

VIEWS OF THE MONTH

Upper left: Anna Burlak addressing textile strikers in Rhode Island despite police terror.

Upper right: Cannon fodder being reviewed at Citizens' Military Training Camp, by the bosses preparing war.

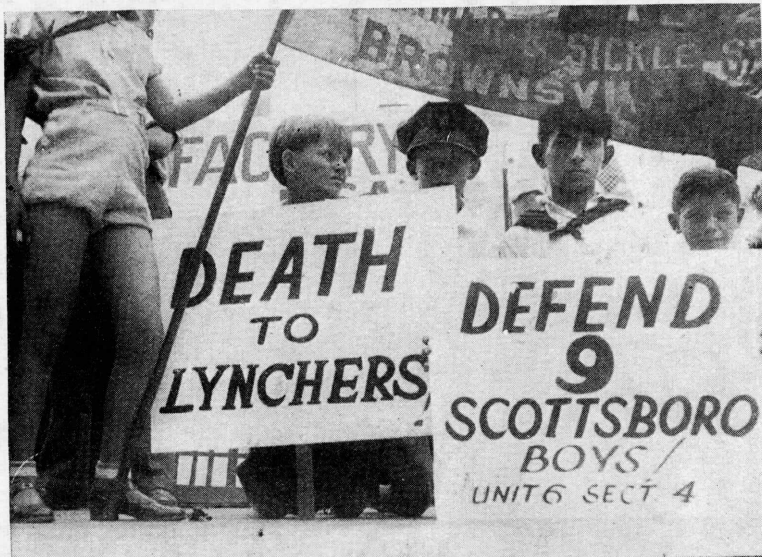
Center left: Food kitchen opened by National Miners Union in Harlan, Ky. The miners' families are starving.

Center right: Workers' children at anti-war meeting, N.Y. Aug. 1



Lower left: Homeless Japanese workers in a Tokyo flophouse. Same as in U. S. A. wherever capitalism exists workers are starving and homeless.

Lower right Police clubs did not halt this New York Labor Defender agent from getting this magazine to the workers.



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1931

Why Camp Hill?

By WILLIAM NOWELL

"The heads of these Negroes were stuck up on poles, and for weeks their grinning skulls remained a warning to those who should undertake a similar 'plot.' With the same purpose the captain of the marines, as they marched through Vicksville on the way home, bore upon his sword the head of a rebel. (N. Stevens, in the August Communist)."

THE above quotation characterizes the form of terror used against the militant band of slave rebels led by Nat Turner just one century ago who set out resolutely in the face of terrifying odds to free the Negroes from the yoke of chattel slavery in Virginia.

The result: failure, death by torture. That was 1831. These valiant fighters met with the most cruel and barbarous methods of torture. America could teach the Kuomintang of China today a lesson. In order that no other slave should have the courage to lead the slaves to freedom Nat Turner was the object of the most hideous punishment. Like a beast about to be slaughtered, he was led from house to house, pricked with nails, rolled down hill in a barrel filled with spikes, beaten unmercifully and hanged on Nov. 11, 1831.

Not only Turner and his immediate followers, but any Negroes in the vicinity of the revolt, were brutally punished on sight—regardless of lack of proof of their implication in the uprising.

Today—1931; 100 years afterward, chattel slavery gone and wage-slavery in its stead. We find what? The white ruling class has not lessened its methods of terror and oppression. On the contrary, with the so-called emancipation of the Negro slaves from chattel to wage slavery, the policy of the allied ruling class, north and south in 1931 is even more aggressive, more barbarous. Why? Because of the added necessity to isolate the "free" Negro

from the white worker. The old adage, you know, "Divide and rule."

The militancy with which the slaves fought for emancipation in the twenty-seven recorded revolts up to the time of Nat Turner is recalled in the struggle of the Negro share croppers in Camp Hill and Alabama who are but little, if any, removed from the conditions of chattel slavery.

An examination of the condition of the Negro masses, the share-croppers, wage workers and tenant farmers in the south, as well as the conditions of the Negro and white masses throughout the U.S.A. will reveal almost identical conditions against which the 27 slave rebellions took place between 1728 and 1765.

But today the struggle of the Negro masses differs from that of the days of Nat Turner in the following vital and decisive manner: the struggle of the Negro slaves was the struggle of Negroes alone, whereas today Negro and white workers and farmers are fighting shoulder to shoulder.

The Negroes were "freed" as chattel slaves and driven back to the land under their former masters as wage slaves, share croppers and tenant farmers under a barbarous system of landlord rule. More than two millions of Negro workers have migrated to the North and are dependent upon the industries for their existence. Universal mass slaughter (1914-1918) scourged the world and brought Negroes in greater contact with white workers. Crisis after crisis have clamped down on the capitalist world further reducing the standard of living of the working masses generally, and the Negro masses particularly. The Negro and white workers are

steadily moving closer—and no force in the world can halt them.

The key to the present wave of struggle among the Negro masses lies in the living conditions of the Negro workers. The present panic of unemployment has sharpened the oppression of the Negroes with its devastating results, misery and starvation. The consequent rise in the will to fight back has been paralleled by ever more brutal methods of national oppression, lynchings, frame-up, jailings and general terrorization designed to isolate and oppress them as a national group, and force them to accept greater robbery and starvation.

The Scottsboro frame-up of the 9 Negro boys, the Camp Hill and Chicago massacres are a direct outgrowth of the ruling class attempt to halt the rising revolt among the Negro masses but this time it is not only Negroes fighting for their emancipation—it is a joint struggle of Negro and white workers who have recognized their common interests and their common oppressors—the capitalist class.

* * *

The International Labor Defense calls on all workers, white and Negro, to form a united front and halt this furious reign of terror against the Negro masses. Latest dispatches from Birmingham, Ala., show that Negroes are being killed on the street openly. Lynchings are spreading over the country—as the white ruling class tries every method to break the growing unity of white and Negro workers as shown in the Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia coal strike area. White and Negro workers! Join the I.L.D. and break this terror against Negro and white workers. Free the Scottsboro boys! Death to lynchers!



Harlan-Where Gunmen Wear Armor

By JACK HILL

THIRTY-FIVE miners are indicted for murder, thirty for banding and confederating, five for criminal syndicalism on a frame-up against working class leaders in Harlan County. The bosses' hand-picked grand jury brought back the verdict for these indictments. These tools of the operators were told who to indict. They could have brought the indictments on the first day, but they waited two weeks and then did the dirty work against the innocent men. Now these men are on trial for their lives.

Millionaire Judge "Baby" Jones, ruthless "ace" of the operator's band, owner of vast mining interests, lashed the whip at the grand jury and ordered them to do their worst. Brutalities, beatings, threats, assaults, illegal evictions of miners from homes, jabbing miners with guns when the men came for mail at the so-called "U. S. Post Offices," shooting into union leaders' homes in an attempt to kill innocent sleepers, and many other crimes



Chicago gunmen imported by Billionaire Insull, Kentucky mine owner, to murder strike leaders.

HARLAN, KENTUCKY

It is difficult to describe the atmosphere of war time, the tenseness which prevails over the steep green hills of Harlan County. Every one knows of the bloody struggle when miners shot it out with the gunmen attacking them at Everts some time ago. Then there was the period of martial law, and then the attempt of the company gunmen, deputized professional killers, to terrorize the community after the soldiers had given up the job. These gunmen were licked. Their morale was shot to pieces in innumerable little conflicts, and they permitted a big miners' picnic to be held a week ago. Things looked bright for the district conference of the union. Hundreds of delegates were elected from all the mines.

But a force of about seventy thugs, organized with their own commander, came in just after the picnic was held. After the conference on Sunday, your correspondent sat with three of the strikers' hunted leaders in the bushes on a hillside and watched this "foreign" army going from its concentration point back to its headquarters in Harlan. First was a scout car, with men armed with machine guns in it. Then there were ten cars with the armored and heav-

ily armed gangsters in them. The last of this ten carries two airplane machine guns, Lewis guns, so arranged on the rumble seat so that they can sweep fore and aft, and along both sides. Last came a rear guard car, also with machine guns. This gang travels like that usually. It is accompanied by local deputies as guides. The gangsters have boasted and everybody in Harlan County knows of the contract, they, the gangsters have with the coal operators; so much a day for ordinary terror, raiding of whole communities, searching of houses and destruction of all the miners' guns and ammunition; dynamiting houses and strikers' automobiles. But there was a special bonus if they could prevent the meeting of the conference. Well, they have lost that bonus. There is a bonus of two thousand dollars hung up if they can kill Dan Brooks, most prominent of the strike leaders, within ten days. So far they have not been able to collect these bonuses either.

