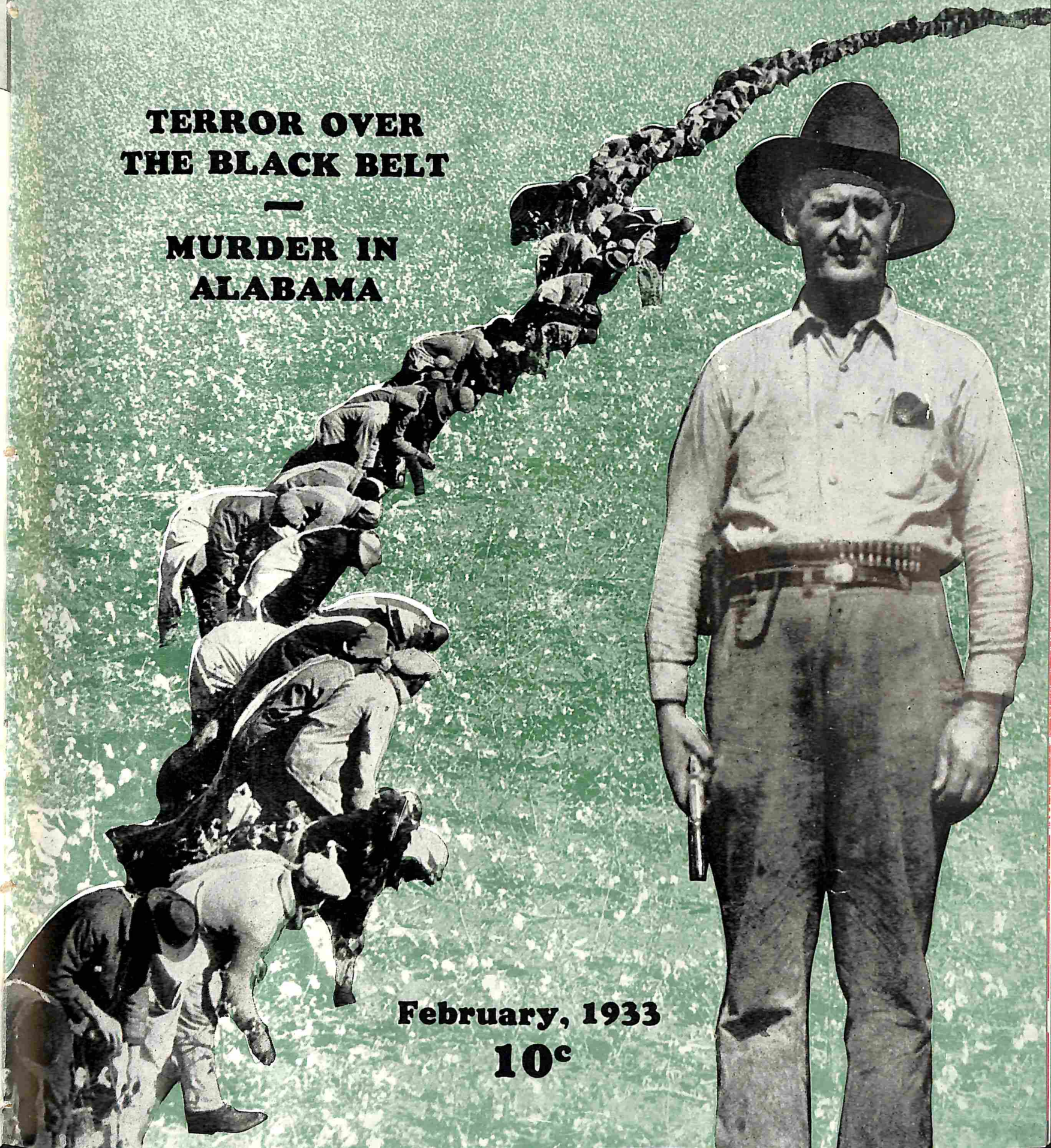


LABOR DEFENDER

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