficult

The Scottsboro case has been put on the court calendar in Scottsboro for March 20, when it will be opened again before Judge Alfred E. Hawkins, who ran the original lynch hearing in April, 1931.

On that day the I.L.D. legal forces, headed by General George W. Chamlee, of Chattanooga, and including Samuel S. Leibowitz, the best known and reputably the most capable, criminal attorney in the country, Joseph Brodsky, Irving Schwab, I.L.D. attorneys, and, if they are not at the moment tied up with the Herndon and Atlanta Six cases, John H. Geer and Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., the two brilliant young Negro attorneys of Atlanta, will open the fight for the change of venue.

Under this procedure, the earliest date on which the Scottsboro boys can be actually be brought to trial, and the jury picked which is to try them, will be March 20. LABOR DEFENDER readers should watch the working-class press for latest developments between now and the trial. These will be of a sensational nature.

Workers' juries will be drawn up, to go to Scottsboro or to Birmingham, or wherever it is that the trial may finally be held. Delegations from working-class organizations will attend the trial. The worker-jurors and delegates will report on the case, come to their own verdict on it.

The I.L.D. will take the lead in organizing these delegations and the workers' jury. Join and support the I.L.D. in this life and death fight for the lives of the Scottsboro boys! Help to expose and defeat the plans of the Alabama butchers!

Every reader of the LABOR DEFENDER must send his protest to Governor B. M. Miller, at Montgomery, Ala., and to Attorney-general Thomas E. Knight, in the same city, demanding the immediate release of the Scottsboro boys, and holding these officials responsible for their lives and safety. Every reader must see that every organization to which he belongs sends such a protest.



Group System

By CARL HACKER

Since the 4th National Convention of the I.L.D. held in Pittsburgh at the close of 1929, the I.L.D. has succeeded in putting into effect the policies of mass defense in all its defense struggles. Since that time, the I.L.D. has without question become the recognized leader of the defense of those who become the victims of the class struggle and national oppression. While we have been able to rally millions of people the world over and specifically hundreds of thousands in the United States in support of our struggles here (Sacco-Vanzetti, Gastonia, Scottsboro, Mooney-Billings and scores of others), yet organizationally we cannot record much gain.

At the 4th National Convention held in Pittsburgh we recorded nine thousand dues-paying members with approximately 150,000 affiliated members. Almost three years later, at our 5th National Convention held in Cleveland in October, 1932, we again record nine thousand duespaying members with 150,000 affiliated members, and during the intervening period from the 4th to the 5th Convention, we also find that 23,000 initiation stamps were sold by the National Office. This means that 23,000 persons were interested enough in the I.L.D. to become members through the purchase of initiation The question asked is, what became of the 23,000 new members. The next question is -how can we keep this fluctuating membership active and in our ranks.

It is not the purpose to deal here with all the shortcomings in our work. The I.R.A. points out that our shortcomings are many, such as bureaucracy, lack of educational work, the inability to utilize local issues properly, the inability to organizationally consolidate our agita-

tional successes, etc. We will deal here only with one phase of organization which will subsequently improve our work and help to put an end to the enormous fluctuation in membership.

This phase of reorganization is the Group System. It is as follows: Each branch of the I.L.D. shall be organized into small groups consisting of generally five members. One of the five comrades in the group to act as captain, responsible to the branch organizer. The group shall be organized on the basis, first of their residence, bringing together those comrades who live close together. Second, wherever we have two or three or more comrades working together in the same shop, they must be organized into an I.L.D. shop branch and taken out of the regular group.

The group shall conduct the activities of the I.L.D. in the particular neighborhood in which the members live. They shall canvass the houses of people living in that section with our literature—they shall canvass the houses of people in that section in preparation for mass meetings and mass demonstrations and carry out all of the activities in connection with all of our campaigns in their particular neighborhood. The group shall only meet as a group in preparation for their organizational activities in their neighborhood. They shall not be considered branches in themselves.