The wearing of armor by the company thugs is, so far as is known, something new in the way of such warfare. The armor is very heavy, is made of steel plates over the breast and the back, of steel mesh or scales on other parts, has universal joints to allow freedom of move-

ment, and covers the whole body from the neck to the thighs. It is usually worn under a coat. It is supposed to stop a rifle bullet. The Harlan miners have one of these coats which a gunman used to wear. They are a little vague as to why the fellow turned it over to the miners, but they say he will not need it any more.

The company thugs are equipped with army rifles and with the latest model Savage rifle. They also carry revolvers or automatic pistols, bombs, and bring with them in their cars all the machine guns both heavy and light, that they can handle. Their tactics when raiding mining towns (an almost nightly occurrence) is to set up on the hills heavy machine guns commanding the whole town, so that if a fight starts they can simply wipe it out, men, women and children. They charge into the town with their rifles and light machine guns, and search house after house. They smash all weapons found in the houses, look for literature, all the application blanks and union cards sent down for the growing National Miners Union were found and seized, and in some cases, if they think the miner's car will be used in the strike they blow it up with dynamite. On one occasion they blew up the miner's house also.

of company thugs were heard by this grand jury. But not one indictment against the thugs! Jurymen and thugs were out to get the leaders of the workers.

Soldiers came in to break the strike and let hunger drive the workers back to the pits.

Soldiers helped make the arrests. No deputy sheriff (company thug) would have dared enter Everts to make an arrest without the protection and aid of the army. These kids in their teens wear khaki pants

and guns for capitalism and the operators' class. The capitalist state shows its colors in the class war. Judge, sheriff, army, and operators fight the workers. "Baby" Jones, Sheriff Blair, Col. Carrell, and George Ward of the Operators' Association think they are glorified Ole Hansons and Ham Fishes breaking the revolution of the working class. Local newspapers are mouth-pieces for Ham Fish.

But against all these powers, the workers fight with blood in their eyes. Thirty-

five leaders in jail without bond on framed triple murder charges face the electric chair. Many more sweat in jail because of exorbitant bond and face long years behind the bars. Stiff upper lips on grim faces show their readiness to go thru hell for the workers. Cold greasy soup, soggy bread and warm water can't break these prisoners of the working class crowded in the bosses' filthy stuffy jail.

The working class of America and the world must free these men!



Chicago gunmen imported by Billionaire Insull, Kentucky mine owner, to murder strike leaders.



A Sharecropper Tells the Story---

“IT is cotton chopping time and the buckra he no chop cotton. For the last two years they pay six bits the day for choppin’, that is, they promised, but few of ’em paid in full anybody who worked for them.

This year they are offering fifty cents a day for men and forty cents a day for women to chop cotton and you must find your own grub.

Ralph Gray, a hard-working black man, lived just down the road there. He owned the little shanty where he was killed, and has been refusing to let his girls and wife go to work where he was not wanted.

In fact, since they have been paying so poorly he has been going over the line in Georgia with his family and leaving the boy at home to care for the pigs and chickens and cows.

Last Monday Sheriff Young told Ralph that he and his family were wanted to chop cotton on his farm. You see, the sheriff and the judge and all the men up-town there in Dadeville are farmers, but none of ’em work on their farms. They get the work done by frauding the colored people out of their labor. They lock our men up on trumped-up charges, and place a fine against them and then farm them out to the different farmers to work it out; but the boys and men have left around here, so there isn’t enough to do much in that way any longer.

Ralph, he spoke to my old man about what the sheriff had told him. He said he asked the sheriff if he didn’t think the work was worth more than fifty cents a

for Negroes setting prices of labor in Talapoosa County.

So Ralph, he invited all the men and boys around to meet down at the church Wednesday night and they voted to not work for less than two dollars a day for the men and a dollar and a half a day for women folks.

The white folks were eavesdropping on the meeting, and came in and threw

You see, Ralph lived on his own place attended to his own business, was respected, and the white folks here in Dadeville do not like a black man who holds up for himself and keeps his gals out of the reach of the white men.

They shot Ralph all to pieces, but he lived four hours. My old man and me stayed there with his family until he died. He told us that when he asked who it is turning into the lane, that the sheriff said it was the high sheriff looking for that black son of a bitch Gray, and Ralph told us he answered, ‘Well, here I am; what do you want?’ And the answer was gunshots and he shot back with the only two shells he had in his gun and was too badly wounded to reload.”

* * *

As a result of the militant fight put up by the I.L.D. and the Share Croppers Union, backed by millions of workers throughout the world, the Alabama land-owners have been forced to dismiss their frame-up charges against most of the croppers.

The croppers still in jail are Thomas Gray, Doizer, Milner, James Gray, Jasper Canada and Will Drake. They are all reported to be “staunch in spirit and more than ready to carry on the struggle against exploitation and racial discrimination.” The I.L.D. is fighting to have them released on bail. Money is urgently needed for the defense of these workers and of the Scottsboro boys and workers are urged to rush funds to the I.L.D. Room 430, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.



Ralph Gray, the brave share-cropper, who was murdered because he refused to be a slave.

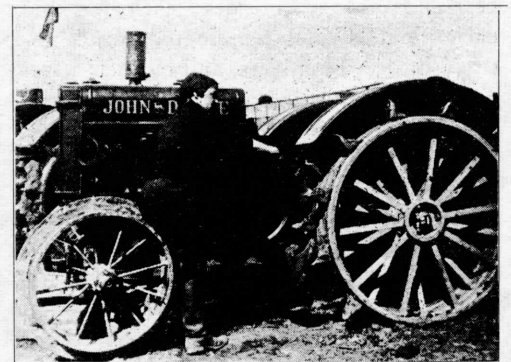
guns on the men and broke up the meeting. This was Wednesday night.

Thursday, word came to us that they were organizing the white folks to come out and whip Ralph Gray and the leaders of the meeting. There was no meeting going on Thursday night. They came out, the white folks did, looking for certain colored men to beat them up. Ralph Gray had his shotgun and was ready. When they turned into his lane, he halted them. The white folks began the shooting and Ralph shot it out with them.



Alabama share-cropper and mule! Back-breaking work for starvation wages. Near Camp Hill.

day around here, when the big farmers in Georgia were paying a dollar for the same. And the sheriff, he told Ralph that the white folks were not going to stand



In Soviet Union—tractors. No share-croppers—no slavery. All free.

These Starving 100% Americans

By VERN SMITH*

THE miners of Harlan county, Kentucky, are starving. They have been starving for years. Even when working two or three days a week, they get such low wages that their families can not live. They have been neglected by all organizations, in this out-of-the-way corner of the hill country, until they put themselves on the map by a revolt against hunger, early this year.

They proceeded to organize in the only union they had heard of, the United Mine



A MINER: Beaten by thugs in Pittsburgh strike scene.

Workers. The U.M.W. district administration, with William Turnblazer at its head, cheerfully took their initiation fees and dues from the money they scraped together by denying themselves even more of the necessities of life than they were missing already. They were living on half rations, on boiled grass, and green berries from the hillsides; each fee and each month's dues represented meals entirely missed, by miners, and by their wives and babies. But they felt they had to have an organization, and had to make a stand.

The U.M.W.A. needs money too, and was perfectly glad to take the miners' pennies to pay the thousands of dollars squandered in district and international office salaries (International President Lewis gets \$1,000 a month regular salary and all expenses, real and fictitious). But there the U.M.W. wanted to let the matter rest. The function of miners in the U.M.W. philosophy, is to pay dues, and

the function of the U.M.W. officials is to collect salaries and keep on friendly terms with the bosses, to help the companies cut wages.

The miners didn't know this, they struck against more wage cuts and against the discharge of union members. The U.M.W. officials promptly fled the county and deserted the miners. The companies have a sheriff in charge of whipping rebellious slaves back to the mine.

His name is John Henry Blair, and he works through deputized mine guards and gunmen, commanded by his brother, Bob Blair. Squads of these gunmen, with pistols, rifles and machine guns descended on the miners at Evarts and started a battle with them—a battle which resulted in a heavy defeat for the deputies, with the losses running about ten deputies for one miner dead.

