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JAMES WATERMAN WISE • MARY HEATON VORSE • ANGELO HERNDON

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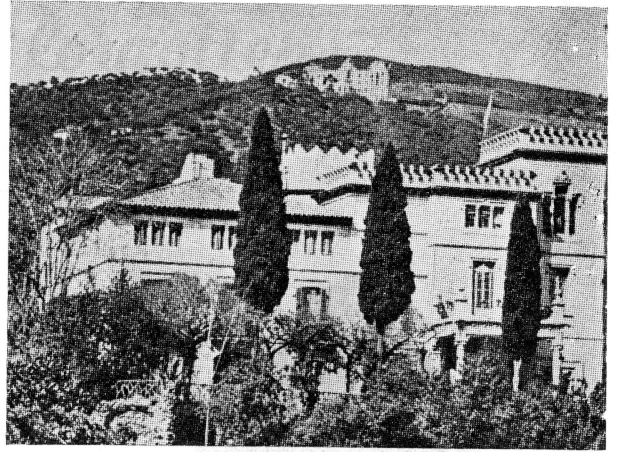
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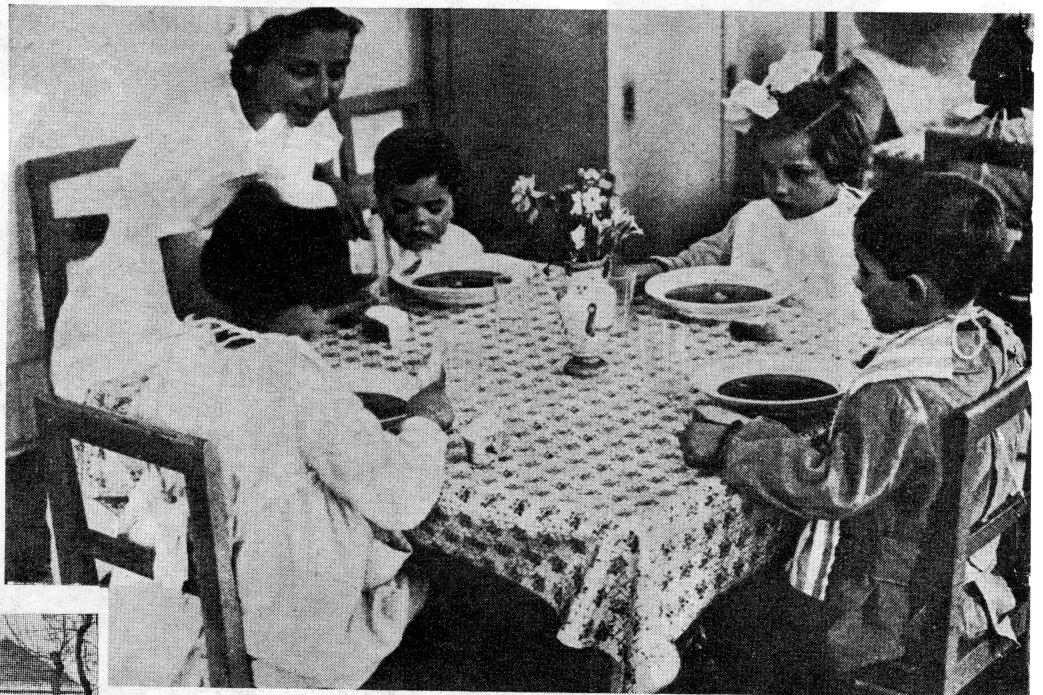
Mother and father slaughtered by fascist bombs. What is to become of their children?



Below: A home waiting to receive the little refugees from fascist terror. All it needs is money to put it into operation.



She is learning to sew in one of the havens of refuge.



Above: Uh-m-m. Isn't that good. Especially after you haven't eaten regularly for weeks and your meals were interrupted by murderous air-raids.



Another castle in Spain—turned into a home for the children of democracy's defenders.

Below: The Clara Zetkin home is going full force—just outside of Valencia. Meet one of its citizens.

Castles in Spain





LABOR DEFENDER

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Scottsboro

MASS pressure has just won another victory in the Scottsboro case. A few weeks ago Haywood Patterson, without notice to his family, attorneys or the Scottsboro Defense Committee, was transferred from Kilby Prison hospital to a chain-gang on the southern border of Alabama. The first report of this outrage came in the form of letters from Haywood proving clearly that not only was his health in danger but his very life menaced in the swampy wastelands of Atmore State Prison "Farm," as it is officially called.

Haywood was still suffering from a chronic bone infection in his left leg, but he was immediately put to work by the chain-gang officials who have on their record the killing of Alf White, heroic Negro sharecropper from Tallapoosa County who was imprisoned there. His body "was found in the prison well" on Sept. 18, 1935.

The International Labor Defense and the Scottsboro Defense Committee at once initiated a barrage of protest wires to the chain-gang warden and Gov. Graves of Alabama demanding Haywood's removal back to Birmingham County jail and holding them responsible for his life and safety.

Osmond K. Fraenkel, outstanding attorney, in charge of the appeals in all the remaining Scottsboro cases, applied to the Alabama State Supreme Court for a stay of execution of Haywood's sentence pending the appeal which has already been filed in his case to the United States Supreme Court.

Last week the Committee was informed by wire from the governor's legal adviser, that such a stay had been granted and that Haywood was transferred back to the Jefferson County jail in Birmingham.

Appeals in the cases of Andy Wright, Clarence Norris and Charlie Weems have already been filed with the Alabama Supreme Court and the same vigorous protests are being organized to secure their removal from Kilby Prison back to Birmingham awaiting the outcome of these appeals.

These are only immediate measures and do not for one moment set aside the general campaign demanding the complete and unconditional release of these innocent boys. Every wire to Gov. Graves demanding their removal from Kilby to Birmingham must also contain the demand for their complete and unconditional freedom. Mass pressure freed four Scottsboro Boys. It must free the remaining five.

Mooney

ONCE more the facts of the frame-up of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings will be spread before the public eye by a committee of the United States Senate. On December 15, according to a Washington

announcement, hearings will start before a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, on the resolution introduced into the Senate by Senator James E. Murray of Montana, and in the House by Congressman Jerry J. O'Connell. The resolution calls for memorializing the Governor of California on behalf of Mooney's freedom.

The new evidence which Congressman O'Connell described in the August LABOR DEFENDER will be among the most important material brought forward. The Mooney trial Judge, Franklin A. Griffin; Robert Minor, organizer of the first Mooney Defense Committee; George T. Davis and Frank P. Walsh, Mooney's attorneys, Professor Zachariah Chaffee of Harvard Law School and Walter Pollak, constitutional attorney, who prepared the exposure of the Mooney frame-up for the Wickersham Commission; Professor Felix Frankfurter of Harvard Law School, member of President Wilson's Mooney Case Investigating Commission, and John B. Densmore, investigator for the Commission, which resulted in Wilson's intervention to save Mooney's life—all these and many others are on the list of those slated to be called to testify to the Mooney frame-up.

Enough pressure will crack even the tough hides of California's reactionaries, hard as their hearts or as the stones that wall in labor's martyrs, and free Mooney and Billings.

Gallup

ONE more freed and two to go is the latest score in the defense of the Gallup, N. M., union coal miners sentenced to 45-60 years on framed murder charges. The defense, under the direction of a Gallup Defense Committee composed of trade-unionists, is pushing its efforts, and the next step, an application to the New Mexico Supreme Court for re-hearing of the appeal, is already under way. This step is preliminary to an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, where, if the state court does not act in the meantime, it will be shown that Juan Ochoa and Manuel Avitia are imprisoned following a trial in which *no evidence* supported the conviction, a violation of the United States Constitution.

The Rocky Mountain District of the United Mine Workers of America, it is announced, will put all possible effort into the defense campaign. The I.L.D. branches and



all trade unions can do much for the cause of labor's rights by getting behind the campaign on a national scale.

We greet Leandro Velarde, freed following the New Mexico court's recent decision, back into the ranks of freedom, and pledge to Ochoa and Avitia our undivided support to the fight for their release.

I. W. O. Citizenship

THE American Coalition, a national vigilante center, provided the "documents" on the basis of which on June 24, a lower court in Ohio denied citizenship to two foreign-born workers on the ground that they had at one time been members of the International Workers Order, a fraternal insurance organization of 140,000 members with a capital of more than \$1,000,000.

The Stevko-Hanus case will probably go down in labor legal history as a milestone in the fight for legality of workers' organization, as the I.W.O. carries its fight against this decision, handed down by Judge Guy B. Findley, to the last ditch. Jerome and Yetta Land of Cleveland, Joseph R. Brodsky and Carol King of New York, all International Labor Defense attorneys, are carrying on the fight in the courts and in the Labor Department to reverse Judge Findley's decision which amounts to delivering up the policies of the Labor Department into the hands of the American Coalition.

Only six cases in which citizenship has been denied or cancelled because of charges of "radicalism" have been reported previous to the Stevko-Hanus decision. In two of these the foreign-born workers were members of the Industrial Workers of the World, in one an anarchist, one Communist, one Socialist, and in one case the applicant for citizenship merely voiced a general objection to capitalism.

The I.W.O., which is affiliated nationally to the I.L.D., is open to all "regardless of nationality, religion, race, sex, color, or political belief." No political obligations are placed upon its membership.

National Negro Congress

THE officers, national committee and all the members of the International Labor Defense extend their warmest fraternal greetings to the second National Negro Congress assembling in Philadelphia on October 17, 18 and 19. The great accomplishments of this body during the short period of its activity on the American scene have proven its might, its worth, its unifying force in the struggle not only for the civil, political, and economic rights of the Negro people but for the general struggle in defense of progress and democracy. The International Labor Defense pledges its continued and increased support to the work of the Congress and wishes its every success in its glorious future.

Vigilantism--Streamline Model

The French have a name for it—the most effective method of combatting vigilantism. This critical analysis by a famous journalist and staunch defender of civil rights suggests an American counterpart.

By JAMES WATERMAN WISE

We err in describing Vigilantism as a threat to American labor and democracy. For a threat denotes a potential or future danger. And Vigilantism is a present and actual danger. It has been used in recent months to terrorize workers and break strikes. It is being projected on a nation-wide scale to defeat progressive action in industrial and agricultural centers. The organizations and individuals already behind it indicate clearly that reaction looks to Vigilantism to accomplish in the United States the repressive miracles which Fascism has achieved in Europe.

We must therefore deal with Vigilantism not as a threat but as a fact. For the forces of labor to delay preventive action, because Vigilantism has not yet attained maximum virulence, would be as senseless as for a military force to ignore a mine which had been laid under it because the fuse was still unlighted.

Data on Vigilantism is today widely available. The International Labor Defense pamphlet "*The Vigilantes Hide Behind the Flag*" by Isobel Walker Soule, a series of articles by Benjamin Stolberg in the *Nation*, bulletins issued by the American League Against War and Fascism and by the American Civil Liberties Union (its director's temporary myopia on the subject to the contrary notwithstanding) name names and cite dates. The Eafollette Commission's report is documented to the hilt. It would serve no purpose merely to rehash this material, to prove an already established fact—the widespread existence of Vigilantism. But it is timely, even urgent, for the friends of labor to scrutinize this movement, to examine the situations in which it develops, to analyze its techniques, to penetrate its disguises; above all to prepare and organize effective defenses against it.

A working definition of current Vigilantism might be: Lawlessness and violence employed against workers in the name of law and order. It must not be confused with the flagrantly illegal use of private force which has so frequently been employed against labor in the past. For the essence of Vigilantism, the core of its appeal and its menace, is the devotion it professes to the maintenance of "Law," "Constitution," "The Right to Work." It is the supposed interests of these institutions that it justifies superseding laws, violating constitutional provisions and breaking strikes.

To gain public support Vigilantism—in itself an emotionally toned and glamorous phrase—shrewdly appeals to the romantic frontier tradition of the "higher law." And it is by means of this appeal that it enlists allies among the professional, small business and even working class who would otherwise



Rockwell Kent's drawing for the cover design of our pamphlet: **VIGILANTES HIDE BEHIND THE FLAG.** It is written by the well known journalist Isobel Walker Soule. It not only exposes the danger of vigilantism but it names names, cites dates and places, and presents a complete picture of who are the vigilantes, who is behind them and where they hope to go. The pamphlet sells for 5c and is available at any branch or state office of the I.L.D. or may be ordered directly from the National Office.

be found sympathetic to labor and opposed to strike-breaking tactics. Evidence of the decisive importance attributed by Vigilantism to this group during the course of a strike—and it is during the course of strikes that Vigilantism is "spontaneously" generated—is to be found in the *Mohawk Valley Formula* evolved by Mr. (Remington) Rand, and correctly regarded by anti-labor groups as a brilliant piece of strategy. It specifically details the steps by which striking workers are to be isolated from the sympathy of the general community, which it concedes they originally possessed. And to this end it stresses the necessity of raising the issue of "Law and Order" against the workers, regardless of whether that issue exists in fact.