The organization into groups by no means affects the regular life of the branch. The members of the groups will attend their branch meetings as usual and in addition from time to time the groups shall meet to discuss their experience in carrying out their work as a group. The captain of the group is responsible for the collection of dues from the members of his group and

is also responsible for the distribution of material such as literature and so forth for use by the group in this work. The group captains do not necessarily have to be members of the Executive Committee of the branch. When new members come into the branch they shall be immediately assigned to a certain group, the group captain must become personally acquainted with the new member in order to determine at once—first, how much time the new member has to devote to I.L.D. work, and second, what particular kind of work the new member is qualified to do. This will enable us to give the new member the work he is capable of doing and will also prevent us from overloading him with work.

We should try to limit the branch membership to 50—though this must not be applied mechanically. The same applies to the groups whose membership should be limited to 5. The group system has many advantages for our work. The comrade will be given the kind of work he or she can do—he will not be overtaxed—he will be drawn into greater activity—dues will be collected more regularly and generally each group member will feel himself more a part of the organization.

The group captains will be a means whereby we will develop a greater number of leaders for our entire organization. Each one of these comrades in themselves will be an organizer capable of handling a group of workers and finally, it is reasonable to believe that each group of 5 comrades established today, can be the nucleus for a new branch of the I.L.D. if the work is conducted properly—if this group becomes the leader of defense activities in his neighborhood or shop.

J. Louis Engdahl Memorial Home

The grave need of a permanent home for the rearing of workers' children who are the vic-tims of the Class War was definitely pointed out by J. Louis Engdahl, late National Chairman of the International Labor Defense. He saw the horrible effects on workers' families whose breadwinners were either killed or rotted in capitalist prisons. Tireless revolutionary fighter that he was, he organized, through the I.L.D., regularly conducted campaigns for the relief of these sufferers. He found that the relief was inadequate. And finally, he came to the conclusion that the only way the workers would respond to the need was through the creation of a permanent home for the care and upbring. ing of these children, who would receive the proper nurturing for the class struggle, its traditions, its goal.

The I.L.D. proposes to continue the work that he left off at his untimely death. And to honor his memory the I.L.D. has decided to call it The J. Louis Engdahl Memorial Home. In getting the machinery for the organization going,

the I.L.D. proposes to set up a broad United Front Committee to support the small action committee already formed, and shall be composed of representation from the following: Negro Mass Organizations and Youths Clubs, Trade Unions, fraternal and mass organizations, fraternal language organizations, Women' organizations, Youth clubs, Young Communist League, Pioneers. This committee, supplemented by an independent liberal committee which will draw in new forces for the support of the establishment of this memorial home, shall be organized on a national scale, and by districts. These latter shall call immediately citywide conferences to discuss the plan and objective of the J. Louis Engdahl Memorial Home, and shall move for its adoption so that the campaign may be launched at once.

The plan for establishing the memorial home shall be carried through on the basis of creating a self-sustaining fund which shall be built up through systematic campaigns, including the winter relief campaign, and also through the sup-

port of trade unions, fraternal and supporting organizations, yearly pledges and substantial contributions from liberal friends and sympathizers.

The above is only a sketchy outline for the proposal of organization, which shall ultimately depend on the reaction of the workers who must make the memorial home a reality. It is therefore obvious that the workers must reply to this proposal by offering suggestions of their own.

Every worker who has his interest at heart will respond full heartedly and give the proposed plan his support. And ultimately the success or failure of it will depend on every worker.

WE ENDORSE THE L. S. N. R. DELEGATION

The International Labor Defense enthusiastically welcomes the call of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights for a delegation of Negro workers and sympathizers with the struggle for Negro rights to attend the conference of the Governors called by Mr. Roosevelt for Monday, March 6th, as one of the most significant moves in the struggle of the Negro peoples against Jim-Growism, peonage and lynch law that has ever been launched.

The International Labor Defense regards this call and the activities which it must involve as a further development of the defense of the cases of the nine innocent Scottsboro boys, of Angelo Herndon, of the Alabama sharecroppers and, therefore, as inseparably bound up with the attack upon the system of debts slavery, the chaingang and mass starvation which gave them birth.