Then came the troops, sent in according to a bargain with Turnblazer who wanted nothing so much as to end the strike. Under cover of the forest of bayonets, over a hundred miners were arrested, charged with everything from murder to "disorderly conduct." Some are charged with criminal syndicalism, and with "banding and confederating." Indictments are changed around, nobody seems to know just how many go on trial August 15 on murder charges. But apparently



it is more than 30.

The U.M.W. rejected all relief pleas from the strikers, and repudiated the strike, and refused to defend those arrested.

In June and the first days of July, the Harlan miners, betrayed by both the U.M.W. and the I.W.W., heard of the National Miners Union and the International Labor Defense. They sent a delegation of 28 to the national united front conference called

in Pittsburgh, July 15-16. What they saw there convinced this delegation that here was the organization they wanted. They did not stop at a "united front." The delegation of 28 went back with 4,000 membership application blanks of the N. M. U., and overnight almost, Harlan county joined the N.M.U. When the membership blanks were exhausted, the miners sent in applications on scraps of any kind of paper. U.M.W. organizers (that is, the Harlan county men, the presidents and secretaries of U.M.W. locals) became N.M.U. organizers. Locals of the N.M.U. sprang up everywhere.

Side by side with this campaign of open murder, which includes dynamiting of miners' houses and cars, goes the legal process. Warrants are out for all the leaders, those slated for death and those intended only for long terms in prison. Jessie Wakefield, the International Labor Defense representative, has been arrested. She got out on bonds. But they felt she was too active, so to slow her down, they blew up her car with dynamite.

While these fighting miners of Kentucky—struggling against hunger together with their fellow-workers in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia—are being tried before a coal operators' jury, their wives and children are suffering the dull ache of hunger. Fighting on a score of fronts in the American class war, the I. L. D. is preparing its best forces to save these heroic miners from execution or long prison sentences. Funds are urgent! Rush your maximum contribution to the International Labor Defense, 80 East 11th St., New York City, Room 430.



PINCHOT'S COSSACKS: Who ride down on miners, women and children like those below.

* Written on Strike Front, Harlan, Kentucky.



Scene of the Chicago massacre: Upper left, Negro worker addressing whites and Negroes; Upper right: Cage for Negro prisoners in South.

Not Bullets! BREAD!

By HARRY RAYMOND

THREE Negro workingmen, Abe Gray, John O'Neil and Thomas Page were shot to death in Chicago August 3rd. Their crime? Resisting the eviction of a 74 year old unemployed Negro woman. August 3rd was the date, mark that.

For on August 2nd two of capitalism's portly representatives Herbert Hoover and William A. Doak got together at Camp Rapidan, Md. for what the New York Times called "a further consideration for plans for meeting the unemployment situation." And — mark this — on the very next day the Chicago police met the unemployment situation in that city with capitalism's main strategy — riot guns. Three were killed and scores of white and Negro workers wounded. Murdered in cold blood so that the program of Hoover and Doak—a program of starvation and evictions—might be carried out to suit the Chicago bosses—real estate owners—and misleaders among the Negroes—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The workers—white and Negro—replied at the funeral with a demonstration of 60,000. Fifty thousand more on the streets swore to carry on. And this, in the midst of the area in Chicago, where whites and Negroes shot it out in a race riot in 1919. Times have changed, Mr. Hoover. You can't stir up hatred be-

tween the white and Negro workers forever.

Hoover admitted himself that his plans have nothing to offer the workers but starvation, for he said in an interview for the press on August 7 that the methods to meet unemployment this winter would be the same by which it was met last winter.

Let us then scan back over last winter to get an idea what is in store for us this winter.

Among the most notorious schemes to "solve" unemployment last winter was the Prosser Plan in New York. The municipal employees, such as teachers, clerks and the rest were taxed in order to supply the funds. With this fund 24,000 (according to official statistics) were hired and worked three days a week for a few months. The funds gave out during April and the men were fired.

Then there was the Philadelphia plan. \$200,000 was collected for the unemployed. The Philadelphia Record was forced to admit that only \$36,000 reached the unemployed, the rest going to pay \$400 a month salaries to collectors and other grafters.

And the welfare groups and breadlines. The New York Times in commenting on this form of so-called relief said, "The welfare groups were admittedly unable to cope with it (the unemployment situation.)"

Senator Caraway speaking in Congress

stated that 1,000 die in America every day from starvation. Hoover, however, states that the situation was successfully handled.

Now the governors of nearly every state admit that there is no money in the treasuries for the relief of the unemployed. Relief stations and flop houses have been closed down everywhere. Thousands of workers are being evicted from their homes daily. The unemployed not only face starvation and evictions, but the bullets of the hired assassins of landlords and bosses.

These bullets that were fired into the bodies of the three Negro workers in Chicago are an indication of the kind of relief the bosses propose to give the workers this winter. But these shots fired by the Chicago police are shots that will echo into every workingclass nook and corner in America. The workers are fast learning that an injury to one is an injury to all. These are shots which will act as a signal for further organization and struggle of the workingclass.

We must build mighty Unemployed Councils to stop evictions for all times, to demand all war funds for the unemployed. And side by side with these fighting organizations we must build a powerful International Labor Defense to defend the workers in the boss courts, to fight for the freedom of workers who have fallen victim to the vicious capitalist class justice.

My Two Sons Face the Electric Chair

(As told to S. VAN VEEN)

I HAVE two sons and both are in jail at this minute facing the electric chair. The day before their arrest they kissed me good-bye and told me not to worry. They said, "Mother, we're goin' out to Memphis to find work and just as soon as we get work we will send you some money so you and little sister will get along better." That was what they said.



110,000 white and Negro workers at Chicago funeral of 3 Negro martyrs.

I didn't like to see them go. They were always good boys; always minded me and never got into any trouble. But I let them go along with two other friends — neighbors to us, down in Chattanooga. They are Eugene Williams and Heywood Patterson. So the boys all start out together and the very next morning as I was goin' to work my sister came runnin' with the newspaper and she says, "Ada, where are your boys," and I said, "Why, they're goin' to Memphis to seek work. You know Auntie lives there."

Well, she just handed me the paper and says, "Ada, just look at this." Well, I looked and there I see that my two boys are arrested and in jail at Scottsboro on a rape charge along with seven other boys. Well, you know I just felt sick all over. My boys are good boys. I didn't bring up my boys to be hung. But what was I to do? I went on down to work but everything was goin' round and I hardly know what I was doin'. Well, the white lady where I work, she says, "Ada, if I were you I'd get a lawyer." Her husband, he gave me five dollars and said I should try to collect money to save my boys. Well, I was just so helpless, I was

pretty near crazy! Me, just a poor woman and working hard to give the children enough to eat and bring them up decent. What was I to do?

Well, I quit work and started to collect money for a lawyer. Then this lawyer, Stephen Roddy,* he's no good, and a drunkard, he says he wants ninety dollars. So we collected it for him and what did he do? Why, *he just told the judge that he wasn't there to defend the boys and*

he did not want to defend them in court. He just plain railroaded them to the chair.

He told them all to plead guilty and to get life. But the boys refused to plead guilty. They weren't guilty and they did not plead guilty. But what could I do, just a poor widow?

And then the International Labor Defense came to see us. They told us they were a defense organization for the working class and they said they wanted to defend our boys and do everything possible to get them free. Well, you can just imagine how we felt then. Here we thought we were alone in the world without friends and suddenly we found people wantin' to defend our boys. Well, we said certain, sure, please do all you can. Not one of those boys is guilty. Our boys never saw the other boys till they saw them in jail. Roy ain't but fourteen years old and he was never a strong boy; been sickly since he was born. He is just a baby. Two of the other boys are only fourteen, too, and there ain't none of them over twenty. Well, that's the whole story.

The Defense Committee sent lawyers down to Scottsboro and invited some of us mothers up north to help with the defense. We told Roddy that we never wanted to have anything to do with him again. But the N. A. A. C. P. has been pesterin' us

(Continued on page 182)

*Roddy, the N.A.A.C.P. lawyer has since gone insane. The I.L.D. is demanding a new trial for the boys on the basis that they were represented in court by an attorney—mentally incompetent.



Children of all races—In Workers Russia all equal. No Scottsboro case there.



NEGRO AND WHITE—men, women and children—march for bread under N.M.U. leadership near Avella, Penna.