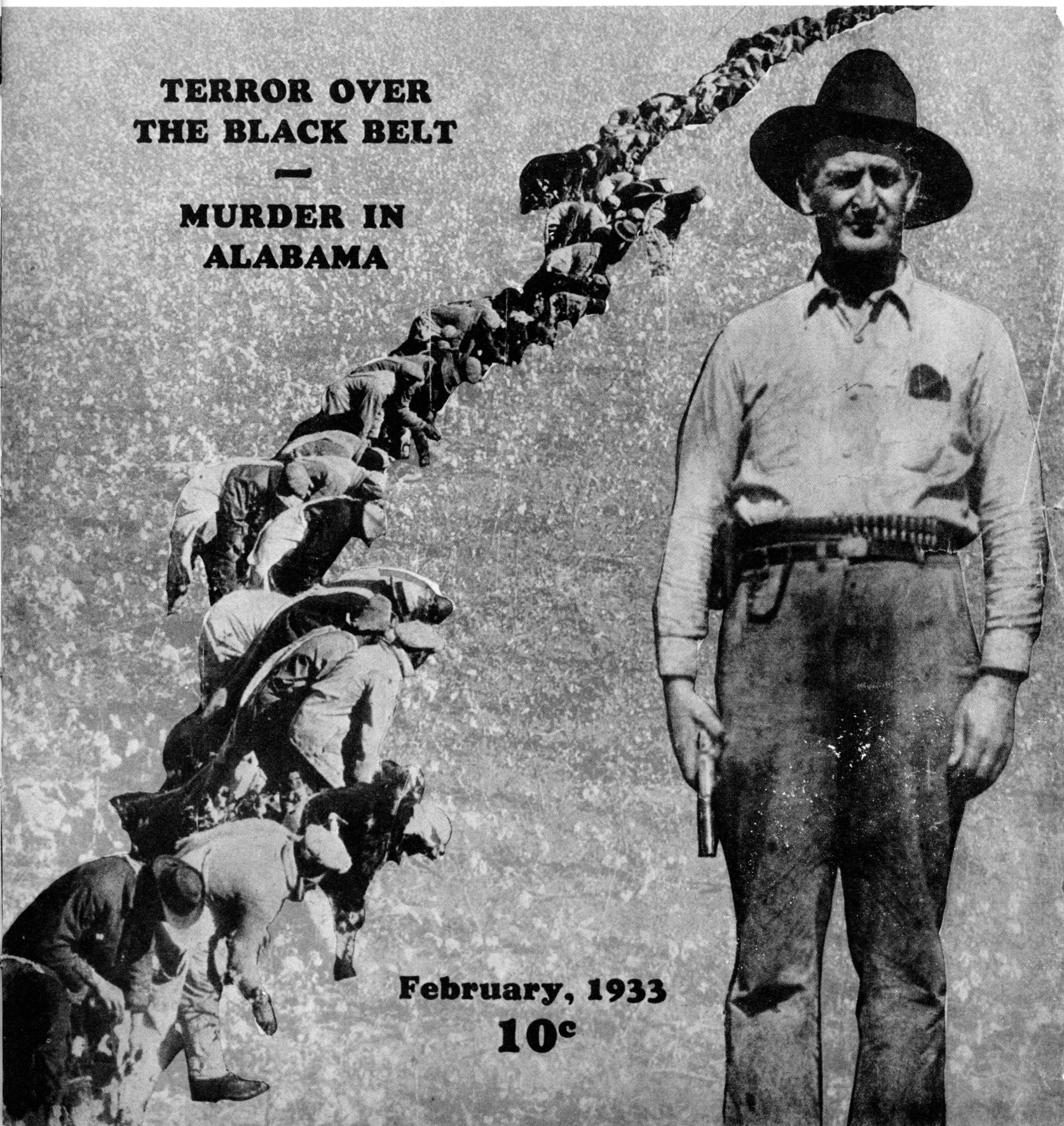
**TERROR OVER
THE BLACK BELT
—
MURDER IN
ALABAMA**