The agenda of Mr. Roosevelt's Governors' conference has ignored the question of the vicious terror against those of the foreign-born who dare to fight for their constitutional rights. It has ignored the vital question of the rights of political prisoners, and most significant of all, has ignored the question of the race—national oppression of fifteen milions of Negroes, to whom the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments have become a hollow mockery. The International Labor Defense believes that in forgetting this most forgotten section of the forgotten man Roosevelt's forgotten man is still consistently forgotten. Hundreds of thousands of black men and women who have toiled all their lives to create the wealth of the South perish from starvation, from mob violence and lynching, and meet an early death from diseases caused by the horrible conditions under which they work and live and overwork.

The International Labor Defense believes that the mobilization of its entire national and district apparatus to help assure the success of this delegation of militant Negro workers and their friends to the Governors' conference must raise the question of the defense of political prisoners among whom the most prominent are Tom Mooney, Angelo Herndon, the Scottsboro boys, to a higher level. It believes that the preparation of this delegation can be thereby a means of preparation also for the Chicago Free Tom Mooney Congress of April 29-May 2, the struggle against the deportation of Frank Borich, Edith Berkman, Vincent Kamenovich, etc. The International Labor Defense sees in the struggle for the defense of this weakest section of the working class one of those fundamental links by which the whole chain of working class defense is welded together.

WE INDICT THE LYNCHERS

(Continued from page 29)

editors say that the result of the activities of these organizations such as the International Labor Defense will be to force the rulers of the South to return to open mob lynching. Very well, gentlemen, we will see what the workers of America and their sympathizers have to answer to this.

Those who dare to fight in order to live must be defended. The masses must be gathered together by the hundreds of thousands to the defense of those who lead the fight for life.

Comrades, we move too slowly, time does not wait. The fight for life grows sharper. Black and white auto workers in Detroit are jailed because they want a living wage; foreign and native born, Negro and white miners in Illinois are brutally cast into prison cells because they truthfully say, "These wages mean starvation." Who will defend these workers? Where is there another organization save the International Labor Defense that stands consistently on the basis of "Every legal measure plus mass protest"?

Are we so childish as to still believe that those who are jailed, persecuted and deported for protesting against robbery will be defended by the robbers?

The police, the courts, the State of Alabama—these are the criminals, the murderers, the lynchers, says their star witness in her letter. Is the Scottsboro case different from thousands

of others that have gone before? Only in the degree of the viciousness it presents.

It is now that the International Labor Defense must be built. It is in defense of democratic rights. For those who demand what the Constitution supposedly guarantees, that the International Labor Defense must be built. The tradition of political asylum justifies a determined struggle against the deportation of foreign-born who demand only what the law is said to grant. For them the International Labor Defense must be built

More Scottsboros, more Herndons, more farmers imprisoned and murdered, more Edith Berkmans, more Tom Mooneys loom ahead. We must prepare now to defend these victims of ruling class justice. To wait until then is oft-times to wait too long.

There were no "filthy insinuations" in Scotts-boro; there was no "fair play."

Innocent boys are being murdered. The struggle to save their lives will clarify the issues between rich and poor in America and strengthen the struggle to save those who may be to-morrow's victims.

Build the International Labor Defense in this struggle.

MARX AND THE COMMUNE

(Continued from page 27)

children. The Times was forced to print an article by Frederick Engels (Marx's closest associate) exposing the murderous treatment of the Communards, ending with a passionate appeal to compel the Versailles government to cease the torture of its victims. Marx and Engels wrote, "While preparations for the trial are going on the prisoners of Satory die like flies. Death acts much swifter than Thier's 'justice.'"

The thousands of Communards who succeeded in escaping from the jaws of death flooded the neighboring countries presenting a tremendous problem for their defenders—Marx and the General Council. The emigrants' plight was terrific, as they were forced as best they could to eke out a living in strange lands with no work, hence no food nor shelter.

Marx faced this problem with superhuman efforts towards collecting funds for relief of the emigrants. He wrote passionate appeals to all workers and intellectuals to come to their aid. On September 5th he addressed a special appeal to the American workers who responded with a collection of one hundred pounds and pledges of more.