Boss Justice in the Coal Fields

(By an Attorney for the I. L. D.)

TWO weeks in the coal fields of western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and eastern Ohio, firmly cemented the conviction that the workers should not seek or hope for justice in the courts. The lackey courts, like their employers, must be fought tooth and nail. No quarter should be given and no faith should be had in an occasional acquittal or dismissal. The acquittal or dismissal is merely a slip-up or a sop to the workers, and it is certain that this flaw in the strikebreaking machinery will be immediately eliminated.

In the larger cities the alignment of the courts with capital is not so obvious. It is hidden behind judicial dignity, legal phrase, in judges' chambers, and in the apparent trial of apparent issues. In the coal fields, "justice" is seen in the raw. The court, the prosecutor, the deputies, the state police, have not become familiar with these subtleties which might conceal from the worker their capitalistic control. In the coal fields we have not even the illusion of a fair trial. The tie-up of the coal operator and the machinery of justice is clearly outlined and "boss justice" is brazenly administered.

The strikers, when arrested, are brought before a squire that is convenient to the deputy or state police; otherwise they are kept in some filthy local jail, often without food, until the officers of the law can find sufficient evidence for an immediate conviction or a grand jury case. The institution of the squire prevails as the lower criminal court throughout Pennsylvania, West Vir-

ginia and Ohio. He knows little or nothing about law. I made careful inquiries, and in not a single case in which I appeared or attended had the squire any legal training whatsoever. He does not receive a salary, depending upon fines and costs for remuneration. Costs are very often more than the fines, running to \$12.50. The striker is even charged, in the costs, with the expense for his night or two in jail. The squire increases his income in divers ways, acting as a collection agent, or maintaining his regular business. One of the favorite squires of the Pittsburgh Terminal Company is a notorious bootlegger, who, ironically enough, had obligingly rented a still for ten dollars a few years before to a miner whose wife was on trial before him in connection with strike activity.

The squire is an elected official and it is interesting to note that the squires who are coming up for re-election in the fall are rarely used by the operators in the present strike. He cannot afford to jeopardize his chances for re-election in a community which is made up mostly of miners and their families. As a result, the strikers are rushed to squires fifteen and twenty miles away from the place of arrest. All of the cases arising out of the Fagan meeting at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, were brought before the squire in

the city of Washington, more than 12 miles away. I discovered later that the local squire was running for re-election in the fall. Every conceivable trick is used to conceal from the workers the identity of the squire before whom those arrested will appear. It is impossible to ascertain where the arrested striker is held until the time of the hearing. In one case, a particularly active defense committee followed the troopers to the jail after the arrest. They inquired of the jailer and the troopers before what squire the case would be heard and at what time. They were told that this was not known. Suspecting treachery, the committee divided, some waiting in front of the jail and the rest visiting the various squires in the neighborhood to ascertain where the complaint had been filed. They found the squires just as secretive as the troopers. In the meantime the arrested strikers were taken out of the jail in the company of the troopers and taken before one of the squires whom the committee had visited. It was only the alert activity of the committee that made it possible for witnesses to be summoned to the defense.

The deputies and state troopers arrive at their leisure. The squire awaits their arrival patiently and expectantly — but heaven help the miner if he, his attorney, or his witnesses arrive after their lordships.

Justice proceeds to take its toll without their presence. What right has a striking miner to a lawyer? What right has an upstart attorney to interfere with the well-laid plans for a speedy and just trial?

(Continued next issue)



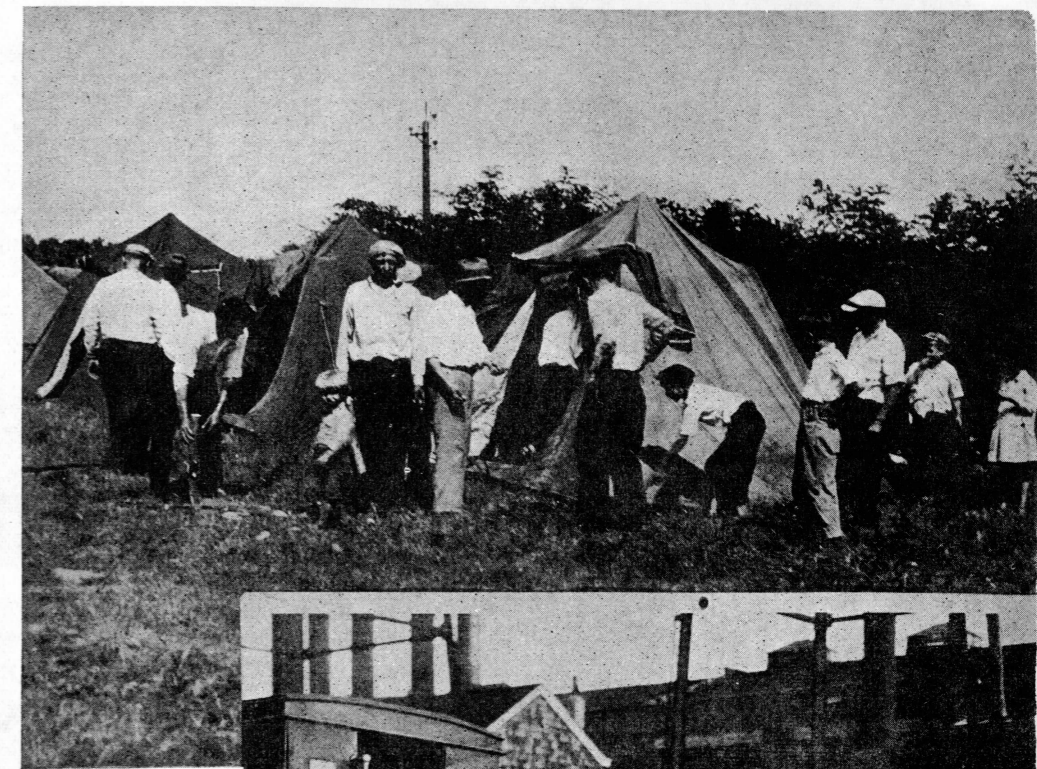
Evicted: But the Relief Committee builds a tent city.

WE MUST BEAT BACK POLICE TERROR!

Upper left: Young silk workers in picket line at Paterson, N. J. where National Textile Workers Union leads strike despite strike-breaking attempts of police, A. F. of L. and Mussteites.

Upper right: Tent colony of National Miners Union at Coaldale, Pa. Police terror—Pincho's state cossacks and deputized gunmen were unable to break their spirit. 1,000 are arrested. Free them!