**February, 1933
10¢**

LABOR DEFENDER

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THE BLACK BELT
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ALABAMA**



**February, 1933
10^c**

UNDECLARED WARS OF SOUTH AMERICA

between puppet states
of **WALL STREET**
and **GREAT
BRITAIN.**



WAR. between
BOLIVIA and
PARAGUAY.
Thousands dying
in **GRAN CHACO.**
WAR. between
PERU and
COLOMBIA.
BRAZIL sending
Troopships up
the Amazon.

TERROR
against
WORKERS
& **PEASANTS**
over South America
WHOLESALE MURDER
IMPRISONMENTS
Support Continental
Anti-War Congress
in **URUGUAY**
February 28.

See Editorial
and Page 7

HOF.

LABOR DEFENDER

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TALLAPOOSA COUNTY is cotton country in the heart of the Black Belt. Its marshy flatlands rise to small hillocks with such names as Camp Hill, Liberty Hill. The rattle of the chain gang can be heard on its highways and in the quarries. A majority of the 2,640,000 population of Alabama—and of the 31,000 in Tallapoosa County—are Negroes. Share-croppers, most of them, are part of the nation of Negroes in the South chained to the soil. Tallapoosa County saw the murder of the World War veteran Ralph Gray, July 15, 1931, at Camp Hill as tribute to the landlords for daring the beginning of a Share-Croppers Union. But the union lived on after his death. Its influence spread. White share-croppers in this county are opening their eyes to the fact that the demands of the Share-Croppers Union are their demands—are for the things they are hungry for.

And this realization in Alabama is new and vitally important. For the landowners in this state of Sunny Dixie have tried to impose lynching as a regular social institution. Alabama stands fifth on the lynch roll; and last on the roll of education. Its landowner-organized lynch gangs have murdered almost 500 Negroes since 1882. The Scottsboro case has its locale in Jackson County, Alabama, less than half a day's ride on mule from Tallapoosa County.

Two cows and two mules: this was the landowners' excuse for the latest splurge of mass murder. The report of the "heroic" Sheriff H. Kyle Young (the murderer of Ralph Gray) indicates that the posse came to collect the "cow and mule" for an outstanding debt. In the Black Belt it often happens that a cow and mule is the difference between life and death to the share-croppers. And Clifford James refused the ultimatum of starvation. The sheriff left saying, "I'm going back and get some more men and kill you all in a pile." What happened is described in further pages of this issue.

Of outstanding importance is this fact: *No lynch posse could be formed of white share-croppers in Tallapoosa County. The starving white share-croppers refused to murder the starving Negro share-croppers.*

WE learned that officials of Tuskegee Institute handed over the wounded share-cropper Cliff James to the authorities. He had crawled half dead to the Institute for shelter and aid after being shot down by the deputies. Tuskegee is supported by J. D. Rockefeller, Jr. It is endorsed and supported by the plantation and mill owners of the South. It is backed by such apologists for Wall Street rule as Walter White, W. E. B. Du Bois, and the entire N.A.A.C.P. aggregation of misleaders of the Negro people. It remained for these Negro agents of Wall Street to play the Judas act once more on their own people here in Tallapoosa County.

LEADERS of Tuskegee, the N.A.A.C.P., the Pittsburgh *Courier*, have their niche in capitalist society cut out for them. They must

excuse the lynch mobs: soft pedal the system of enslavement in the South. They dare not admit that an entire nation of Negroes in the U. S. A.—14,000,000—are in the chains of a new slavery—on soil in Dixie or in the steel mills and mines of both North and South. At the same time these misleaders have a special interest in the exploitation of the Negro masses: the N.A.A.C.P. big wigs and their ilk belong to the class of property-owners, run the banks, the newspapers, the insurance companies, the real estate offices that flourish off the Black Ghettoes. A Congressman, De Priest, is not interested in aiding Negroes free themselves from segregation and jim crowism, when he owns the rows of slums in the district in which Negroes are forced to live. And similarly the rest of the Negro misleaders. Their objective role is to betray and fight against the liberation struggles of their people.