In one sense it is a tribute to the recent advances of the labor movement that reaction today must lay definite plans to cajole and capture public sympathy. Such was not formerly the case. It means that reaction is on the defensive, that the normal trend of public opinion, left to itself, would increasingly favor the workers and their struggles for security, unionization and a decent living standard. But the rise of Vigilantism is a sure sign that public opinion will *not* be left to itself. That in the attempt to arrest and pervert its normal trend, vast fortunes will be expended and a super-drive of distortion and falsification will be unleashed.

Such a drive will attempt to capture public support by appealing to every prejudice and passion of the middle class, of white-collar

workers, of professional groups. Racial and religious bigotries, sectional antagonisms, radical bogies, and the Shibboleths of individualism will be the bait with which Vigilantism will set its trap. How successfully the trap can be sprung was proven last summer by the Johnstown Citizens' Committee.

Indeed its success there insures its attempted repetition elsewhere. With appropriate additions and improvements! The question therefore is whether or not it will succeed elsewhere. And the answer to that question cannot be prophetically or categorically made. It will be determined by a score of specifics: The strength of the unions engaged in a similar strike, the effectiveness of strike preparations, the quality of strike leadership, the support received from workers in other industries, etc. But the success or failure of the "Citizens' Committee" type of Vigilantism—the most dangerous type—will hinge chiefly on the ability of those behind it to sell the community the gold brick of the higher "patriotism," resistance to "revolution," and super legal "Americanism." If this sale is repeatedly made in critical situations the track will be cleared for streamlined but home-made American Fascism.

It will be made, unless the sales resistance of the American people is measurably stiffened. For if the mild and minimal legislative victories of the New Deal, such as the Social Securities Act and the Wagner Bill have provided an excuse for the formation of

"Citizens' Committees," what cries of tyranny, invasion of liberty, violation of constitutional rights, will not resound, once a really progressive social program is enacted by Congress. And those cries raised by the industrial overlords and echoed in the Tory press will surely swell into a roar of Vigilante mobism.

* * *

Against this danger we must take immediate and effective action. First by exposing Vigilantism for what it is: Reactions' strategem of stampeding the American people against themselves. To do this we must patiently and persistently make clear the class character of Vigilantism, and how it operates beneath the various disguises it assumes. Not only must the labor press and the liberal and progressive papers carry extensive and documentary analyses of Vigilante sources, financial backings and business connections, but a barrage of publicity (much of which will be warded off but a proportion of which can strike home) must be directed at the reactionary press. Radio addresses, pamphlets, and such channels as the LaFollette Committee must be made media for exploding the claims and exposing the aims of the "patriotic" forces of the Rands, the Hearsts, the Girdlers, and the Ford Service Men. When they prate of defending the American flag and the American home they must be met by the homely Americanism: Take it off, we know you!

Vigilantism, however, must not only be exposed, it must be fought. To fight it requires more positive measures than exposure or denunciation. The political truism "you can't lick somebody with nobody" is here applicable. Against the reactionary movements fostered by Vigilantism it is imperative to launch progressive counter-actions. The same groups to which the patrioteers appeal must be approached and won for the cause of labor and democracy. Techniques must be perfected, organizations built, which will



This note was pinned to the mutilated corpse of Frank Little, I.W.W. organizer, lynched by the vigilantes of the Northwest in 1919. Their methods are a little less crude today, but even more dangerous. No matter what they call themselves they are still vigilantes and their reactionary, anti-labor, anti-democratic purposes are the same as ever.

align such neutral groups as the American Legion, religious and educational bodies, the professionals and the middle class, with their natural allies—the workers. To achieve this, the most realistic attitude must be adopted. The propensity of Americans for "shows," for "joining," for "parades," for "ballyhoo" must be taken into account.

Haughty disdain of popular psychology plays directly into the hands of reaction. Vigilantism must be beaten with its own weapons.

To this end such organizations as the International Labor Defense, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American League Against War and Fascism must both broaden and popularize their programs. Co-ordination among them and between them and the labor movement must be effected, which during strikes will guarantee immediate mobilization and maintenance of public sympathy in the face of Vigilante tactics.

But the scale of vigilante activity is so vast, its potential threat to democracy so far-

reaching, that there is grave reason to doubt the efficacy of any existing organization or combination of organizations to defeat it. Vigilantism is a new phenomena, broader in scope and more menacing in objectives than any other previous phase of reaction. It represents the conscious coalition of economic forces along political and civic lines. It may well prove that a new and broader base of resistance must be created against it. A "Citizens' Committee" may be infinitely more effective in strike-breaking than company unions or hired thugs; and it is likely that the forces of labor must deploy as widely and forge as broad an alliance as that manufactured by its enemies.

Fascism—everywhere an economic phenomenon—employs political means to attain its end. Vigilantism is a prelude to Fascism. To discredit and forestall it, we may find it imperative to create a new union of American workers, professionals and middle class—whose economic interests are fundamentally the same—along political lines. The French have a name for it!

Everything Is Peaches Down In Georgia

Georgia tried to secede from the union once in 1861. She seems to be trying it again.

WARREN County, Georgia, apparently considers itself an independent republic, entirely separate and apart from the rest of the United States. For it is clear that its land owners and authorities do not consider themselves ruled by our laws or governed by our constitution. They apparently never heard of the Emancipation Proclamation which Abraham Lincoln signed exactly 75 years ago.

With unspeakable lawlessness these gentlemen let it be known to the whole country that at the point of guns, they prevented Negro workers from crossing the county line to work in other cotton fields for higher wages than they were willing to pay in Warren County. They were offering 40c a hundred—and they were going to see to it that their labor didn't go anywhere else, or get more pay.

The way everything goes down in Georgia these days anything might be expected—if nation-wide publicity doesn't arouse nation-wide protest against Georgia "law." Gov. Rivers has a strange sort of sense of humor. First he paroles convicts on condition that they go to live in Massachusetts—to get even with Gov. Hurley of that state for refusing to extradite an escaped Negro prisoner. Then he decides that maybe the whipping post ought to be restored on the Georgia chain-gangs. They were finally abolished by law a few years ago. And when this brings a storm of protest from every corner of his state down on his head, he decides to "abolish" the chain-gangs altogether now that the



magnificent Piney Woods Alcatraz—a modern penitentiary has been completed. Only to abolish the chain-gangs means serious conflict with local politicians whose power rests on the backs of the shackled human beings who toil on them now.

But Georgia finds a way. All convicts will be sent to the penitentiary—but for good behavior they will be sent back to the "outdoor camps" as a reward! "Justice," "law and order," Georgia style! Indignant public opinion should prove to these gentlemen that they are still part of the United States and the decent citizens of this country will not tolerate such flagrant violations of every civil, democratic and human right.

November 1937

Participate in the mass tribute to the memory of the Haymarket martyrs and Sacco and Vanzetti. Remember labor's heroes! (See back cover).

The Shame of America

One who was returned to freedom by the might of mass action calls on his friends and supporters to rally once again

By ANGELO HERNDON

When the history of the Scottsboro persecution and frame-up is written it will go down in the shame and infamy which it has earned for itself. On the other hand, the lessons of Scottsboro will be a medium through which will be cemented indestructible bonds of unity between Negro and white workers.

But, to hasten Scottsboro on into the chambers of horror, it must be placed there without the satisfaction of having devoured five of its victims—with little or no opposition. The floodgates of our indignation must be let loose in torrents of protests that will make Alabama retreat in its aim to commit mass murder.

Of all the inconsistencies, one might be prompted to ask: why have the authorities of Alabama for six years held all nine of the boys guilty of the crime of rape and now, as if by some stroke of magic, they suddenly decided that five of them are innocent? The answer is that they have known from the very beginning that all of the boys are innocent.

But, like a thief when caught in the act of committing some terrible crime, the authorities of Alabama have tried to wriggle out of a situation in which they have received scathing admonitions from the working class and prominent liberals. Yes, the whole world knows that the Scottsboro boys are not guilty. Nobody will be fooled by the insidious move of releasing four in order to murder the other five.

And that is what they thought they would like to do. If anyone doubts this statement let him examine what has happened to the remaining five boys since their trials in July.

Andy Wright, sentenced to 99 years, has been put to work sweeping the floors of Kilby Prison for 12 hours a day. That's back breaking work for anybody. It is especially serious for Andy because when he was first put on this job he had not yet recovered

from an operation and could hardly stand on his feet.

When Mother Wright finally wrested permission from the authorities to visit her son, a few weeks ago, he was still a very sick boy. She tried to see the others too. But that was not allowed because she was no "kin" to them. Andy told her though that Charlie Weems was still very sick in the hospital following an operation and Haywood Patterson too. Of Ozie Powell, he reported that hardly anything was left of him. He doesn't even recognize the Scottsboro boys.

In the case of Ozie Powell, Alabama has laid itself wide open for castigation. Ozie Powell was exonerated from all charges of rape and sentenced to twenty years for scratching Sheriff Sandlin's throat. The truth of the matter is that Ozie Powell, in almost insane desperation after more than five years of prison confinement, was provoked to defend himself from the taunts, jibes and physical maulings received from the hands of Sheriff Sandlin. Half of his brain was shot away—his whole body is practically paralyzed from the bullet that almost proved fatal to him. For this, Powell has been sentenced to twenty years.

But the greatest outrage of all was committed against Haywood Patterson—an outrage whose possible fatal consequences were prevented only by vigilant mass pressure. Without warning or notice to anyone, including his family, Haywood Patterson was transferred to a chain-gang on the Florida border of Alabama. To the same chain-gang where only two years ago another Negro labor prisoner—the heroic sharecropper Alf White was murdered. Haywood's life was in very real and serious danger. They thought

they could "finish" his case fast—the way they did Alf White's. But they reckoned without the eternal vigilance of the Scottsboro Defense Committee, the International Labor Defense and all the thousands of people who make up the Scottsboro defense.

Haywood Patterson is safe now—and back in the Jefferson County Jail in Birmingham Alabama.

That is where the other three boys want to go and where they belong pending the outcome of their appeals to the State Supreme Court. Clarence Norris has been there all along—another example of the "consistency" of the State of Alabama.

And that is where they can speedily be reunited if the mass pressure exerted in behalf of Haywood Patterson—to say nothing of the four who are free—will concentrate its forces on the Governor of Alabama demanding that he remove them from the misery of Kilby Prison.

Appeals are now pending in all cases. They will come up before the United States Supreme Court (in the Patterson case) in October and in the State Supreme Court for the others in November.

This is the time to impress upon the minds of Alabama's officials that the Scottsboro case is not finished, that the nation wide fight for these boys will end only when all of them are free.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee needs your help. It needs your assistance in establishing local Scottsboro Committees which will mobilize the public opinion in every locality of the country behind these boys. It needs your help in gathering signatures for the million signature petition to Gov. Graves.

Protest resolutions and telegrams must flood the offices of Alabama authorities demanding the freedom of the Scottsboro boys. Funds with which to continue the fight are also needed. Contributions can be made to the Scottsboro Committee, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

It can be done. My freedom is proof of it, the freedom of four of the Scottsboro Boys is further proof—let's all get together for one final pull—so that victory may be ours, and the freedom they so richly deserve theirs, for the Scottsboro Boys.

HONOR ROLL

The Honor Roll of Mooney defenders grows. The following have formed a special American Committee of Liberals for the freedom of Mooney and Billings:

Sherwood Anderson, Gov. Elmer Benson, Rep. Usher L. Burdick, Humphrey Cobb, Sen. Royal S. Copeland, George S. Counts, Henry David, John Dewey, Edna Ferber, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, Robert Morss Lovett, Fredric March, Guido H. Marx, Alexander Meiklejohn, Sen. Gerald P. Nye, Rep. Caroline O'Day, Upton Sinclair, Rep. Wm. J. Fitzgerald.



From left to right: Mother Ada Wright, Ben Davis, Jr., Mother Viola Montgomery, and Mary Alice Montgomery. The picture was taken just as they stepped off the train in New York City to welcome their boys back to freedom.

TOM MOONEY - No. 31921 - IS NEAR FREEDOM

The secretary of the Mooney Moulders Defense Committee, the organization in sole charge of Mooney's defense, gives our readers a last minute report on the present status of the case.

By HERBERT RESNER

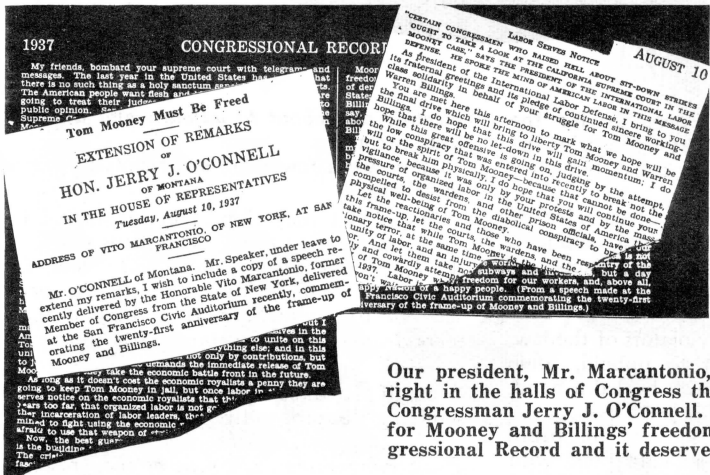
Tom Mooney is back in San Quentin, the grim, gray prison which has been his home for twenty-one long, heartbreaking years. During the course of those years it seemed many times to Tom Mooney that the prison gates would be opened and he would walk free. When working people demonstrated throughout the world during and after the great war, the pressure almost forced California authorities to free Mooney. But California, viciously defending the frame-up, merely commuted Mooney's death sentence to life imprisonment.