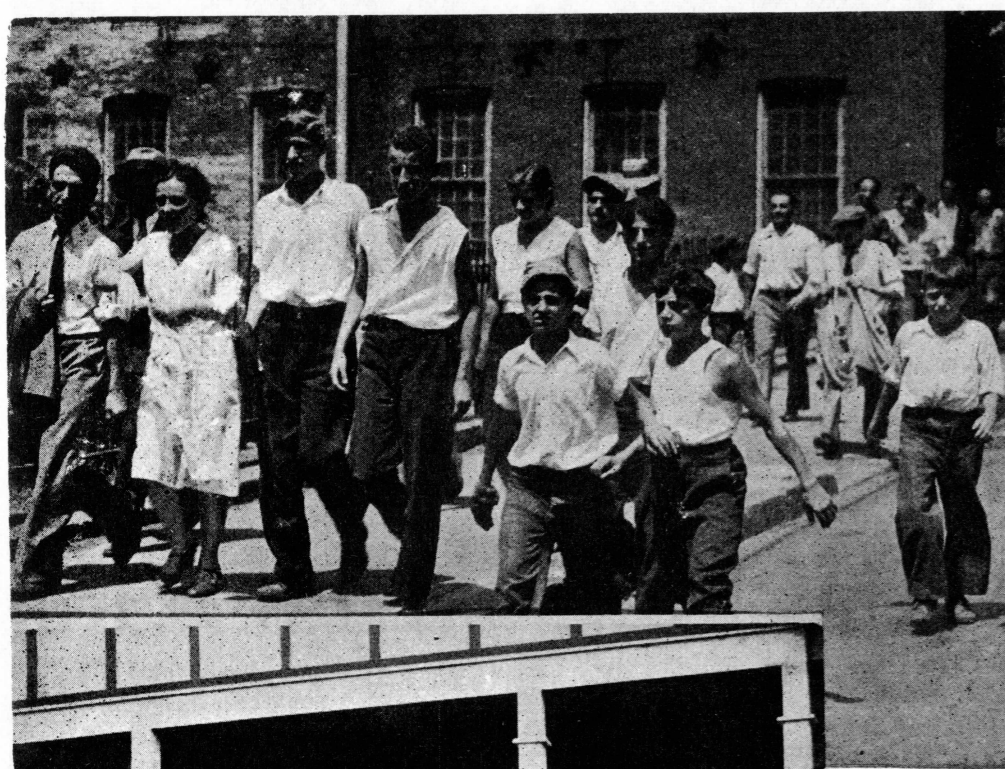
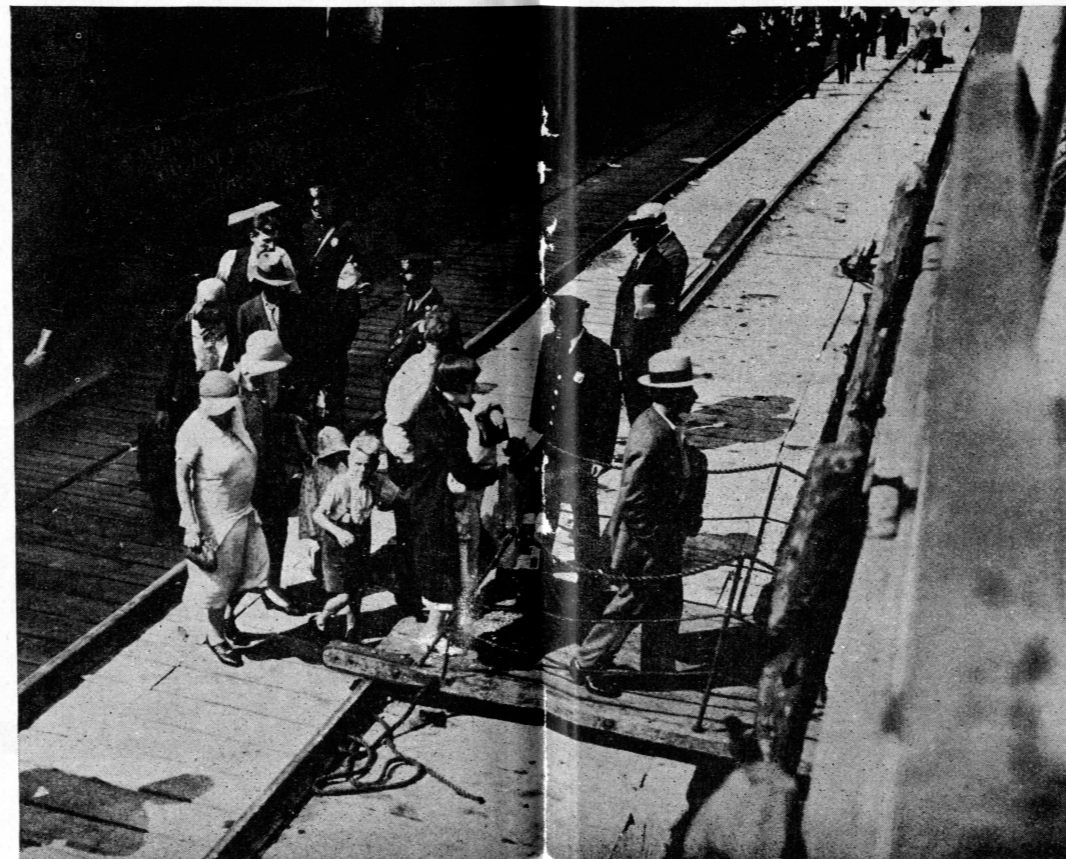
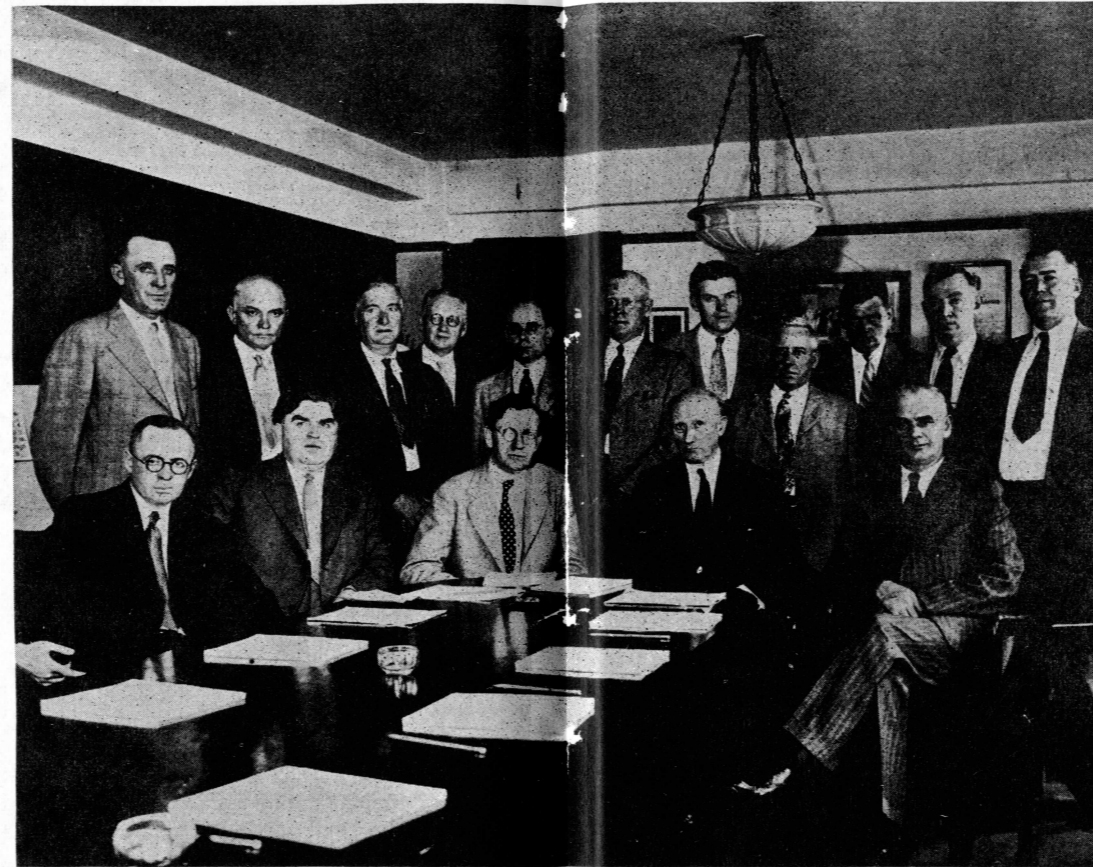
Center: Secretary of Labor Doak, the deporter, making plans for more terror against the working class.



Right: Picketers arrested in Paterson silk strike. Note the worker showing clinched fist of defiance in the face of the fat cop.

Lower right: Dicks and cops at scene of Chicago massacre. Note the plain-clothes brute with the shot-gun.

Lower center: Foreign born workers being deported at the command of Doak, who is trying to split the unity of native and foreign-born workers. Fight deportations!



Left: Unemployed workers of Sydney, Australia, barricaded themselves upon the porch of this house defying the eviction notice. They too, are fighting against starvation, as in America and every capitalist land. Only in Workers' Russia is there no unemployment.

Lower left: In New York, evicted. The husband jobless for months. Now they must sleep on the streets.





FORCED LABOR IN NEW YORK—At White Plains, millionaire's town. And the boss press dares talk about "forced labor" in Soviet Russia!

GORKI Versus WICKERSHAM

By JOSEPH VOGEL

PRISONS are a powerful instrument employed by the ruling class for its own advantage. In the United States the ruling class uses prisons as a weapon to suppress the toiling masses, those strikers who by demonstrations and strikes threaten the huge profits of the bosses. That naturally is to the advantage of the ruling class of USA, whose first concern (like the ruling class of every capitalist nation) is to keep its slaves docile and submissive so that it may continue to reap high profits from their labor.

Here are two reports: one by the Wickersham Commission on prisons in USA, the other by Maxim Gorky on prisons in the USSR. The Wickersham Commission finds inhuman punishment prevalent in this country's prisons, an atmosphere of hate and bitterness. This is startling news for us, as if we had never heard of inhuman punishments and hate and bitterness in USA prisons! But let us move on to that section of the report which describes the treatment of children in prisons, our children — (USA prisons are not meant for the rich or their children). We should expect leniency toward our children even from a capitalist government, wouldn't we?