Marx turned to the middle class and intellectuals, issuing special collection lists as well as "penny lists." While doing this Marx rejected appeals that tended to offend the dignity of the Communards. HE INSISTED UPON THE COLLECTION OF FUNDS BEING CONDUCTED UPON THE CLASS-ISSUES INVOLVED.

Marx gave himself to this colossal task not out of petty-bourgeois sentimentalism, not out of classless humanitarianism. To him the Communards were soldiers of the first unsuccessful proletarian revolution, forerunners of the coming victorious proletarian armies. To him, in the words of Lenin, "the cause of the Commune was the cause of social revolution." He strained almost superhuman efforts towards rescuing the Communards from the jaws of death and towards relieving their terrific distress with a clear thought in mind to return them into the ranks of the revolutionary working-class.

The activities of Marx and the General Council of the 1st International in defense of the French Communists are tremendous lessons in building proletarian solidarity of all toilers in defense and relief of class war victims. They

were also the forerunners to the present worldwide defense movement led by the International Red Aid.

The I.L.D. membership and its supporters will derive from this chapter of Karl Marx's manifold revolutionary activities lessons to be applied in our daily efforts to strengthen our defense and relief activities. Of outstanding value are the lessons of International Solidarity as taught to us by Marx's splendid example when he aroused tens of thousands of workers from many lands in support of the French Communists and the vital importance of giving relief to class war victims and their families.

MEERUT

(Continued from page 26)

the arrest of revolutionaries tells us that the great tide of revolution is rising in India against the British imperialist and their lackeys, the Ghandites and other nationalist leaders, as it is rising in all parts of the world.

The Meerut prisoners were arraigned because they dared to assert their class aim of social emancipation. In their arraignment was arraigned the whole working class of the world before the bar of imperialist justice. But we shall refuse to be the accused, the criminals. We shall say with G. M. Adhikari, one of the prisoners:

"Who are the social criminals? I ask. The blood-thirsty imperialists who carried fire and sword through entire continents, who have instituted a colonial regime of blood and terror, who have reduced the toiling millions of these continents to abject poverty, intolerable slavery, and are threatening them with mass extinction as a people."

In as spirited a way as the Meerut prisoners took the offensive against imperialism, as courageously, we shall work for the unity of the white and Negro toilers, of workers in imperialist countries and native workers in the struggle for the release of all class-war prisoners as symbolized in Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, the Meerut prisoners, and the other thousands.

WHY ARE WE SO LATE THIS MONTH? WE DIDN'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO GO TO PRESS ON THE 15TH OF FEBRUARY AS WE HOPED.

WHY ARE THERE SO FEW PICTURES THIS MONTH? WE DIDN'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO PAY FOR MORE CUTS.

THE READERS OF THE LABOR DEFENDER MUST PROVE THEY ARE REAL FRIENDS NOW. SUBSCRIBE TO THE LABOR DEFENDER. RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION IF YOU ALREADY HAVE ONE. GET ALL YOUR FRIENDS AND FELLOW WORKERS TO SUBSCRIBE. SEND US A MAY DAY GREETING.

AND IF YOU TAKE A BUNDLE OF LABOR DEFENDERS EVERY MONTH, PAY FOR IT IN FULL AND AS SOON AS YOU CAN AFTER IT ARRIVES.

WE NEED MORE SUCH FRIENDS

Friends and Defenders of the Oppressed:

Find enclosed \$1.00 to renew for another year my subscription to the Labor Defender, the magazine that most fully exposes the barbarism of our so-called civilization, which is rotten to the core. Wish I could do more to aid you in the battle for justice, but I am old (73) and poor, and soon will be numbered with the dead.

With best wishes, I remain, Yours fraternally,

Leroy Cummings.

LTHOUGH it took me a year to find it out by experience, I know that the comrades outside do not forget those who have been put away for various periods of time for daring to fight against the bosses' attempts to further enslave the workers by worsening job conditions, by wage-cuts and lay-offs.

On being released on parole after serving nearly a year of a two-year sentence I was given a bundle of letters which had been arriving for me ever since I had been sentenced. And there were many, according to those who declare they had written to me, which I never received at all. But the letters I did get on leaving were nearly all intended to "bolster up my courage" or "keep up my morale" and if they had been necessary for that they would have failed of their purpose for I did not receive them because of the way they were written.