When Tom Mooney was told by Warden Johnston, at that time in charge of San Quentin, of the commutation, Mooney flew into a rage. He demanded that he be freed unconditionally, or that he be hanged. He was sick for weeks afterward from this experience. Throughout the years it has been



Above: California delegates to the Auto Workers Union Convention held in Milwaukee, brought not only their sombreros but FREE TOM MOONEY posters. They campaigned successfully to secure the support of this young giant of the CIO for Mooney and Billings. Three cheers for auto workers. Left:

Our president, Mr. Marcantonio, made his protest heard right in the halls of Congress through the cooperation of Congressman Jerry J. O'Connell. His San Francisco speech for Mooney and Billings' freedom was read into the Congressional Record and it deserves to go down in history!



Mooney's position that he would accept only unconditional freedom, and he has absolutely refused parole or commutation. Just within the last few weeks, when he was near death to a degree unsuspected even by those of us in close touch with him, he still would make no overture for parole or commutation, although there is no doubt that state and prison officials would have welcomed such a request from Mooney as a solution to a situation laden with political dynamite for them.

Mooney has said and his performance proves the statement, "I will die in prison before I compromise with the interests who framed me. I am innocent and will accept nothing less than an unconditional pardon or new trial with acquittal." Some people and certain mis-leaders of labor say that Mooney is crazy and unreasonable and that there is no use in trying to do anything for Mooney because of this position which he takes. The

answer to those people is that if there were more people and labor leaders with the same kind of "insanity" that Mooney has, the labor movement would be far in advance of its present condition.

When all legal maneuvers failed to find the key to Mooney's cell in those early years, even though the Attorney General at one time agreed to a reversal and new trial, the fight was carried to the Governors of California, but every one of these has failed to pardon Mooney. Governor Rolph gave every indication that he would pardon Mooney, but he finally refused. Matt I. Sullivan, one of the most vicious reactionaries in California (he died recently), read Rolph's report which Sullivan himself prepared. The report was merely a bitter restatement of all the reasons for keeping Mooney in prison, and concluded that Mooney was where he belonged because he was "a dangerous man."

It was this attitude which Judge Griffin who sentenced Mooney to death and then came to Mooney's support when he learned of Oxman's perjury has been accused of preaching. Yet it is the reason for Mooney's continued imprisonment even though his worst enemies admit that he was framed. One of them recently said, "I'd be for Mooney's freedom if only we could banish him."

In 1933, Tom Mooney thought the way had been found to free him. A trial was had in San Francisco on one of the indictments still standing against him for the Preparedness Day bombings. Mooney for years had sought a new trial. The District Attorney in 1933 stood up and said there was no case nor any possibility of a case against Mooney. The jury brought in an advised verdict of not guilty. Mooney was not even permitted to go ahead with his offer to establish his innocence which he stated he would do! But Mooney, although found "not guilty" was returned to San Quentin for the balance of a life term. Nothing could prove more completely the utter hypocrisy of the law, for an innocent man, and declared such by a court, was sent back to prison on a framed conviction of seventeen years before (this in 1933).

Mooney, although discouraged, did not give up. He has said, "I knew from the moment I was arrested that I was in a fight. I was in the ring with adversaries I couldn't always see, but I knew they were trying to knock me out, and I was there to prevent it. I have always kept up the fight." So in 1934 the Mooney case was taken to the United States Supreme Court. Counsel for Mooney relied on the due process of law clause in the Fourteenth amendment and argued that Mooney's conviction on perjured testimony contrived at by the District Attorney violated this constitutional safeguard. A unanimous Supreme Court agreed with this con-

(Continued on Page 16)

Fifty Years Later

She stood beside them at the Haymarket meeting. She sat beside them during the trial. She lost her husband on the gallows. But her spirit is unconquered and she calls on all the forces of progress to join in the 50th anniversary tribute to the glorious memory of the Haymarket martyrs. She presents here some important facts in the case.

By LUCY PARSONS

I indict the police of Chicago and the big capitalists for conspiracy and the foul murder of five innocent labor leaders in connection with the Haymarket meeting, the Haymarket martyrs, and I will prove my case before a jury of the world. I will take my data from their own reports and no where else.

Fifty years have flown by on the wings of time since that dark November 11, 1887 when innocent men were strung from the gallows arm in the city of Chicago. We are now about to observe the 50th anniversary of their martyrdom which bids fair to be the most widely observed of any of the 49 previous anniversaries. A new generation has come into the field of action. The thoughtful of them are inquiring and wish to know more about the Haymarket meeting than they can learn from capitalist sources. What they need is authentic information. That is the purpose of this brief contribution.

The Haymarket meeting was the culmination of the great strike of May 1, 1886 for the reduction of the hours of labor to eight a day. The immediate object of it was the brutality of the police at the McCormick factory on the day before. Those employees were holding a meeting at noon discussing the strike, just quiet working men. Suddenly two wagon loads of cops rushed down upon them and began clubbing them and shot two of them. The police had been terribly brutal during the strike at the behest

LUCY PARSONS, the widow of Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket Martyrs, has spent the last 51 years of her life, not only working to keep their glorious memory alive, but to do all in her power to prevent and curtail similar outrages.

She is today over 80 years old. Her sight is failing rapidly as a result of an incurable disease of the eyes. Her mind is as brilliant and keen as ever, her spirit as unbroken.

But glorious memories and the will to fight onward are not enough to live on. She is in danger of losing her home because of inability to meet mortgage payments.

With her permission, the LABOR DEFENDER appeals to those of its readers who would like to show their solidarity with Mrs. Parsons, to contribute as much as they can towards saving her home. All funds sent to the LABOR DEFENDER will be forwarded at once to Mrs. Parsons.



A contemporary cartoon of the Haymarket Meeting. Everything was done to whip up sentiment against the Haymarket martyrs.

of the bosses. They had been driving the strikers off the streets and trying to drive the workers back into the factories. But they refused to go back.

The Haymarket meeting was attended by about 3,000 men, women and children. When it was about to conclude, a company of police rushed upon it with drawn clubs and ordered it to "disperse."

At the onrush of these violators of the law, which they were sworn to uphold, some person, to this day unknown, hurled a bomb into their ranks.

Then hell was turned loose in the press. The next day the papers came out with great flare headlines. "The Anarchist Dynamiters had planned to destroy Chicago. It was only the courage of the police that saved the city. The leaders must be arrested at once and examples made of them," and so on and so on.

This is the kind of dope the people have been fed on for 50 years and millions of them believe it. Here are the facts.

Six weeks later eight men (our Chicago martyrs) were arraigned before a packed jury, and a prejudiced judge as bomb throwing murderers: The trial, so-called, had lasted 63 days, the jury convicted them in three hours.

Mayor Harrison of Chicago took the stand as a witness for the defense. Here are a few lines from his testimony:

"I attended the Haymarket meeting for the purpose of dispersing it, should it require my attention, but I found it peaceable. When it was about to adjourn I went to the station (half a block away) and told the captain to send his reserves home, as the

meeting was about to adjourn and did not need them."

Here are a few more statements to prove my charges.

States' Attorney Grinell in his appeal to the jury, pointing to the defendants said:

"These men are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them. They were selected by the Grand Jury because they were leaders. Convict them and save our society."

Bailiff Rylance in connection with assembling the prospective jurors has said:

"Those fellows will hang, as sure as death. I am summoning such men as the prosecution wants."

"There was no evidence connecting the defendants with the bomb throwing at the Haymarket meeting," wrote Governor Altgeld when he pardoned the remaining three martyrs in 1893.

The judge, Gary, in dismissing the jury thanked them for the verdict and told them there were carriages outside to take them home.

The press was overjoyed. A sum of \$100,000, raised as a reward, was paid to the jury. The Chicago Tribune on August 20, 1886, had opened it columns thus:

"The conspirators have been promptly convicted. Let them be as promptly punished. Let us raise a fund of \$100,000 to be presented to the jury with the thanks of a grateful people."

I set out to indict the whole crew of murderers. I could extend my proof a hundred-fold. They stand indicted by their own deeds and their own words.

Ten Years Later

One of America's finest women writers presents here a moving reminder of Sacco and Vanzetti. A more complete treatment appears in her newest book, "A Foot Note to Folly."* This story is presented in connection with our Haymarket-Sacco Vanzetti memorial drive for Nov. 1937.

By MARY HEATON VORSE

They were accused of a daytime murder and robbery of a \$15,000 pay-roll in South Braintree, Massachusetts, and one of them was further implicated in an attempted pay roll robbery at Bridgewater. The country had been aroused by a series of such robberies, and arrests were wanted.

I found out a lot about them before I went to Boston. They were indirectly mixed up in the famous Palmer Red scare. On the first of May, 1919, bombs were set off in ten or twelve different places. Near several of the bombs there had been found a "pink paper." It contained a bombastic warning to capitalist society.

This paper was traced to the printing office of an Italian printer, Elia, a philosophical anarchist. His typesetter was named

Andrea Salsedo. He was taken in by the Department of Justice and held illegally for eight weeks on the fourteenth story of the post office building. Near him, also held illegally was Elia, who heard Salsedo's shrieks when they tortured him.

For weeks they held Salsedo incommunicate, and beat him up until, on the morning of the fourth of May, he jumped out of the window. Salsedo was the only man who died in Mr. Palmer's May Day revolution, for which so much preparation had been made. Among the Italians there was a ghastly suspicion that Salsedo did not jump—that he was beaten to death and thrown out.

Two young men named Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were about to hold a

meeting to collect funds for Salsedo's widow. They too, were philosophical anarchists. When they were arrested, they had in their pockets the proof of a little handbill they were about to distribute. It read something like this:

"Are you satisfied with your lot? Are your wages what you want? Do you own your home? If not, come and let us discuss things in such and such a hall."

These were the facts I learned before I went to Dedham to see Sacco. His transparent innocence so impressed me that I could never believe that he must suffer the death penalty.

Sacco had been in Dedham for six months, without any occupation waiting his trial. Vanzetti was also accused of this crime. But he was not in Dedham jail because he was already serving another sentence in Charlestown. On December 24, 1919, there was an attempted hold-up of another shoe company. No arrests were made—not until May 5th. Then Vanzetti was identified as the attempting robber by three people. They had not seen him in six months. One of the women who identified Vanzetti was blind in one eye.

There was another crime of which these boys were not accused, a crime which does not appear in our statute books; they had all their days been fighting the workers' battle, they had been active in the labor ranks. Not only were they gallant fighters, both of them, and quick to the injustice of the industrial world, but moreover they were inconveniently holding meetings about Salsedo. It was mighty inconvenient having young men holding meetings about Salsedo. Moreover a crime had been committed for which convictions were wanted.

After a time Sacco appeared, a little fellow so life-loving that even six months of inaction in jail had not effaced his vividness. Short, clean cut as a Roman coin, eyes that looked at you straight, and above all a friendly way with him almost like that of a child who had never known anything but affection. There was something about Sacco that made you think of swift happy things—jumping fish, a bird on the wing. . . .