Especially a government headed by that "humanitarian" Hoover who out of the disinterested goodness of his heart proclaims May 1 as *National Child Health Day*. Well, let us keep this humanitarian's proclamation in mind as we read a few items from the Wickersham report. . . .

The Commission found children flogged brutally for the least misconduct, like speaking during meals; children shackled, drenched with cold water, flung into dark, damp dungeons in solitary confinement; children fed on bread crusts and stale water; children forced to sleep on bare wooden planks ten days at a stretch; children confined in totally dark correction cells for days and days; children bound in ropes and frightfully lashed until almost lifeless; children found dead in their cells after merciless, undreamed of torture—children living in eternal terror, their lives as a result twisted and distorted and crippled

forever. . . . this in the United States hell hole prisons, especially Federal prisons, where out of 2,243 boys and girls confined during the second six months of 1930, 168 under the age of 16 were incarcerated as Prohibition offenders!

(For one example of capitalist treatment of working class children *out* of prison, refer to coal miners.)

Now let us observe how the ruling class (workers and peasants) of the Soviet Union solves the problem of its youthful criminal element, as reported by Maxim Gorky. In the first place the USSR does not put these children under the tutelage of hardened criminals. It sends them to labor communes where they are instructed in useful trades, where they live in healthful surroundings, in clean homes. Cultural pursuits are encouraged. For instance, in OGPU Labor Commune No. 2, the members have organized cultural circles, orchestras, literary groups, radio clubs, sports, a summer theatre, and now have a club building with study rooms. Records like the following are common: In Commune No. 1, where 54.5 per cent of the inmates previously had no professional training but were thieves (the following gives one idea of the pains taken in training these youths to become useful

(Cont. on Pg. 182)



When banks go "broke"—robbing workers of life savings, Wickersham doesn't call that criminal.

Bernard Shaw Believes His Eyes----

By HARRY GANNES

UNLIKE his great satirical literary progenitor, Dean Swift, who sent his hero Gulliver travelling on the wings of his imagination to strange utopias, George Bernard Shaw decided himself to visit the Soviet Union and see the reality of So-

the superstructure of capitalism which the most confirmed conservative can enjoy with very little discomfort.

The world war, which Shaw and his fellow pacifists believed could never occur, was a deadly blow to Fabianism, and to the humanitarianism of the Romain Rollands. They felt that capitalism was

beyond the dreams of the quiet Fabians of his youth, he was forced to exclaim: "Capitalism is doomed!"

Every militant worker will welcome Shaw's wholehearted support of the Soviet Union and its gigantic strides forward. We welcome his immense appreciation of the work of Lenin, though it comes a little late, nor is it as blunt as the estimation of Romain Rolland who flatly says he now sees that the masses should have followed Lenin's teachings during the last world war and turned that war into a struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors. Shaw remains a pacifist.

When Shaw says he is ashamed of the British for not following the example of the Soviet Union, he does not make himself clear. Nor does he make himself clear when he says:

"I had no idea Russia had gone so far. We are staggering about and we are getting near collapse. We may get over our difficulties, but it will be by following the example of Russia."

To follow the example of Russia requires a little more than appreciation of the tremendous accomplishments of the Revolution, nor can Shaw follow his old tactics of expecting to shame the "well-meaning" bourgeoisie into a realization that they are collapsing, and to save themselves must follow the "Russian experiment."

Shaw has seen reality and now must speak realities. Let him turn his biting pen against his former comrades-in-arms, the cabinet members of the British Labor government who are helping to prepare war against the Soviet Union. We remember that Shaw, in response to a question by the International Union of Revolutionary Writers, on where he would stand in the event of a war against the Soviet Union, declared he would cast his lot with the U.S.S.R.

Shaw's fervor in supporting the Soviet Union and the construction of Socialism, as well as his firmness in condemning the anarchy of capitalism and the misery it causes the millions of the toiling masses is a valuable asset in the flow of propaganda against capitalism. The real test of Shaw's understanding of what he saw will be shown in his attitude toward the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Party of Lenin at his doorstep which daily carries on the tremendous task of preparing the force that will transform the miseries that disturb Shaw so much in his homeland into the new order which so enthralled this Fabian traveler in the Soviet Union.



The Future Belongs to Them—Russian Workers Children at School. They Get the Best of Care.

cialist construction. He is now back in his Hartfordshire home, cogitating, as he says, over the wonders he saw and preparing to write them down so that they will receive deservedly serious treatment.

The bourgeois of England is strangely puzzled at the enthusiastic support Shaw gave to the Five Year Plan, to Communism, to the party of Lenin, to the Soviet proletariat. This old Fabian Socialist, whose Socialism was a mild form of left liberalism based on the good wishes and good examples of its intellectual leaders, that sought to shame the aristocracy and the exploiters of England into accepting the Shavian caricature of Socialism because it would be more noble, suddenly claims he was a Communist long before Lenin—and now he is a better one for having visited the Soviet Union.

Shaw never accepted British capitalism and never fought it. The proletariat for him never was a force in the revolution. The transformation of society depended on the intellectuals who would save the masses. Shaw's plays are polite digs at

crumbling and that nothing could save it or supersede it. They were at first skeptical about the Russian Revolution. They thought Lenin and the Communist Party were madmen.

But Shaw was to live to see strange things that his Fabianism never could explain; he was to live to see his companions of his youth in Fabian circles, Sydney Olivier and Sidney Webb, become members of the first Labor government cabinet and prepare the ground for Ramsay MacDonald's execution of Indian revolutionists.

He was to see the Labor Government become the foremost prop against the revolutionary masses of Germany and the Soviet Union, with all the basis for his Fabian transformation of society swept away with the ruins of the post war crisis. No wonder, when this greybearded playwright saw the vitality of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which had outlived years of counter-revolution and famine, in the year of the world crisis of capitalism, 1931, building a system even

The Future Belongs to the Youth



In the Hands of the Police—17 year old Paterson striker, Liss, afterward badly beaten up

HOW TO ORGANIZE A YOUNG DEFENDER BRANCH

By SAM STRONG

THERE are many ways of organizing a Young Defender branch. However, the best and most lasting at the present time is the block form. By this I mean that two comrades get together and choose one or two blocks upon which they find what interest of the young workers lends itself most to organization. Let me explain by an example.

Let us say that we choose a block largely made up of Latin American workers. We draw up a leaflet on the case of Comrade Machado's deportation case, pointing out the extent of deportation to Latin America. We distribute this leaflet from house to house.

Then we follow up by house to house canvassing for contacts, using this case as a basis for organization. We explain the importance of organizing a fight against this form of persecution leading to other persecutions. This establishes the importance of organizing into the particular form, the Young Defenders. When we get about five contacts we can call a meeting in one of the houses, and then and there organize a Young Defender branch. From this point each branch will drive to take up its problems with the district or section.

This method can be used on any block. All that is necessary is to do a little scouting around to find a specific case of persecution that lends itself to your block. The Scottsboro case, Camp Hill, and Chicago murders make the best material in Negro sections.

Another way that is similar is the use of the Labor Defender as an organizer. First you go from house to house selling the Labor Defenders, regularly covering the same territory. Then you gather the names of your readers and use them as contacts for organizing a branch.

All that is needed to organize a branch is two willing comrades, a little thought and some steady house to house work.

Come, let's go. Let's organize some more Young Defender branches.

HAIL INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY!

SEPTEMBER 8th of this year will mark the 17th anniversary of International Youth Day. This day is of utmost importance to the entire working class in general and the youth in particular.

International Youth Day rose out of the struggle against the last war. Millions of youth were being slaughtered on the battlefields of Europe for the profits of the rich. The "socialists" of every country were fully supporting their imperialist countries in the war. The banner of anti-war struggle was borne aloft by such militant fighters as Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Ruthenberg, and so on. Within the Young Socialist movement of Europe, there had developed militant opposition groups who were fighting against the capitalist war. These groups met in September of 1915 in Berne, Switzerland, to lay out plans for developing the struggle against capitalist war. This Conference dedicated a day of struggle on the part of the youth against war, International Youth Day.