Of course all prisons are not alike nor do they all have the same rules but the fact remains that while in prison you can only get what they give you. The hell hole that separated me from my comrades is regarded as one of the worst in the country. It is the Allegheny County, Pa., workhouse, and about its viciousness too much cannot be said. Nine of our comrades are still there as convict laborers. Their pay for eight hours work a day, in competition with outside "free" labor, is a 10-cent package of tobacco every two weeks. The abominations served for food are terrible. For fifteen hours a day they are locked in their cells. As they are only allowed to write one letter a month they cannot answer your letters even if they do receive them. Space alone forbids me from telling of all that these comrades suffer. On Saturday afternoon, if it isn't raining, they get two hours of open air to last them through the week. It is then that the comrades get their only chance to talk to each other and invariably they greet each other with the following question: "Get any mail this week?"

The writer has both asked and been asked this question many times by the other comrades who likewise were incarcerated for activities in the struggles of the working class against the terrorist rule of the bosses. The question was often answered in the negative not because our comrades outside had forgotten us but because they were so anxious to give us all the working class news in real working class language that we failed to get the letters until our release.

Of course there are some prisons where it matters not what kind of letters comrades write or receive because they are searched only for dope or implements to aid escape, but this is only so in very few prisons. While I deal specifically with the Allegheny County Workhouse at Blawnox there are many others just as bad in this respect. At this place the only thing you can get from the outside is money which is placed to the prisoner's account and permits the purchase of newspapers and smokes only. All letters are opened and read and our comrades get only those which are written on plain paper. All letterheads of the I.L.D. with the prison bars are taboo no matter what the contents of the letter. The same applies to the

Prisoners' Relief Fund. Letters suggesting that the other prisoners should be given greetings or if addressed to one yet meant for all are received by none. The Daily Worker, LABOR DEFENDER, and all other working class newspapers and magazines are barred and this rule is carried to the extent of barring some very tame "liberal" publications.

Yet there are prisoners whose morale needs to be kept up. Letters will do it. A little money for tobacco will do better still. Write to the comrades you know and to some that you know only by the fact that they are imprisoned for fighting for you. But use a method other than revolutionary language to show them you are still thinking of them. If you will just try you can find a way to give them all the news of the movement without the use of revolutionary phraseology. Just be assured that the comrades can read "between the lines." Because of this lack of mail many inexperienced comrades thought they had been forgotten and, it was no doubt to reassure them that that brave young militant fighter, Leo Thompson, is so seriously ill today, for he deliberately hid his true physical condition from the other comrades in order to keep up the morale of those who were doing their first "stretch" in prison.

The best letter I received while in Blawnox came from Comrade Wm. Z. Foster. It was hand written, on plain paper in plain language and gave us more information than any other letters we got about our world outside. It was just signed "Bill," but we knew who the "Bill" was. Try to reach our comrades, send them letters that will cheer them and, if you can, a bit of change for the little things they need.

Don't write blazing revolutionary letters unless to a prison where you know the comrades can receive such letters. Besides it is not necessary to do this to convince them that you are still in the struggle. Remember that if they receive a cheerful "Hello" and a carefully written and guarded bit of information it is better than a revolutionary letter hot enough to burn the paper it is written on and which is kept by the warden until the prisoner goes home; if he gets it at all. -From an ex-political prisoner.

Dear Comrades:

Having received your letter of the 15th, I wish to assure you that my delay has not been because, of any unappreciation, but because of a spell of sickness. But I am pleased to say that I am much better at this time.

I sincerely hope that you will inform all of your co-workers and my brothers, that I appreciate their consideration of me. Likewise, it is hardly necessary for you to explain that you would do more for me. For I fully understand the condition that we as brothers are forced to meet at this time.

Trusting that greater success shall come from our endeavor, and that I shall hear from you real soon; also again assuring you that I have confidence in our future, I shall conclude, as ever, William Battles.

Philadelphia County Prison.

Meadow Lands, Pa., February 7, 1933.