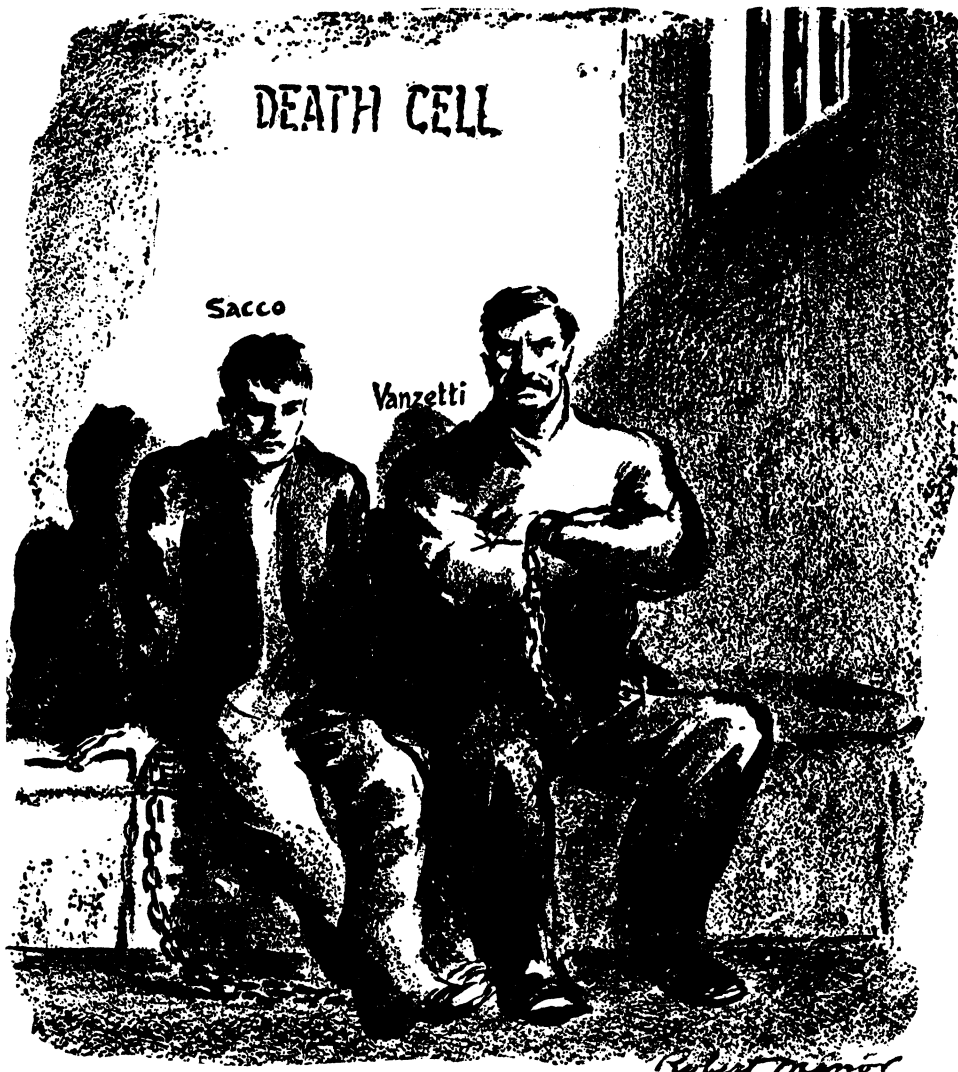
Prisoners always have something they want. Sacco was no exception. What he wanted was work.

"Couldn't you get them to let me work?" he begged. He turned to us; his smile flashed. "I have never loafed one day in my life." He held out his hands. "I am used to work." Swift moving hands, the hands of a workman, sensitive. "If they won't let me work, better they kill me right off, for anyhow I die."

We sat down, and Sacco told us how he came to America, how he got interested in books and in ideas and then in The Idea, which is the way he and his wife always spoke of social justice—The Idea, the one great idea, something to work for, something to suffer for.

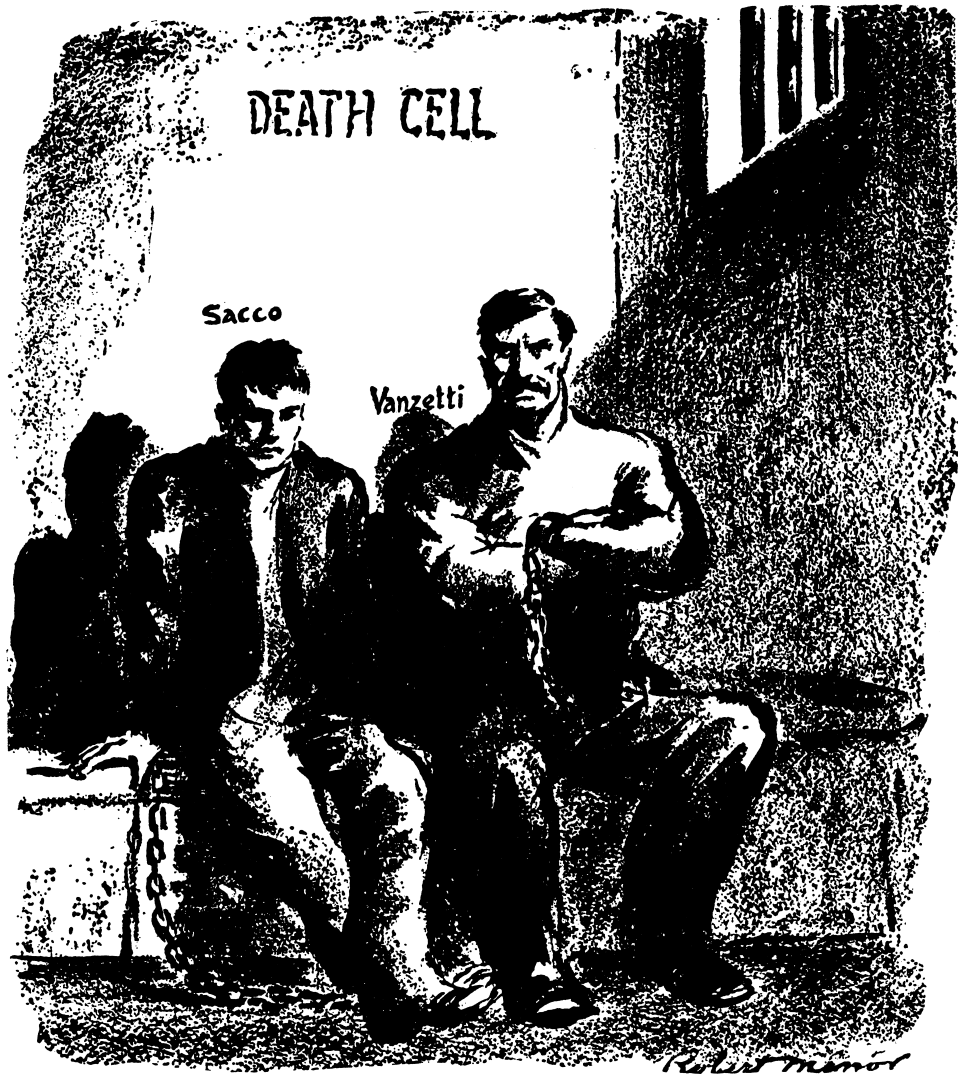
Sacco said: "If I was arrested because of The Idea I am glad to suffer. If I must I will die for it. But they have arrested me for a gunman job. What have I worked for in my life? I have worked for educate myself, my comrades. Only so we go on—by learning. Do I want to go back to gorilla days,

(Continued on Page 18)



A famous drawing by a famous man. One of Robert Minor's cartoons of Sacco and Vanzetti. It was drawn in 1924 when the international campaign in their behalf was just developing.

*A Footnote to Folly, by Mary Heaton Vorse. Farrar and Rinehart, 407pp. \$3.50.



A famous drawing by a famous man. One of Robert Minor's cartoons of Sacco and Vanzetti. It was drawn in 1924 when the international campaign in their behalf was just developing.

"You Will Have Your Children Back Again" -

Two stories from Spain—two entirely different sides of the picture presented by the work of the SRI—the heroic Spanish I.L.D. One deals with innocent children—the second with Italian prisoners of war.

"Papa, I write to tell you that we are all happy. Papa, you must tell me whether Pedro and Mariano have gone to the front. Papa, our new school is almost finished. . . ."

Written by a youngster now in Catalonia, one of the first 90,000 children to be evacuated from Madrid. Thousands of Spanish children, tens of thousands, have been rescued from the shock and horror and murder of the war torn cities on the battlefield of democracy. They were taken to Catalonia, to the Levantine provinces, to those sections of the rear where there is peace and quiet.

But the problem of their maintainance is still a very serious one. In the early days, weeks and months, they were gladly taken into the homes of those defenders of democracy who still enjoyed safety. But that system was obviously inadequate and even dangerous. The willingness of the people in the rear to shelter the little refugees was truly inspiring. Here is one letter from one such foster father to the real father at the front:

"Your daughter Mari-Tere is at my house. She arrived here yesterday with your little boy, Carlos, and 25 other children. All the population has taken the little people who have had to suffer so much straight to their hearts, with all the zeal and love due them. In regard to the little Mari-Tere, I wish to assure you that she will lack nothing in my house. I will feed and clothe her better than my own children. I have two: the older one is called Maria Theresa like yours, and is nineteen; the little one, twelve years old is named George. I repeat that the little Mari-Tere will lack nothing for we will even provide her with the incomparable love of parents. She will find in my wife a loving mother and in my children the love and care which is due brothers and sisters. When we

Reports From the Madrid I.L.D.

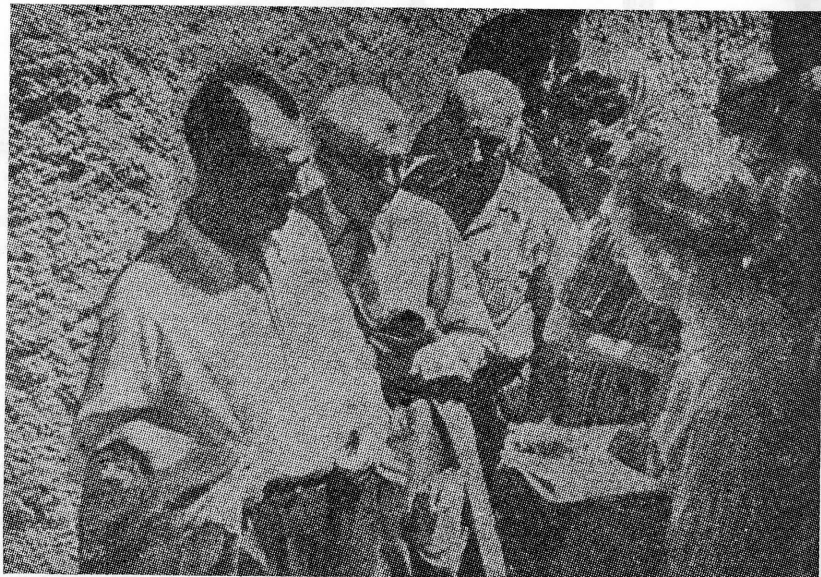
are victorious you will have your children again and we will give them back to you with joy."

Maria Theresa is clearly well off. But there are so many hundreds of thousands who must still be provided for. In Catalonia there is an organization called *Help for the Children in the Rear Guard*. Its secretary, Antoni Bonet, describes its progress:

"We were born out of the cruelty of the war. We have thousands and thousands of children under our protection, from Madrid, from the Basque country, from Southern Spain, from Aragon. We coordinate the support of foreign centers which aid us immeasurably in our task. We get food and money and support from London, Paris, Copenhagen, Zurich, Geneva, New York.

"Here is a picture from China. In the background is a burning town. A thin white road winds past a single tree with a raven perched on the topmost limb. In the foreground are two children. A boy with his arm around a small sister. Below in Chinese are the words, 'Help the Spanish Children.' It comes from the aid committee in Shanghai."

Catalonia alone has 52 homes with more than 6,000 children. They live and learn and play under expert guidance and care. They have special workshop classes in car-



Second from the left is none other than our own fighting Leo Gallagher photographed in a front line trench in Spain. He was part of an international delegation.

penry, sandal making and other crafts. For backward and mentally defective children, there are three special homes.

Hundreds of beautiful homes stand ready throughout the peaceful hill-sides of Spain, waiting to be filled by child refugees, war orphans, small victims of fascism.

All these homes need is money from abroad to open their doors and set them into operation. The smallest is for 20 children.

The International Labor Defense has set itself the task of opening and maintaining one such home in the nearest possible future. The democratic government of Spain wishes to keep its children within its own borders. The children will be happier there and much better cared for than abroad. The homes of the Spanish people—those which are not under fire and shell—like the home found for little Mari-Tere are no longer available. Be-

(Continued on Page 16)

PRISONERS RELIEF For PRISONERS of WAR

I had expected to find a strictly guarded prison—bars, gray walls, cells—but San Miguel de los Reyes in Valencia reminded me more of an old castle. The youthful prison director, Francisco, informed us, it had once been a convent.

Sun-dappled palms welcomed us as we entered the court-yard. A number of young men were playing football—a hundred around one ball, without a goal, but with plenty of joy and enthusiasm. In one corner an accordion was being played.

"Salud," we greeted them and many clenched fists were raised in greeting.

"Are there military barracks here?" I asked my guide.

"Military barracks?"

"Yes, where do all these lively, happy people come from?"

"They are Italian war prisoners!"

It was truly astounding. The last thing the place reminded one of was of a prison camp and the Italians in no way gave the impression of being war prisoners.

(Continued on Page 16)



This is what Mussolini is doing to the Spanish refugees from Franco territory in Spain sent to Italy. Six hundred of them have been shipped to Rome to be drilled into little fascists.

In Hitler's Dungeons

Behind the barbed wires and the high stone walls of Nazi concentration camps and dungeons, the heroic women of Germany carry on against fascism, for peace and freedom. Their suffering is great—but their courage greater.

CHAPTER I

Out on the North German Moor, not far from Hanover, stands the Mohringen Women's Concentration camp.

Several hundred women, held on suspicion of being opponents of the Hitler government, are imprisoned there. Among them is a young woman named Elsa Steinfurth.