Today, in all parts of the world, International Youth Day of this year will arouse millions of the toiling youth for struggle against capitalist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. In the U.S., the boss class is feverishly trying to win over the youth. The Y.M.C.A. Congress sets this as its main goal. The A.A. U. and the capitalist Olympics seek to attract large numbers of youth. The Christian Endeavor and thousands of other church youth organizations, the capitalist sport organizations, and every other capi-

talist youth movement has this same object in mind. Cannon fodder for the coming war is the need of the capitalists, and they are losing no time in getting it. The C. M.T.C. is larger than ever, the National Guard is rapidly growing, the R.O.T.C. is being spread into all the schools. *War is the capitalist order of the day!* And against whom? — The Soviet Union.

Three million youth are unemployed in the U. S. Those remaining in the shops are facing the worst of wage cuts, speed-up, and discriminations. Unemployed youth are being evicted from the sleeping rooms of the Y.M.C.A.'s for non-payment of rent. Against these conditions the youth are fighting back. Large numbers of the striking miners and textile workers are youth. In the Hunger Marches and demonstrations the youth make up a most militant section. The terror of the bosses against strikers and demonstrations have snatched up many youthful leaders within the folds of capitalist jails. The terror against the Negro youth has shown itself very glaringly in the attempt to lynch nine Negro boys in Scottsboro. This terror, the campaign of the bosses to make youth docile — is directly linked up with preparing the youth for war.

The Young Communist League, which is the militant inheritor of the traditions



Workers Children—On August 1, demonstrating against war in Union Square. Police terror won't stop them.

of International Youth Day will hold large demonstrations throughout the country. These demonstrations will mobilize the youth for struggle against capitalist war and for defense of the Soviet Union. International Youth Day of this year will raise the banner of struggle on the part of the youth for immediate relief, for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, as a protest against the Chicago massacre, as a day of struggle on every front for the interests of the youth! *All out on International Youth Day!*

Voices from Prison



Letters from prisoners and dependents that appear monthly on this page speak for themselves so strongly that we seldom comment on them. But we want to ask you as a reader of LABOR DEFENDER what is the significance of these letters to you? It is assumed that every I.L.D. branch, as a branch, is giving something each month to prisoners' and dependents' relief. These branch pledges have always been the backbone of our work.

But there are thousands of individual readers of LABOR DEFENDER who contribute nothing regularly for this relief. It is to these especially that we want to announce the organization of the Prisoners' Relief Fund, an appeal of which appeared in the July issue.

It is to this Fund that *individuals* are urged to send their contributions and to make pledges to pay so much a month—or every three or six months.

Tell your friends about this Fund. Get them to make individual pledges. We will send you pledge slips on request or send appeal letters to any list of names of your friends you may submit. We want to secure so many pledges—from individuals, as well as I.L.D. branches—that we will be able to pay regularly each month the \$5 for each prisoner and the \$20 to the needy dependents, without having to take funds out of the general I.L.D. treasury so badly needed for defense and other purposes.

Won't you answer the appeal of these prisoners' letters? Make a contribution and pledge yourself. Get your friends interested, even if they will not help in any other phase of I.L.D. work. And send your dollars to Grace Hutchins, Treasurer, Prisoners Relief Fund, I.L.D. office, Room 430, 80 East 11th St., New York City.

JESSIE LONDON WAKEFIELD, *Secretary*.
Prisoners Relief Fund.*

*Jessie Wakefield, who wrote this is now in jail herself in Harlan, Ky. on two charges of criminal syndicalism — because she represented the I.L.D. in defending the Harlan miners charged with murder.

J. Louis Engdahl,
80 E. 11th St., Room 430
New York City.

Comrades: Received last week the check for \$5 which you enclosed and wish to express my appreciation to the only real labor defense organization in the U.S.A. Had the I.L.D. been in existence at the time of our kangarooing we would have been given appeals sufficient to free us, which our own organization (the I.W.W.—Ed.) denied to us and thereby brought on its own end.

BERT BLAND

Dear Sir:

Received the check for \$20. Thank you very much. Sorry I have to take it but I have no other income and it is very hard to not be able to earn any money. Wishing you all the best of luck.

I as ever Warren's mother,

MRS. ANNA BILLINGS.

(From Sam Benito, New Eastern State Penitentiary, Pa.)

Dear Friend and Comrade:

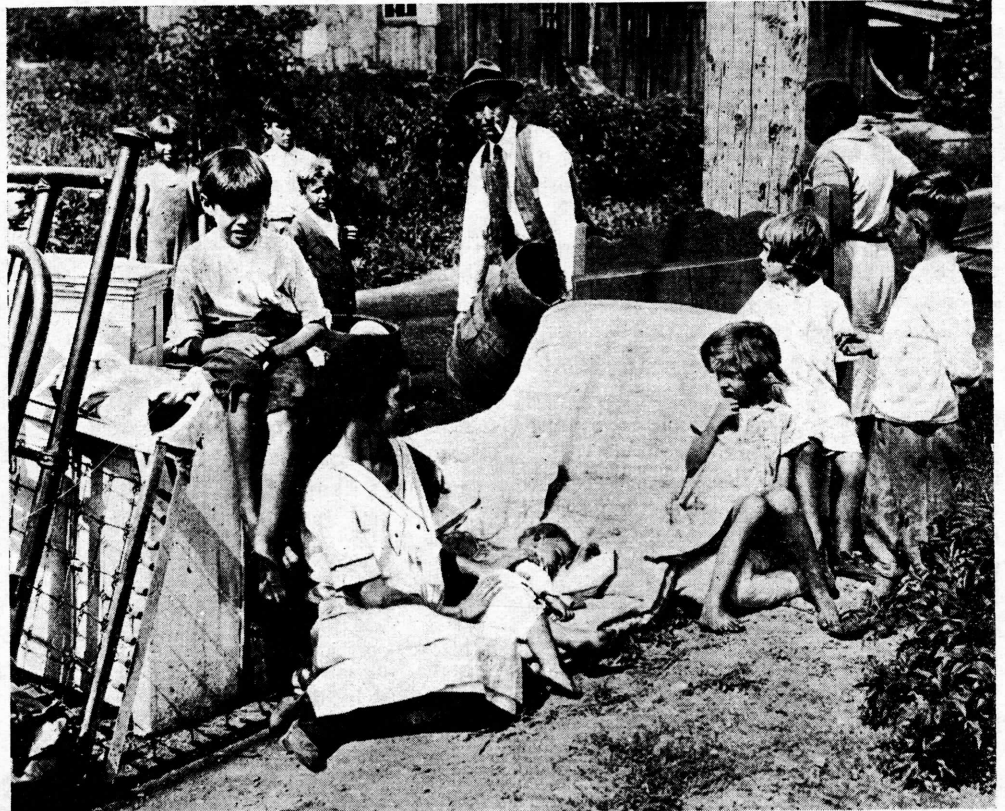
Finally I have obtain the grace to answer your utmost welcome and to me desirable letter dated July 7, with a \$5 check. Indeed

(From two of the Scottsboro boys.)

Mr. George Maurer:

While sitting down thinking of you I thought I would express just a few lines to let you hear from me. I want to tell you I am doing fine because I ain't but I hope when these few lines reach your kind hand they will find you O. K. and doing fine. Mr. George, what I want to tell you is this: if it is any way in this old world us poor boys can be moved from here to some place else we sure would be glad of it.

Mr. George, I ain't done nothing to be in here at all. I know I can't get out until they let us out but we sure would like to be moved from here if it is a chance, because this is one miserable place. People just come here all the



EVICTED: Class-war prisoners' families face this. Come to their aid.

words cannot express my profound gratitude at the sight of it, for your gentle kindness and benevolence on my behalf.

SAM BENITO.

Pittston, Pa.

Dear Friend:

Just a few lines to let you know that we received your letter and check for \$20 and we was so glad. We thought that you wouldn't send. Gee, God will thank you. If you did not send to us we wouldn't have anything to eat. Gee, I'm so glad. God will thank you. I wrote a letter to my husband that I received the money. I was glad to receive it. I give my best regards to you and the fellows that work there. Thank you a lot.

MRS. BENITO.

time. Mr. Ceddon was here telling us we will need him before it is over. You know that will keep our mind tore up telling us what people will do and will not do. But that is all right—I am still depending on you all to get us out of here because I am tired of laying in here for nothing. So I will close, from

OLIN MONTGOMERY.

Kilby Prison,

Dear Mother:

Send me a little money to buy me some cigarettes and stamps with. Please don't be worried. I am going to sign for nobody. I am going to listen to you. If you send me some money, please send it right away. Tell Sister I say hello.