Dear Comrades:

We received your letter and also the enclosed money order for \$5. We want to thank you deeply for the money because it sure helped us a great deal.

Things out here, like all over the world, are at a standstill. . . The few fortunate (or unfortunate) men who are working in the mines out here are making on an average of \$1 a day. About one-third of this goes for their powder, lights, doctor, etc. Some of them are getting relief checks but they have to be friends of the superintendent of the mine.

Stella is still in prison although the Pittsburgh I.L.D. is doing everything it possibly can to release her and the rest of the comrades who fought for the workers' cause. I myself am just beginning to get used to outside conditions after being in the Blawnox Prison for the last 14 months. I suffered much while I was there but I am willing to suffer again if necessary if only the cause of the workers could be improved where they could live like human beings and not like feudal serfs or slaves.

Hoping that you and the rest of the comrades can keep up your heroic fights for the working class prisoners, I remain,

Comradely yours,

Mrs. Anna Rasefske.

To the political prisoners in Walla Walla, Washington.

Dear Comrades:

On the 15th anniversary of the October Revolution, we the M.O.P.R. (Soviet equivalent for the I.L.D.-Ed.) nucleus in school No. 13, "Pioneer Meet," in Rostov-on-the-Don, send you comradely greetings. November 7 is the day of the mobilization and preparation of the proletarian forces for the struggle against the growing danger of war. This is the day of roll-call ing danger of war. for the toilers of the whole world, the day of militant preparation of the whole proletariat in defense of the U.S.S.R.—the first Soviet country in the world!

Here in the U.S.S.R. we are today totaling up our achievements, but at the same time we do not forget our comrades abroad. We are doing our very best to help you. We are organizing M.O.P.R. units and bettering this work. Once this year we organized a meeting at which a Jugoslavian political emigrant, who had recently been liberated from prison, spoke. In our school also, we have a "M.O.P.R. corner." The material in this corner is changed frequently so that we always have the latest news of events abroad.

We assure you, dear comrades, that we will not rest with the work done, but will draw into the M.O.P.R. work wide masses of toilers, women, working youth and toiling peasantry. We school children will call upon them to strength. en the material and moral aid for all captives of capitalism.

With International Red Aid greetings, M.O.P.R. nucleus No. 240 ("Pioneer Meet") Rostovon the Don, Sennaya Ulitza, 120.

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GREET THE LABOR DEFENDER ON MAY DAY!

Every greeting another voice raised demanding the freedom of Mooney and Billings.

Every greeting another arm raised in protest against boss terror and a demand for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon and all class war prisoners.

Every Greeting Means Longer Life to The Labor Defender

Do You Want The Labor Defender To Live? IT'S UP TO YOU—Boss terror is growing sharper every day. Hundreds of foreign born workers are being deported every day. Eight lynchings already for the year 1933. ARE YOU GOING TO FIGHT THIS TERROR? THEN HELP BUILD THE LABOR DEFENDER.

I Greet the Labor Defender on May Day	SEND US A GREETING!
Name	SUBSCRIBE!
Address	
Amount	RENEW YOUR SUB!

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THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

has forced the production of this letter, written by Ruby Bates, State's star witness, in a Birmingham court. It is another proof of the innocence

of the Scottsboro boys. Because of this evidence, procured as a result of the militant mass and legal defense policy of the International Labor Defense, Attorney General Knight of Alabama stated that he would oppose the motion for the change of venue and insist upon the trial in Scottsboro. This statement is made with the deliberate intention of whipping up lynch hysteria which the Southern white rulers hope will reach its climax in the actual lynching of the Scottsboro boys.

Readers of the Labor Defender! Mobilise into a powerful army of Scottsboro Boys defenders! Rush funds for the Scottsboro New Trial Emergency Fund of the International Labor Defense immediately, and ask your friends and fellow-workers to do the same! Demand the Verdict of Life and Freedom for the Nine innocent Negro Scottsboro Boys!

DEMAND THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE AND SAFEGUARD FOR THE LIVES OF THE NINE INNOCENT NEGRO SCOTTSBORO BOYS!