She is only 31, but she looks many years older.

In February 1933, immediately after the Reichstag fire, her husband Erich Steinfurth, deputy to the Lantag and secretary of the German I.L.D., was arrested. Shortly after that he was taken to the ill-famed Sonnenburg torture camp. A year passed. Elsa was not permitted to see him. Suddenly she was informed that her husband was to be released. The Gestapo summoned her to the Berlin Police Headquarters, for "some formalities" which had to be gone through in her husband's presence. The date was January 13, 1934.

When she arrived there she was seized, thrown into an "examination" room, threatened and bullied in an effort to secure "evidence" against her husband. Finally they brought Erich Steinfurth into the room. She could hardly recognize him, he was so disfigured from constant beatings. Still she refused to answer their questions.

Then she was placed under arrest. Time and again she was dragged from the Women's Jail to the headquarters of the Gestapo on Prince Albrecht Street for "investigation." Time and again she was beaten and whipped. But no false testimony could be wrung from her.

Early in February, 1934, she was being taken for one of these "rides." At the prison gate, just as she was entering the police car, a Storm Trooper bawled at her: "On February 2, your husband was shot while attempting to escape. *You are now going to his funeral.*"

She was driven to her former home. She was ordered to dress in mourning. Then she was taken to the cemetery where the mutilated body of her husband was awaiting burial.

Though every effort had been made to keep the hour and the place of the funeral secret, several hundred people gathered near the grave. Erich Steinfurth had been the friend of so many, his work in the I.L.D. had endeared him to thousands.

Elsa stood over the coffin surrounded by Gestapo agents, lest her friends draw too near. Not one word of consolation was to be hers.



Women in the rear-guard. One of the posters issued to organize the women in democratic Spain. The heroic women of Spain are fighting the battle of their sisters in Germany as well as their own.

Just as the coffin was being lowered, a piercing cry resounded over the whole cemetery. Elsa Steinfurth was shouting: "*He did not escape.*" That was all she was able to say. Rough hands were clapped over her lips. But those who heard, understood. Erich Steinfurth had been murdered.

She was carried back to Gestapo headquarters. Their hope that this last, particu-

larly refined, bit of torture would weaken her morale had failed.

On the next night a strange thing happened. Over the sign post of the street on which the Steinfurths had lived, a new street sign appeared—well glued. It read "*Erich Steinfurth Street.*"

On May 4, 1935—after 15 months of the worst torture and a serious illness—Elsa



Hitler's barbaric attitude towards women extends to our own shores. German women and little girls learning to "Heil," at the Nazi encampment in New Jersey.

Steinfurth was brought to trial and sentenced to one year of imprisonment. Charge: "Being politically active."

Since she had already been in prison for more than one year she was placed under "protective arrest" and turned over to the

Gestapo which transferred her to the Mohr-lingen camp where she remains to this day.

Elsa Steinfurth is only one of hundreds of women, and tens of thousands of innocent men. Surely we cannot leave them to their fate. Surely we cannot forget them.

CHAPTER II

"Fall out," shouted the guard.

We were all dog-tired, our minds sucked dry by the effort of having to remain silent for twelve long hours, the raucous shouts of our guards ringing in our ears. Our eyes and backs were stinging with pain from bending over the sewing machines. One after the other we marched past our guard, who stood there counting us like sheep.

In the dismal light of one faint lamp our dormitory lay before us, row upon row of sleeping cages; real cages, complete with iron tops and side walls over which was drawn a finely meshed wire netting "decorated" with streamers of dust that kept falling down on our beds. These beds folded down from one of the sides and when they were made up for the night there was barely room inside the cage to turn around.

At last we heard the sound of the guard's key in the dormitory door. A sigh of relief passed through the hall.

Soft whispering filled the air, moving from cage to cage. Careful—soft. We were still being watched. A murderess, sentenced to life imprisonment had been placed in our midst as a "supervisor." She slept outside the cages provided for the political prisoners and took her spying assignment very seriously.

Shivering, we undressed, peeling off the mended brown prison uniform with its checkered collar, the stiff, uncomfortable, scratchy underwear. Then began our evening exercises. It was very difficult and had taken a lot of practice before we were able to move within the confines of our cages. We did the exercises together. First—marching in place. The dull rhythmic tramp of naked feet was the only sound heard for a few minutes. Soon we were warmer. And it was so good to be free of those wretched clothes.

Next came bending exercises—very difficult—especially to avoid coming into conflict with the wash basin and the stool in each cage. While I was bending up and down I heard sobs from the next cage. It was Marta, my neighbor. I pressed my face against the cold iron and whispered:

"Hello, Marta, what is wrong? Why aren't you doing your exercises?"

Jarea's Example

Jarea lives in Koeniggratz, Czecho-Slovakia. She is ten years old. Her mother buys a newspaper every week and Jarea reads it diligently. One issue had a picture in it of a



Ernst Thaelmann, for almost five years now Hitler's prisoner — without trial! Every possible opportunity should be used to remind Hitler that Thaelmann is not forgotten, that he must be freed.

Her soft voice, strangled with sobs, replied: "I can't."

"Marta," I whispered back, "you know what we decided. Nobody can slacken down. That's what they are waiting for."

For a time all was silence in her cage.

"Today I had a letter from my sister-in-law. My children can't stay with her any longer. She wants to send them to an orphanage. And the little one is sick and keeps crying: 'When is Mama coming back?'"

Her voice broke as she wept aloud.

"Marta, you must join in the exercises. Your children want to get their mother back again healthy—and not only your children."

After a little while I heard the stamp of naked feet in the neighboring cell.

* * *

I think of it so often, almost every evening at 6:30, I see the long rows of wire cages in the dimly lighted dormitory. I see the pale faces behind the wire netting. Think of it. Every evening at half past six and until seven our brave women fighters for peace and freedom are doing exercises in their cages—to keep fit for the future—to defy their jailers, to show that they are not defeated. (Written by a released prisoner)



He wants to install Hitler fascism in America. Doesn't he look it?

young woman named Liselotte Hermann. She has been sentenced to die in Berlin—to have her head chopped off. Little Jarea cried as she read the story of this young mother, only 28 years old, and her little three year old son.

Then she stopped crying and ran for the scissors. Carefully she clipped the picture from the newspaper and pasted it in the corner of a big sheet of paper on which she carefully ruled lines. Under it she wrote a letter addressed to the ministers of the German government and to all the women of Germany. It read:

"We the children of Koeniggratz appeal to your conscience. Do not allow this crime to be carried out. See to it that the life of this mother is saved."



A CHINESE FABLE

The spokesman for the Ministry of War at Tokyo, declared a few days ago: "The army of Japan does not carry on a war against the Chinese people, nor against the foreign inhabitants or diplomats. Japan considers China her sister. She attempts to correct her mistakes, but will not kill her."

Japoniki had a sister whom he loved very deeply. To protect her against vanity, he first deprived her of all ornaments, but poor Chin Chin did not understand the good intentions of her brother. This hurt Japoniki very much, but he did not relinquish his watchfulness over her. On a certain day, shorn of all her ornaments, Chin Chin met her brother, and he spoke to her as follows: "O, beloved Chin Chin, flower of the East, my heart trembles with fear at the dangers that beset you daily. Come a little closer to your brother, who wishes to watch over you."

Chin Chin slowly stepped aside, because she did not understand the expressions of love of her brother, after which Japoniki again addressed her: "Chin Chin, look at your left arm, disfigured by the mark of the ornaments you wore. How perfect you would be if you should lose that damaged arm." Even before he had spoken, he pulled out his sword which he had hidden, and cut her arm off with one blow.

It was quite some time later that the noble Japoniki again turned to his sister: "Chin Chin," he whispered, "lily of the land of tomorrow, how entirely you would be in harmony, if you would miss your right arm as well. It would only heighten the grace of your queenly stature."

In despair, Chin Chin resisted, but her brother knowing that he was acting in her interests, knew how to deprive her of her arm with one forceful blow.

From that day Chin Chin onward doubted Japoniki's brotherly love. Whenever he tried to approach her, she cried out loudly, which was lamented by Japoniki. He did not feel comfortable and therefore spoke as follows: "Chin Chin, if you insist in threatening me, I will be compelled to deprive you of your feet as well, so that you can no longer run away from my affection."

Chin Chin then cried, "Murder." Thousands of people came running. Poor Japoniki. He thought that his good intentions were misunderstood and said: "Please see, I do not want to fight with Chin Chin nor with her friends, Japoniki loves Chin Chin as a sister. He is attempting to correct her mistakes, but will not kill her." Then with one blow he cut off her feet, after which he emotionally spoke and said: "My beloved Chin Chin now you only have one fault. That is you still exist"

(Translated from the Dutch LABOR DEFENDER)



The Trade Unions and the I.L.D.

Seamen Vote For I.L.D. Membership

At the joint membership meeting of the National Maritime Union of America, in New York City, August 23, the following motion was made and carried unanimously:

"Whereas the Deck and Engine Divisions of the N.M.U. and the Constitutional Convention have endorsed the International Labor Defense,

"Whereas the Deck Division urged all hands in the N.M.U. to join the I.L.D., therefore,

"Be it Resolved: that this joint meeting go on record urging all hands to join the I.L.D. and that we direct the District Committee to assist the I.L.D. representatives in contacting members of the N.M.U."

For Defense Of Labor Prisoners

Resolutions passed at the first annual convention of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, affiliated to the C.I.O., Denver, Colo., July, 1937.

GENERAL AID

"Resolved: That this Convention of Agricultural, Cannery and Packing Shed Unions instruct the incoming Executive Board to aid in every way possible all Labor Prisoners through their respective Defense Committees."

Demanding the Release of Nine Filipino Strikers in Hawaii

"Whereas: Nine Filipino strike leaders are now on trial on trumped up charges arising from the general strike of 3,500 plantation workers in the islands of Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii; and

"Whereas: These nine leaders, representing the workers, were merely asking the right for collective bargaining in order to better their conditions, and

"Whereas: In the exercise of their right to demand better conditions and the right to collective bargaining, these nine strikers were arrested and charged with 'third degree conspiracy,' be it therefore

"Resolved: That this Convention of Agricultural, Cannery, Vegetable and Packing House Unions goes on record demanding the immediate dismissal of the charges against these Filipino strike leaders, in the name of justice and fair play, and

"Resolved: That we go on record condemning the strike breaking tactics of the W.P.A. for sending 200 men to work in plantations during strike, and further condemn the attempted refusal of Judge Daniels of Wailuku to grant postponement of the case pending arrival of attorney for the defense, and be it further

"Resolved: That this convention expresses gratitude to the International Labor Defense for sending Attorney Grover Johnson to defend the arrested leaders and be it finally resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Hawaii, to Judge Daniels of Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii."

More Bouquets From East Coast Seamen

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

We, East Coast rank and file members I.S.U., of the "Knoxville City" crew wish to thank the International Labor Defense for its aid to us in our trouble with the Isthmian Steamship Co., in the port of San Francisco.

Your help which consisted of financial and legal advise has aided the fight against unfair and unsafe practices of steamship companies.

Our fight is not over yet, as you know the "Knoxville City" left S.F. with a scab crew and without even allowing us time to remove our personal belongings, or notifying us to come and get them although the Shipping Commissioner and the captain knew where to reach Attorney George Andersen whom the I.L.D. assigned to the case.

We are all shipping east again to continue our fight to clean up conditions on the "Knoxville City" and regain our property and pay due us.

The four finks in the Steward's department against whom our fight was centered tried to poison us by putting tacks, red lead and glass in our food, and we may have had to continue with them if it wasn't for your timely aid.

Again let us thank you,

Fraternally yours,

Fred. M. Lebring, Bos'n, P.C., 8155

Olay J. Hornnes, A.B., P.C., 15917

John H. Leonarons, A.B., P.C., 2871

Raymond J. Carroll, O.S.

C. O. Lawrence, O.S.

George Evanoff, O.S.

J. F. Merrell, A.B.

Pedro Lopez, M.B.

An Appeal For Aid From The British West Indies

The vengeance with which British Imperialism intends to strike the colonial peoples when they demand bread is seen clearly in our island. Not content with cold blooded murders and cruel slaying, the reign of terror is intensified by hundreds of frame-up arrests without being allowed bail.

The entire town of Fyzabad was raided on



Two of the British West Indies union organizers referred to in this letter.

Friday last in the wee hours of the morning the workers driven from their homes, (men, women and children) the result of this mass terrorization was the arrest of over twenty workers on framed charges of having in their possession fire-arms, the real object of this early raid on the workers hovels in this oil field town, was for the purpose of arresting Uriah Butler who up to the present is being

courageously protected from the criminal hands of imperialism where murderous vengeance awaits him.

The Governor has been give extraordinary powers. Even the mentioning of the word STRIKE or to voice an opinion of the situation makes one subject to arrest.