Your son, ANDY WRIGHT.



YOU Can Go to the Soviet Union!

THE drive to put the LABOR DEFENDER all over the map of the U.S.A. stands like this to date:

1,000 new subs (quota 5,000).

7,500 increase in bundle orders (quota, 10,000).

That is a considerable advance. But is it enough? Only 20% of the goal in subs. Only 75% in bundle orders.

And the added incentive—the trip to the Soviet Union. You have seen the passage ticket reproduced in the LABOR DEFENDER.

You know it is a reality. The winner will go. You will see all the wonders of the Five Year Plan. Moscow, the Old

and the New; Leningrad, the collective farms: the state farms. You will see all that the capitalist newspapers are frothing at the mouths about. Your passageway paid from New York to New York. And you will be the guest of MOPR, the International Labor Defense in the Soviet Union.

What do you say, comrades? All of you still have a chance to win. What do you say, members of organizations? What do you say, ILD organizers, and Labor Defender agents? Have you done enough on the drive?

The national quota is 5,000 new subs and 10,000 in bundle orders by September 30. Jump into the contest!

What New York District Is Doing

New York District is determined to put the LABOR DEFENDER on the map. Each branch has a quota. The branch getting the highest percentage wins a prize. The prize for September is a "Set of six volumes of Lenin's best writings." But it goes further than that. The comrade in the winning branch, selling the most LABOR DEFENDERS will get this prize. The spirit of competition has been very strongly aroused. The New York comrades are fully aware of the importance of selling the LABOR DEFENDER as a means to build the I.L.D. Building the I.L.D. in turn will help the New York district reach its quota of selling 15,000 copies every month.

GORKI vs. WICKERSHAM

(Continued from page 176)

workers of society), 163 of them in the course of four years completely broke with the habits of their old life and distinguished themselves in productive and social work. These 163 were accepted as members of trade unions and their criminal records were revoked!

Describing a jubilee at a Commune where 25 young men received gold and silver watches in recognition of their work, 36 had their civil rights restored to them, and 74 were given union cards. Gorky writes: "I sat in the presidium and saw that among those 1,500 people many also were near tears — tears of joy for their comrades. They had been resurrected to a new life, people who before the October Revolution would never have known resurrection—never!"

But the Wickersham Commission speaks of resurrection too! It concludes its report with suggestions for the humane treatment of prisoners in the American bastilles. This section of the report really is very amusing. As if the American government does not already extend every comfort and convenience to millionaire crooks who are apologetically put into prison only when it is necessary to save the face of several dozen bigger millionaire crooks. As if a capitalist government would ever go out of its way to treat the working class humanely in prison—or out of prison!

MY TWO SONS FACE THE ELECTRIC CHAIR

(Continued from page 172)

ever since to let them take the case and to keep Roddy on the job. But we told them plain we know our friends when we see them and we're a goin' to stick to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labor Defense Commit-

tee. I've been speaking at meetings all over New York, Chicago and other places, and I never knew we had so many friends. Why, it seems there are thousands of working people in this country, white and black, that just wants to do all they can to get the boys out. It just gives me so much courage and makes me feel so good. I want my boys out but I want all the other boys free just as well. I can see where we all got to stick together. And I think if we get all our boys free that there are a lot of Negro mothers in the South who will be happy for once in all their lives, because they know that there is a real fight goin' on against lynchin' our people in the South.

So I am sticking by the International Labor Defense and they are stickin' by us, and if we all pull together some good got to come from it.

And I want to say right here that whatever happens I can see clear now, and whether my boys live or die I'm in the fight as long as I live.

MRS. ADA WRIGHT.

An Eye-Witness Report of the "U.S.S.R.—1931"

SENDER GARLIN,

co-editor *The Labor Defender*, just returned from four-months' tour of the Soviet Union for the Internat'l Red Aid, Starts on COAST-TO-COAST TOUR OF THE U.S.A. on September 10.

(Returns with latest scenes of development of Five-Year Plan)

Big Meetings Being Planned In PITTSBURGH, CHICAGO, KANSAS CITY

I.L.D. Districts and other workingclass organizations are urged to

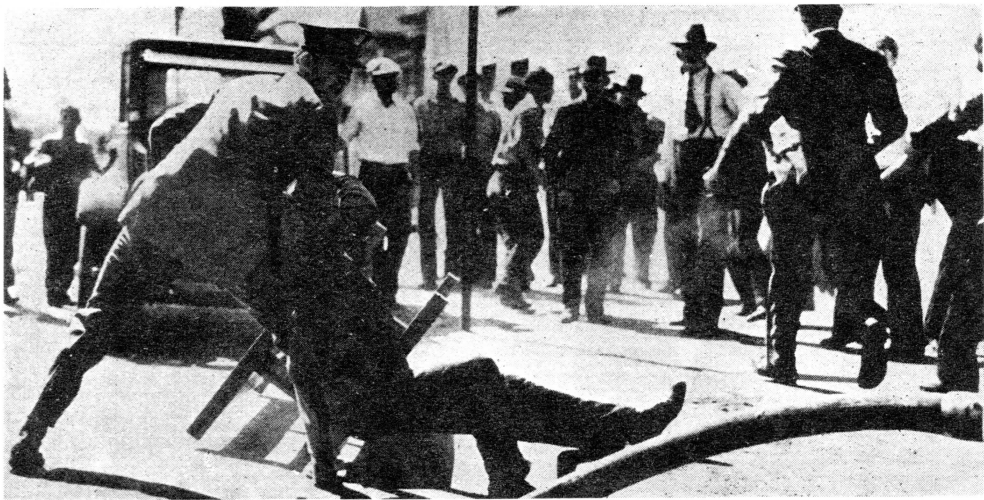
Write Immediately for Dates to:

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

80 East 11th St., Room 430, New York



Police Brutality at the Santa Jose, Calif. Cannery Strike



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SEPT. 23—S.S. Mauretania

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taking in Moscow-Leningrad on S.S. EUROPA.

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Mooney and Billings

The Paterson Victims

The Alabama Share Croppers

and

All Victims of Capitalist Justice

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Busses will meet you there.

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Boats leave for the camp every day from West 42d Street Ferry.
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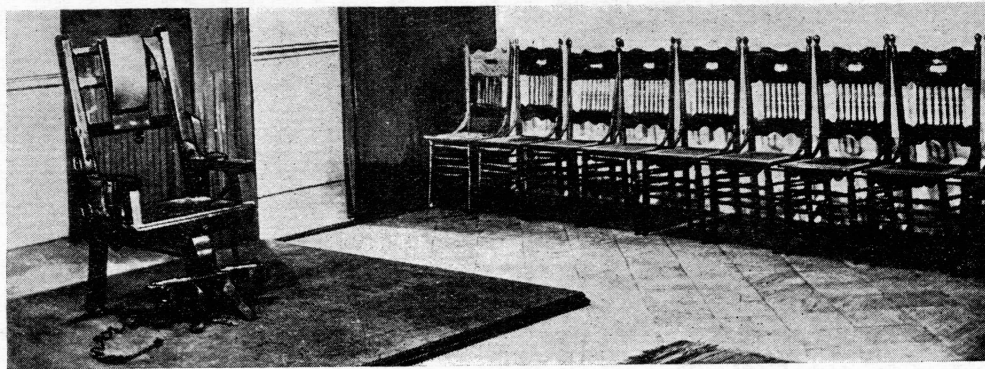
CAMP UNITY WINGDALE, N. Y.

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every morning, Fridays at 9-10 A. M. and 6:30 P. M., also
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35 MINERS FACE THE ELECTRIC CHAIR

in Harlan, Kentucky
 Because they refused to let their families die of starvation.
SHALL THEY BE MURDERED?



NINE SCOTTSBORO NEGRO BOYS FRAMED-UP
 Doomed to Die in the Chair **SHALL THEY BE MURDERED?**

1,000 Imprisoned in the Penna.-Ohio-W. Va. Coal Strike!
The Imperial Valley Prisoners Are Still Behind Bars!
Mooney and Billings Buried Alive *Deportations Mounting Sky High*



Camp Hill share-croppers

BOSS TERROR INCREASING DAILY

CHICAGO—THREE KILLED
 CAMP HILL—ONE KILLED—FOUR MISSING
 BIRMINGHAM—

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