The present situation necessitates the support of the entire working class of the world in the demands of the people that Butler be unmolested. Already 4 outstanding leaders of the strike struggle, Jim Barratt, Tom Ashby, Bertie Percival and Alma Francois were given bail when the Waterfront and municipal workers decided to again go on strike if their leaders are not released.

Rally to our aid.

Yours fraternally,

Negro Welfare, Cultural and Social Association Port of Spain, Trinidad.



One of labor's grandest o'ld ladies—Mother Jones leading miners picket line in Trinidad, Colorado—1913.

New York I.L.D. State Conference

The annual conference of the New York State International Labor Defense will take place on Saturday and Sunday, November 20 and 21, 1937.

Calls are out, to trade unions and other progressive organizations, asking for their delegates to attend the first day session which will be held in the form of a round table discussion on the vital problems of defense, facing the people of this state.

Prominent leaders of organizations, liberals and legislators will address the conference. The second day will concern itself with the question of the I.L.D. organizationally and its campaign during the year 1938.

The questions to be discussed will be: The fight against Injunctions. The fight for the freedom of Tom Mooney, Billings and McNamara as well as the five Scottsboro boys still in jail.

Help for the people of Loyalist Spain.

The Christmas and Winter Aid Drive for the relief of Political and Labor Prisoners. Also other topics which concern the defense movement in this state. Through the pages of the Labor Defender, the I.L.D. asks that all possible support be given to this conference, to make same successful by having the widest representation present on November 20th.

A Share In Labor's Liberty

New Jersey labor is on the march with the A. F. of L. the C.I.O. and the I.L.D. leading the way. An account of one of the most important developments in building the united front of defense and solidarity undertaken by our organization.

By **ROBERT PARKER**

N. J. State Secretary, I.L.D.

New Jersey is a land of strange contrasts. Touching upon the still democratic shores of the United States to the west, Hague's Haven sinks slowly into the Atlantic on the East, where a rich Riviera brings monopoly's millions elbow to elbow with the pottery workers of the red mud flats. It is a land where democracy is suspended in an audible silence, where vice-chancellors speak only to chancellors and the chancellors whisper only to Hague. Roughly, one half the land is covered with vegetables, and the other with a widely diversified industry. Thus, although basically composed of an industrial and farming population, its political voice rings with the sound of silver, dropped judiciously upon the bar.

And for very good reasons, particularly since the large corporations have been challenged by labor in the tall grass regions of America. Finding their complete dominance over labor crumbling in recent months, General Motors and other large corporations are assembling assemblies in Linden, Bendix (Teterboro) and Ewing, N. J.

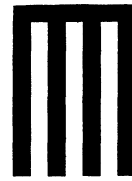
And why are the large industries coming to New Jersey? It's simple, my friends. The word has been passed to the industrial kingdoms in the west that, in New Jersey great peace reigns in industry, for here open shops are closed to "outside interference."

New Jersey courts have been notoriously vicious in the issuance of sweeping injunctions. In July of this year the final stroke was made when Vice-Chancellor Berry enjoined the Printing and Typographical Unions from striking and picketing for a closed shop agreement. In the restraining order Berry stated, "it seems strange that at this late date it should be necessary to repeat that a strike which has as its purpose the closed shop is unlawful, and that a contract for the 'closed shop' is illegal and unenforceable." And many felt that it was indeed strange that such should be "repeated." For there are those who believe that that which has never been said cannot be repeated.

If the philosophy incorporated in the entire injunction had gone unchallenged, fifty years of labor gains and struggles would have been swept away with the flourish of a legal paper. The closed shop, collective bargaining, unionization, and employer obligations would have gone. And since it was held that the closed shop was a "conspiracy in restraint of trade," there was nothing to stop the courts at some future time from declaring the hours,



Labor's Liberty Bond



This is to Certify that

has contributed

Dollars for

Shares In Labor's Bond For Liberty and Unity

for the purpose of building a fund to support the struggle against unfair practices brought against the Unions, and the labor movement; and for the purpose of establishing in the state of New Jersey, Labor's right to legally organize, strike, and picket as a part of their struggle for the attaining of "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" under the Constitution and the Laws of the Land.

Issued this

day of

1937

..... President

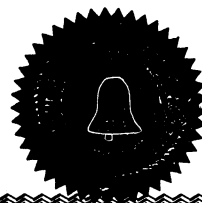
..... Chairman Legal Committee

..... Secretary

..... Chairman Citizens Committee

..... Treasurer

..... Chairman Publicity Committee



Facsimile of Labor's Liberty Bonds issued by the Anti-Injunction League of New Jersey. The black and white copy does not give the effect of the handsome red, white and blue, gold sealed original.

wages, or conditions demanded by a union as equally burdensome and in "restraint of trade."

New Jersey labor was left bewildered by this stunning blow. Within a day, employers who had maintained closed shop agreements for years were calling up union officials and announcing that in spite of their wishes, they could no longer renew "illegal contracts."

Here was an issue that affected the entire labor movement, regardless of national affiliation, a fight in which all internal differences could be laid aside in the interests of self-preservation. The I.L.D. as the defense arm of the labor movement was the logical organization to step forward in this situation and to propose a struggle against the courts by a united labor movement.

At this point the I.L.D. of New Jersey called a conference of twenty known progressive unions leaders, A. F. of L. and CIO. At this conference the I.L.D. proposed the formation of a united organization of all progressive working class groups and sympathizers to appeal this particular injunction, to fight all such further anti-labor legislation and adjudication of a like sort, and to work for the passage of the Anti-Injunction Bill No. 300 before the State Legislature.

The I.L.D. further proposed the sale of "Labor's Liberty Bonds" and buttons to finance the appeals; and that sympathetic lawyers be obtained to carry the fight without fee.

A committee composed of A. F. of L, CIO and I.L.D. officials issued the call to labor bodies and sympathizers throughout Essex and Hudson Counties, to form a permanent organization, LABOR'S ANTI-INJUNCTION LEAGUE. A meeting of 500 delegates and representatives responded. Harry Wendrich, Printing Pressmen's and Assistant's Union was elected president, Robert Parker, I.L.D., secretary, Oscar Chinich, International Ladies Garment Workers Union,

treasurer. In addition the following chairmen of committees were elected: Frank Neudoerfer, Newark Typographical Union, legal committee; William J. Carney, State organizer, CIO, citizens' committee; and the Hon. Vincent J. Murphy, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, publicity committee.

Certificates of membership, "Labor's Liberty Bonds" were issued at \$5.00 for each share in Labor's Liberty, in amounts up to \$50.00 for which a gold certificate is issued. Membership buttons at 25c are sold. These carry individual membership, voice but no vote in LEAGUE business.

A group of eight lawyers, three from the I.L.D. staff, were secured to carry the appeal, the legal committee acting jointly in determining the technical legal work, but responsible to the LEAGUE through the legal committee chairman, a Union representative.

In the short space of two months, forty organizations have affiliated and over \$700 has been raised through bonds and buttons. Organizational meetings have been held in four counties, three more are in progress. Upon the opening of the State Legislature in November, the LEAGUE will call a state wide convention in Trenton, to press for passage of the Anti-Injunction Bill. It is possible that the LEAGUE may establish a permanent representative at Trenton to cover all labor legislation. For at all meetings, and mass assemblages a regular educational program is worked out; lectures on labor news, slides taken from Photo History, LABOR DEFENDER and the press generally are shown and commented on.

The I.L.D. is taking a leading part in the entire movement. We have already felt the need of setting up a Trade Union Advisory Committee composed of Harry Wendrich, Printing Pressmen; Walter Ruhnke, Brewery Workers, Dave Herman, Cafeteria Workers, Wm. J. Carney, State Organizer, CIO; Neil

(Continued on Page 18)

"The American Way"

From the city where the Declaration of Independence was signed and the state where the C.I.O. is making some of its greatest strides forward—a plan for important action.

By **ALFRED L. ELLIS**, *Pennsylvania State Secretary, I.L.D.*

Since 1794 when America's first trade union was born in Philadelphia, the state of Pennsylvania has been the scene of some of America's most bitter labor struggles. Until very recently the workers in this country's largest industrial state, have had to face the attacks of the state police and national guards, as well as local sheriffs and company thugs. However, in 1934 the people of Pennsylvania threw off the shackles of one of the most powerful and corrupt political machines that America has ever seen and elected a liberal state administration. Since then the picture has changed somewhat. When Mayor Shields of Johnstown attempted to break the steel strike by organizing vigilantes, Governor Earle sent in the state police to close the mill and a duplicate of the Chicago massacre was averted. The rout of the corrupt political machine was far from complete, and while most of the major offices of the state are in the hands of the liberal democratic majority, the Republican machine still has a strong representation in the state legislature and what is perhaps more important, they dominate local politics in much the same manner as they have for many years.

In these localities where the machine still dominates the political structure of the community, there is evidence of a strong inter-relationship between the local industry and the political leadership. In almost every case it has been proven that the industries of such localities are heavy contributors to the machine and in return for their financial aid, they receive generous consideration from the authorities.

Johnstown provides an example of the fine spirit of cooperation between the authorities and industry which manifests itself to a greater or lesser degree in most of the other towns throughout the state. The methods used there are of the more subtle variety.

Elkland represents what is perhaps the more typical industrial community in our state. Here for example they discard all pretense and elect a Burgess who is at the same time a foreman in the Elkland leather works, the town's only industry. So perfectly does the company dominate the town that "John Sullivan, director of the State Bureau of Civil Rights and Public Information, found such flagrant disregard of civil rights and such treatment of workers, that he came away wondering if Elkland was a part of the United States." Elkland is indeed a marvel to behold. The company, the world's largest sole leather factory, owns 108 houses, 291 acres of other land, the company store, the post office, several lots, etc. On all of this, the major part of the town, it pays less than one third of the local taxes. They are able to achieve this miracle because Elkland, which state Senator G. Mason Owlett says is run "the American Way" raises a good share of its budget by occupational and per capita taxes on its workers. Most of such taxes, are collected through deductions from their pay.

Act No. 405 Sec. 3/3 approved July 18, 1935 provides that ten days after demand is made for personal taxes then past due, the collector is directed to make a list of the names of all employees together with amount due from them and give it to employers, who are authorized to deduct same from your wages and pay to said collector.

This requirement will be strictly followed and SHOULD BE APPRECIATED as there are NO COSTS ADDED and will get taxes paid BEFORE THE ADDITIONAL EXPENSES OF WINTER.

Warren K. Billings has been imprisoned for 21 years though his innocence is known by the whole world. The same kind of repressive forces operating in Pennsylvania are responsible for his fate in California.



This appears on the bottom of all Tax statements rendered. All debts in the company store are likewise deducted from the workers wages by the company.

Both the man and his wife pay these personal taxes even though the wife earns no income and has no ordinary taxable property. This system of taxation works out perfectly, for the Elkland Leather Company, since it places the maximum share of the tax burden on the shoulders of the workers. The tie-

The "American Way," for J. B. McNamara: to keep him entombed in Folsom Prison after 26 years. No European country has kept a political prisoner in jail for so long.



up between the company and the political machine is indeed complete, to insure perfect and unhampered control, the company retains as its attorney State Senator G. Mason Owlett, Republican National Committeeman from Pennsylvania and boss of the town and country who was until recently chief solicitor for Elkland borough.

"The workers are handled like peons," says Emory Rockwell, attorney for the National Leather Workers Union, who has himself been threatened by economic reprisals because of his connection with the union. Rockwell's statement is certainly no exaggeration, for Elkland enjoys the reputation of being a town where a man can work for 16 years and during that time receive only two pay checks—one for 2c and the other for 5c. The company controls the lives of the people from birth to death.

Until recently the company has successfully fought all attempts on the part of the workers to organize. They have through their agents used all of the known methods

of intimidation, up to and including threats against the life of any one who so much as attempted to help the men organize. But in spite of the company's efforts to prevent it, a union has grown steadily. But suddenly about May 27th of this year, several men were fired. The company said it was for lack of work. But the men have taken affidavits that it was for union activity and in some cases the foreman told them so. All were union men.

From then on things became tense. An independent union was organized by two lawyers, who, the workers maintain are supported by the company and who extoll the greatness of Tom Girdler. Union men were threatened and drive out of town, by groups of "loyal workers." On June 26th a strike was called. Shortly thereafter, Burns operatives arrived crudely disguised as farmers and were sworn in as borough policemen. Vigilante bands of "loyal workers" were organized. The pressure was terrific, in addition to threats of physical violence, economic pressure was applied. Credit at the company store was immediately cut off to strikers. It was the beginning of a reign of terror against the men who dared to strike in Elkland which Senator G. Mason Owlett says is run "the American Way."

The workers of Elkland are still trying to overcome these terrific handicaps, they are still holding the fort. And they violently disagree with Senator G. Mason Owlett's idea of the American Way.

In Pennsylvania, we have seen workers organize in the face of unbelievable opposition, in the mines, in steel, at Topton, Hershey, and Berwick. Lately these organized workers are learning that they must break the unholy alliance of industry and corrupt political machines. They understand today that they must unite with all progressive groups to protect their Civil Rights. It is out of this understanding that an alliance will grow, alliances of Labor, Farmers, and Church organizations dedicated to the proposition that the constitution, with its bill of rights, is the property of the people.

It was against this background that a committee to sponsor a civil rights conference was recently organized as a result of the initiative of the Pennsylvania International Labor Defense. This conference will deal with the status of civil rights throughout the state and provide the basis for a permanent state-wide federation for their protection. Such organizations as the YWCA, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, A. F. of L., CIO, Methodist Board of Home Missions, church groups, the American League Against War and Fascism, and the I.L.D. are already working actively on the committee. The "call" which has already been issued has been endorsed by trade unions, civic associations, churches and others. It is indeed fitting that such a conference should be called in Philadelphia, the birth place of the American Constitution, because it is through such a federation that the people will be able to expose and rout those elements who use certain sections of the constitution to perpetuate conditions like those in Elkland. It is also highly fitting that the International Labor Defense should play an important role in the organization of a people's civil rights movement since our every activity is designed to uphold the democratic rights and liberties of the people of the United States.

"You Will Have Your Children Back"

(Continued from Page 10)

There is first the story of RETUMBA. His real name is Miguel Ruiz. He is the son of one of the Civil Guards who defended the Alcazar of Toledo for Franco. For days he waited for an opportunity to escape from the fascists and finally he succeeded—through an opening in a cellar made by a loyalist grenade. He ran and ran with two other companions till he found a Loyalist Battalion. His nick-name comes from the fact that whenever aeroplanes whir over Madrid, he throws himself flat upon the ground and cries: "*Que retumba, que retumba.*" (What a noise, what a noise.) He is one of the errand boys at the SRI in Madrid until he is sent on to one of the safe children's homes.

Another story is that of a youngster already safe in one of these homes.

He arrived at the Loyalist trenches one evening, his eyes filled with terror, unable to speak. He is eight years old. A school badge from Cordoba was pinned to his thread-bare coat. He was carried to shelter and lay on a pile of blankets panting for breath. A soldier, getting ready to go back to the trenches, picked up his rifle. The child let forth such a shriek of terror it curdled the blood of all around him.

Then the people from the SRI brought him some milk and bread. He devoured it. Finally he told us his name: "Curro. Father . . . shot." And then after a short pause, "Mother . . . shot."

Then he went to sleep.

A few weeks later the writer saw him again. A new child—lively, eyes sparkling, cheeks rounded and brown from the sunshine, playing happily in a grove of orange trees. His playmate was the small son of a fascist spy. His father had been executed by the loyalist government because he had betrayed the people, but the boy is an equal and welcome guest in the children's home.

PRISONERS RELIEF FOR PRISONERS OF WAR

(Continued from Page 16)

"They are outdoors all day, engage in sports and do actually what they wish to do with one exception—they are not allowed to leave the camp district."

"Yes, they are treated as comrades and not as prisoners," the director said. Here in Valencia there are about 300 of those who were taken during the great victory of the Republican troops in Guadalajara. Sub-officers and a major are among them.

One of the prisoners called the rest together. The Director addressed them:

"The I.L.D. is providing for you in every way. It has given you food, cigarettes, books. Here is a representative of the world-wide I.L.D., who wishes to speak to you. You cannot all talk at once, therefore I suggest that you elect a few who will speak for all."

In a democratic way they chose their representatives themselves. When the director explained that all could listen in, the whole group pushed forward.

I found one that spoke German. He was from Trieste and became an Italian citizen after the World War. Our conversation lasted

two hours and went on without a translator.

At first an older man spoke. He is married, has eight children of whom the oldest is 16. The youngest was one and a half months old at the time of his departure.

"But I did not want to go to any kind of war," he answered when asked if it would not have been better for him to have stayed with his family.

"I was unemployed. I reported together with many others as one who was looking for work and we believed that we were on the way to Abyssinia when we arrived in Spain. We were tricked into coming here!"

I was able to distinguish four different groups among the former Italian soldiers. Besides all of those who had believed that they were on the way to Abyssinia there was also a group of unemployed who had accepted "*work in an unknown place.*" Only when they were on the high seas did they learn that they were to go to Spain. A third group were the members of the fascist militia and finally, the fourth were soldiers of the regular Italian Army who were sent to the insurgents in a compact mass by whole companies with equipment and officers.

But the fascist "*conviction*" is only built upon sand. These people, while here as war prisoners, have become clear on why the fighting is going on in Spain, and they are no longer fascists.

"When we came to Spain everything was done to keep us from coming in contact with the civilian population. We were locked up in a convent which had been changed into barracks and then we were sent directly to the front. We were greeted with enthusiasm in only one single city—that was Valladolid the staff-headquarters of the insurgents."

"What is your impression of the Republican soldiers?"

"They can fight," said one with conviction. He was probably thinking of Guadalajara.

"But they have the right to do so!" said another. "They are fighting for their country! If my government had called me to defend my country that would have been another matter."

"And then we found out that Italians were also fighting on the side of the Spanish people that stood opposed to us."

"How are you getting along here?"

"We have the impression that we are among brothers! Isn't that also your opinion? What do you say about it? And you?"

Affirmative cries grew into a mass chorus.



A "Mediterranean" Trio—Senora Goering, Treador Hitler and Cowboy Goebbels. A French cartoon published before the Nyon conference met—when Hitler insisted on being considered among Mediterranean powers.

"Everyone here, the director as well as all the others treat us in a very friendly way. All of our wishes are fulfilled in so far as it is possible."

"If you were free and could do what you wished to do would you again participate in a war against the Republic?"

"No, no . . . also I would not return to Italy! It is far better to remain here in a grave-yard than to return."



MOONEY NEAR FREEDOM

(Continued from Page 7)

tention, but sent Mooney back to California to exhaust his remedy there on habeas corpus.

Finally the habeas corpus action reached the California Supreme Court. The case has been in this court two years now on a legal action which is supposed to grant summary relief. The Supreme Court of California has had the case under consideration for almost five months now. There seems to be a sit down strike on their part in the Tom Mooney case. Perhaps they wish Mooney had died in his recent illness when he was snatched from a sick bed in a San Francisco hospital and thrown into the main line of San Quentin. That would have prevented them from the embarrassing job of again denying Mooney justice and once more holding up California law to the scorn of an outraged world.

But the decision should come any day. The court will unquestionably react to the pressure which is being brought to force a decision. No doubt Mooney's bid for freedom will be refused. Justice Langdon will dissent and demolish the majority opinion as he did in the Billings pardon hearing in 1930. Langdon knows the frameup. He was the District Attorney whom the utility interests displaced in favor of Charlie Fickert. Perhaps another justice or two will join with Langdon. If they do, that will be a victory in this court.

The case will immediately be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. It should be on the fall calendar. This court, with a consistent and praiseworthy record in recent months on civil liberties cases, should free Mooney. Tom Mooney himself feels that he is nearer freedom than he has ever been. He is realistic, too, and has had too many disappointments in the past to have built up false hopes in this instance. But he genuinely believes that the Supreme Court will free him, and thereby clear the way for Billings' freedom. But Mooney knows that the United States Supreme Court may fail him, and he is prepared for that. He said, "If they refuse to free me, I will take the case to the court of last resort, the workers on the San Fransides, the Ministry of Education feels it will be better for the children and their training to keep them in well-run, centralized homes.

Two case histories will show you what your aid will do:

cisco waterfront. I know I'll get justice there."

While the case was pending in the California Supreme Court, Mooney was transferred back from San Francisco to San Quentin under conditions which all friends of Mooney are acquainted with, and which amounted to as brutal treatment as can be imagined. A storm of nation wide protest save Mooney's life, got him the food he needed.

Now Mooney works in the prison hospital as an orderly. It is a job which requires hours of being on his feet every day of the week, but he does his work in an efficient, uncomplaining manner. Mooney is in good spirits. He has recovered his health. His powers of recuperation are remarkable, considering the seriousness of his illness. Mooney is alert to the affairs of the outside world, full of knowledge about what is happening on the outside, desperately eager to be free in order to participate in the historic battles now being fought on the labor front and throughout the world in behalf of democracy.

The labor movement could use Tom Mooney. When Vito Marcantonio left San Quentin after visiting Mooney he remarked, "I am impressed by the fact that Mooney could step out of prison today and lead a strike successfully." That is the reason why the reactionaries, both in business and in labor, demand that Mooney be kept in prison. They are afraid of Mooney's talents, afraid of the fact that he can become a rallying point for the warring factions of labor, afraid that the rank and file will listen to Tom Mooney when he says, "The working class must follow a labor leader only as long as his program is right." They are afraid of Tom Mooney because he is the living example of the unity of labor and of a militant, bold, and fearless working class which spells the end of reaction both within and without the labor movement.

NEW
LITERATURE



A Trial that Shocked the Nation

"I said—'Oh, my God!' He looked as if he were dead. Blood was coming out of his nose and mouth. He was unconscious. . . . I said: 'For God's sake, let's get out of here.'"

This is part of the testimony contained in "The Trial that Shocked a Nation" a 16-page pamphlet giving the highlights of the sworn testimony before the National Labor Relations Board in its inquiry into the Ford riot of May 26, 1937. On this day union men and women attempted to distribute leaflets

to Ford employees. A police permit for their distribution had been secured from the Dearborn police.

Judge Ralph W. Liddy, Common Pleas Court Judge who made a one-man grand jury investigation into the May 26th events stated: "These citizens, men and women, unarmed and not inviting physical combat, were subjected to physical abuse and detention to an extent unheard in this community within the last generation while the Dearborn police stood passively by. It is a marvel that no fatalities occurred."

The pamphlet is issued under the sponsorship of the National Citizens Committee for the Protection of Civil Rights in the Automobile Industry, which includes Dean Charles Gilkey, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Prof. Broadus Mitchell, Prof. Paul Douglas, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Sherwood Eddy, Rev. Reinhold Neibuhr, Rabbi Stephen Wise and Miss Dorothy Detzer.

The pamphlet is illustrated with pictures of the violence submitted in evidence during the hearing, and contains the sworn testimony of Reverend Raymond Sanford, Chairman, Chicago Commission for Church and Industry, an observer for the Civil Rights Federation; Victor Beresford, Detroit News reporter; Walter Reuther and Richard Frankenstein, UAW Organizers, both severely beaten; Mrs. Katherine Gelles, Ralph Dunham and William Merriweather, UAW members who took part in the distributing and were severely injured; and others.

The Civil Rights Federation, at 310 Hoffmann Building, Detroit, Michigan is taking orders for the pamphlets at 3c per copy; \$2.50 for 100; \$20.00 for 1000, and looks for nationwide response from interested organizations and individuals.

Gadsden, Ala. Investigated

Evidence produced before the current National Labor Relations Board hearing in Gadsden, Alabama confirmed the findings of an unofficial citizens' investigating committee of ministers, educators and writers, whose report has just been released by the Gadsden Central Labor Union.

The report of the citizens' committee finds "repression and frequent violence perpetrated by gangs of well known men at the behest of rubber and steel industries, and either ignored or conspired in by the sheriff's office." The names of Jimmy Karam, ex-football player and notorious leader of Good-year Rubber's strong arm squads and Raymond Knight, Republic Steel vigilante leader, crop up frequently in the testimony of workers who came before the Committee with charges that their constitutional rights had been violated.

The Citizens' Committee, who investigated vigilantism in Gadsden by invitation of the Gadsden Central Labor Union, was composed of Reverend A. M. Freeman of Birmingham, chairman; Prof. H. C. Nixon of Tulane University, co-chairman; Reverend Charles Houk of Birmingham, secretary; Rev. Stewart Meacham of Birmingham; Maxwell Stewart, editor of the Nation; Frank Palmer, editor of People's Press; Leane Zugsmith, novelist, of New York; and Joseph S. Gelders of Birmingham, Southern Representative of the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners.

Printed copies of this report, chock full of direct quotations from the startling testimony given, can be secured at 25 cents each from the Gadsden Law and Order Committee.

Paul and Gertrude Ruegg Freed

By GRACE HUTCHINS

One of the deepest sources of pleasure to those of us who always try to do our share for our brothers and sisters behind the bars, is the news that one of them has been freed.

And this past month has brought us especially glad tidings. Paul and Gertrude Ruegg are free!

Tried and sentenced to death in Nanking, China, in 1932, for no other crime than the devotion of their lives to aid the Chinese people in building a strong trade union movement, world wide protest won for them a commutation to life imprisonment.

For a long time after their trial they were completely hidden away. We were unable to get even letters to them. We were unable to learn the name of the prison where they were separated from each other and their only child and locked away in solitary confinement.

In addition to the work of the International Labor Defense in their behalf, special international committees were organized to fight for their freedom. Distinguished Americans who participated in this protest drive were Senator Wm. Borah, Clarence Darrow, Senators Shipstead and Robert LaFollette, Sinclair Lewis, Oswald Garrison Villard and many others.

Our efforts bore fruit. After several years we were able to write to the Rueggs and receive a few rare and treasured letters from them. They were tragic letters. They told of isolation—of rats which were eating away their only contact with the outside world—books and magazines finally admitted into their cells by the powerful pressure of public opinion and the indefatigable efforts of Mme. Sun Yat-sen in China. Reports would come of their ill-treatment and torture, of their hunger strikes in protest against this savagery.

But the progressive forces that are unifying the Chinese people against the aggression of Japanese imperialism finally prevailed upon the government to respond to the protests of the whole world.

Together with many other Chinese political prisoners they were freed. Good luck to you, Paul and Gertrude Ruegg! Your courageous stand during the long and bitter years of your imprisonment were not only an inspiring example to those of us who worked for your freedom, they are a prophecy of the great services you will yet perform in the cause of liberty and justice. Thousands of Americans rejoice with you and send you their warmest greetings and best wishes.

TEN YEARS LATER

(Continued from Page 9)

shooting men in the back? Why should they said I do things like that, when I love all people, my wife, my children, ideas—I love them all the same. Always my wife and I we try to help everybody. We give little theater shows, we get money for strikes. We get money for all people who need help—not only our own comrades. Catholics too—all people.”

I wasn't prepared for a boy like this, a boy who would wring your heart with his enthusiasm for life and learning.

We went to visit Mrs. Sacco. She lived in a little bungalow on a hillside with woods around. There was a garden. A little blue eyed boy ran to the door to meet us. When you looked at Mrs. Sacco, goodness was what you thought of first, and her beauty next. There was a look of fragility, a transparency to her skin with its sprinkled golden freckles. She had red hair. She looked more Irish than Italian.

She showed us the new baby, and smiling, she showed us the cabinet photograph of herself and Sacco and the little, blue-eyed boy—the photograph Sacco had taken the afternoon of the crime to the Italian consulate and learned about pass-port pictures for the first time.

The trial did not occur until May 7, 1921. It began what was to be known as the Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The case dragged on its slow way for seven years. During those years it had become one of international importance. Not only had workers demonstrated before the American consulates in places as far apart as Paris and Buenos Aires, not only did the workers in Japan and Russia protest, but the horror of the case oppressed even those in the great ministry of Europe. Herriot of France stated: *“I am against this punishment which has lasted for seven years. Sacco and Vanzetti ought to be released. They have earned such a measure of clemency.”* In vain pleas came from high and low. In vain workers demonstrated throughout the world before the American consulates or formed processions, flying banners for the shoemaker and the fish peddler of Massachusetts.

Articles, pamphlets, and even books flooded the country. Felix Frankfurter brought his trained mind to bear upon the case. Appeals poured into the State House in Boston. Telegrams and cables came from all over the world. The night that they suffered their death I was in Paris. All working class Paris paraded in protest. The city was tense as though it were something that was happening within the borders of France. There had been small riots and arrests in the demonstrations held in front of the American embassy. We sat around in groups feeling the hour of doom approaching, feeling the horrible anguish mounting up within us as though a wave of grief had swept over us, the same wave that at the same moment was causing the massing of emotion in Union Square and the assembly of great crowds in Boston.

All through the civilized world people kept watch for the fateful signal that gave notice of the death of these two fighters for working class justice. The moment came when the tension broke in grief. Workers the world over wept over the death of Sacco and Vanzetti.

At this time, ten years later, it is well to remember Vanzetti's immortal words *“Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing—the taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish peddler—all! The last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph.”*

A Share In Labor's Liberty

(Continued from Page 14)

Brant, International Representative, U.E. & R. W., to help us coordinate our work with the labor organizations. This being a gubernatorial year, (New Jersey again, as in most things, being unique in a three year term for governor) the influence of the anti-injunction movement has already been recorded. It is not a case of whether or not the candidate has taken a stand on the Injunction Issue but rather how far he is pledging to go. But labor is not waiting. The A. F. of L. and the CIO are on the march in New Jersey and the I.L.D. is in the forefront with them.

In Memory of SACCO and VANZETTI

*Sacco-Vanzetti, Martyrs brave
You died the working class to save.
Your noble spirit lives on in us
Though your bodies have turned to dust.*

*Your only crime was to be poor
A crime of workers ever more.
You taught the workers every place
Their enemy was the capitalist class.*

*You did not die in vain, my friends,
The capitalists shall find out in the end.
We shall fight on from day to day.
We'll not forget. We will repay.*

*You did not fear.
You died like men.
Because you knew
Your class will win.*

AUNT MOLLY JACKSON
who wrote the miners strike songs in Harlan, Ky.

VOICES FROM PRISON



Original of the letter printed below

From Italian War Prisoners

“Through its brotherly work for us, the Italian war prisoners, the Spanish I.L.D. has proven that it does not harbor against us the least hatred. Its whole activity has been directed towards giving the prisoners the possibility of leading an active life in the fields of culture and education.

“The I.L.D. gave us the means of making our life less monotonous. And how has it done this?

“Through the showing of films, provision of sport apparatus, organization of a library for those who desire to complete their knowledge through the development of broad cultural, literary, political and social knowledge, etc.

“We consider it now to be absolutely necessary to express our thanks to the leaders of this organization which, through its brotherly

help has shown so much interest in the Italian prisoners who are the victims of a base betrayal.

“A bouquet of flowers that the Italian prisoners bring the Spanish I.L.D. is the expression of the feeling of solidarity which has been aroused in us for the first time for all the victims of reaction.

The Italian Prisoners”

Keep Up The Good Work

I am writing to you tonight just to let you know that we are still living and we are still having some real hot weather. I saw in the paper that Tom Mooney was sick and will you please send him my best wishes hoping he will recover soon. I am sending you some clippings from the Greensboro Daily News and the Raleigh Times where they are pushing Judge Stacy for U. S. Judge. That would mean death for the working class for he is one of Senator Bailey's Boys. I get and enjoy all the books you send me and all your letters. You know, that book about Mother Bloor is grand. Lots of the boys here are reading it.

JOHN L. ANDERSON

(One of the Burlington textile workers serving a 10-year sentence on a North Carolina chain-gang).

Schooldays

Received the money order you sent. Was very glad to get it. Many thanks. It will be a great help in getting the children ready for school. I will have to buy all new books this time, as the books are changed. We had to buy one complete set of sixth grade. Books are awfully high this year. Wishing you great success in your fine work.

MRS. DOLLIE KNIGHT

(Mother of Raymond McSurlay, West Virginia miner serving 12 years. She looks after his children.)

That's Just What The Money Was For

Your letter and also the \$25 check received today. My mother is here now in the General Hospital. We have to pay them for giving her treatments because she isn't a citizen of this city. She will have to live here for a year before she could get any treatments in the hospital free. So I am going to take the money you sent and pay the doctor's bill with it. In Montgomery, Alabama where she was stricken she had to pay \$2.00 a day so I will have to send the doctor there \$10. The doctor in our hospital said she was paralyzed in her whole left side and has a busted blood vessel in her head on the left side. Her mouth was drawn around some, but now it is coming back to its place.

The doctor said she was doing fine. We were out to see her today and she told us she felt well and they were very good to her. But of course, she wants to come home.

The doctor said if she got over this stroke, she may not be able to walk any more because her case was a very serious one. I will be writing you often about her condition. She told us that Haywood was doing pretty good (this was before his transfer to the chain-gang—ed.) and he still has faith that you all are going to get them free just like the other boys. His faith is just as strong as all of ours.

I am hoping that the way I spend this money is O.K. with you. It is all going for my mother.

LOUISE PATTERSON

(Haywood Patterson's youngest sister. Mother Patterson was stricken on her way home to Cincinnati after visiting Haywood in Kilby Prison.)

Gallup Prisoners Braver Than Ever

These few lines are in answer to your letter, and we thank you for the money enclosed. At the same time we ask you to excuse us for not answering your letter sooner. We thought we would hold back a little so as we might have some news for you. And now the big moment has come, as you already know, this referring to the outcome of our case. We are still wiggly from the shock. But we are glad that Leandro is going. So this leaves two of us in yet for the frame-up experts to juggle with. This will be all for this time. You will hear from us very soon again. We want you to know that we were not knocked out completely. It was a bad blow. But we will survive. And until the next, we remain your friends as ever,

JUAN OCHOA
MANUEL AVITIA

(Gallup miners serving 45-60 years at hard labor. One Leandro Velarde, has been freed.)

The Most Touching Contribution for the Children In Spain Received by the I.L.D.

Received your letter and money order and I believe that it is needless for me to try to say how much both meant to me, for how is one to explain that warm feeling of being reminded that beyond the wall are friends and an undying solidarity in which all our hopes lie.

I am glad too, that my friends have been able to extend a hand to our war weary brothers across the sea, in the form of ambulances. But I feel sad to think that I have done nothing when a little help to them means so much. Therefore I beg of you not to ignore my request nor to be blind enough to think that I am sacrificing anything in making it, for I know nothing that I could do with my next allowance check that would give me more joy and satisfaction than to read in my next month's letter that my monthly allowance had been accepted as a donation towards the building of a children's home in Spain. Surely this is such a small request that you will not deny it to me for I feel that in this period of extreme misery of those unfortunate enough to find themselves the victims of fascist mass butchering that there is no sacrifice, only a duty, involved in giving all we can to extend a warm hand of international brotherhood to a people in distress—a home for their unfortunate and defenseless children.

If this home for the children is to be built and not merely made of one already standing, I would also like to know if I could offer

a set of plans to be considered. Of course I would have to get the consent of the officials to send it out. But as I am a draftsman by trade and my comrades on this coast have sent me a drafting board I could find no more pleasure in the evenings in my cell than designing this home. Let me know if this is agreeable and how many children would have to be provided for, as well as the amount, if a proposed plan should be considered.

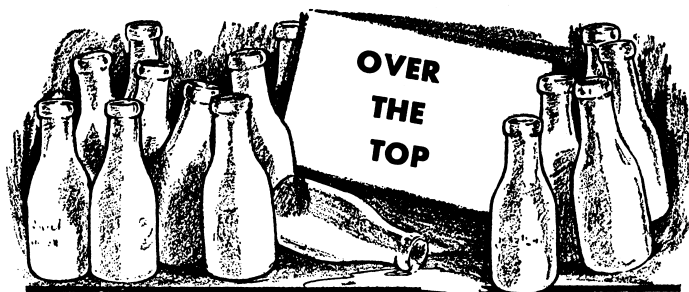
Hoping that you will comply with my request as you have always done and looking with hope to the future which my brothers are moulding I remain,

Faternally yours,

MARTIN WILSON

(One of the Sacramento Boys)

P.S.—I would like also to know where the home would be situated, if I am allowed to design one. Not so much the name of the place as the climatical zone, whether or not the land is level, hilly or mountainous. Also approximately the size and shape of the land and whether there is much snow or heavy rains.



MILK DRIVE OVER--XMAS DRIVE BEGINS

By ROSE BARON, Prisoners Relief Director, I.L.D.

To all our friends and supporter we wish to extend our appreciation and the thanks of labor's prisoners and their families, for their generous response to the 1937 Summer Milk Drive for the Boys and Girls whose fathers are in jail for labor.

The report on the drive to date—not quite final—is the following:

Total income	\$3,908.20
From the districts and branches of the I.L.D. we received	2,317.93
From individual contributors and organizations we received	1,590.27

The donations came from 39 states. The largest contribution made by an organization was \$33.75 from a local of the United Mine Workers of America in Clinton, Indiana. The largest single contribution from an individual was \$50.00.

We are sure that it will be as great a source of pleasure to those who worked to make the drive a success, as it was to us, to know that we not only fulfilled the quota set but are already over the top by \$908.20.

Letters from our families—your families—telling us how much the extra milk money meant, are still coming in. We wish it were

possible for each one of those who participated in this drive to see them all.

But our work never ends. We have finished the Milk Drive—just in time to start the work of the Christmas Winter Relief campaign. Our 1937 campaign is the biggest yet. The quota set is \$25,000. The aim—not only to continue but to extend the scope of our service of solidarity to labor's prisoners and their families. Our rolls will be opened to include for relief, short termers and their families. Our work will register in every jail in the land. Our brotherly hand will be extended to all victims of terror whether their sentence is one week, one month, one year or a lifetime. That's why our fund must be augmented to many times its present total. And we are confident that we can succeed.

Every drive we have undertaken to date has been successful. In most cases we were able to carry our quotas over the top. This year with labor on the march towards progress and unity on a much larger scale than ever before in the history of our country—we feel sure that with the aid of all our old friends and the new friends we hope to win for labor's prisoners—victory will be ours once more.

NOVEMBER

SPECIAL MEMORIAL ISSUE

commemorating the

50th anniversary of the Haymarket Martyrs

10th anniversary of the murder of Sacco-Vanzetti

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National Maritime Union

Mrs. BELLA DODD

American Federation of Teachers

LOUIS WEINSTOCK

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ELMER BROWN

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Widow of Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket Martyrs

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SEND YOUR TRIBUTE TODAY

to

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80 East 11th Street, New York City

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