EVIDENTLY the reign of terrorism is a preliminary to the coming trial of the Scottsboro boys in Alabama. It paves the way for another attempt at legal lynching of the boys. It is another effort of the white Southern ruling class to terrorize the Negro and white from organizing and protesting on behalf of the nine innocent Negro boys. This massacre rips wide open the curtain of obscurity from the Black Belt—and reveals the fact that nine million Negroes below the Mason and Dixie line are enslaved, new style. And it reveals the further fact that they are organizing and struggling against their lot. Their enslavers are the deporters of foreign born workers, the murderers of bonus marchers and Western farmers, the exploiters of the whole working class.

The I.L.D. branches throughout the country have showered the Alabama authorities—Sheriff H. Kyle Young, at Dadeville, Ala., and Governor B. M. Miller, at Montgomery, Ala., with telegrams such as the following sent by the LABOR DEFENDER:

"We demand immediate end to white landlord and sheriffs' murderous terror against Negro share-croppers. Demand also immediate unconditional release imprisoned Negro share-croppers. Withdrawal of white armed forces. Demand right Negro and white share-croppers to organize unions, to halt mass protest. Negro and white share-croppers on behalf Scottsboro boys is part of your preparations for a new lynch trial in Alabama. We demand immediate freedom of the Scottsboro boys." These telegrams should be continued by all organizations and individuals against mass murder and legal lynching.

IT has been hard for the people of America to forget the Maillefert case. The death of this young prisoner in the barbarous sweat box revealed—in this isolated place—the presence of torture instruments in the prison system of the U. S. A. That this is not restricted to Florida is another question, and one which the LABOR DEFENDER will prove in the course of time. At this writing we are sounding a call to the

American working-class and sympathizers that working-class prisoners in the hells of Florida's prison are going insane. Carlos Lazama and Cesario Alvarez have lost their minds under the stress of torture. Politicals, they are treated worse than criminals. Even the Czarist regime was forced to grant certain privileges to political prisoners. Florida authorities are determined to break these heroic workers on the rack, if necessary, to halt the spread of organization. The fight to win better prison conditions of these workers who are political prisoners, not criminals, must be waged. This is preliminary and part of the fight for their freedom. Else they will be slowly murdered before the mass campaign on their behalf forces the ruling class to free them. The Tampa case must be on the agenda of every I.L.D. branch; of every sympathetic organization. The fourteen remaining Tampa prisoners must be freed from the sweat boxes and the chain gang. Their freedom must be among the first points of business in all working-class meetings throughout the land—and internationally.

FOR the international importance of Tampa must not be miscalculated. The Tampa case is linked with the struggles of the colonial peoples of the Western hemisphere. The Florida tobacco workers consist chiefly of immigrants from the West Indies, Mexico and Latin America. Their case is common knowledge to the bitterly oppressed workers of these lands. What the American workers do on behalf of the Tampa prisoners reflects the solidarity—the Latin American workers feel—of the workers in the U. S. A. with the toiling mass of the Caribbean and South America. Today, as the map opposite this page indicates, undeclared wars are raging in South America. The struggle of the peasants and workers in these lands must be backed up by the workers and farmers of the United States. Mass murders of militant workers fighting against imperialist wars in South America abound. Terror everywhere. Wall Street is fighting Great Britain for the Latin American markets and sources of raw materials. These two imperialist powers are using the puppet states of South America for their ends. Disregarding geographical facts the artist who drew the map brought Tampa closer to South America in order to emphasize the relationship. The fight to free the Tampa prisoners is a weapon in the fight to aid the Latin American masses against the slaughter of boss-war. It is a blow against the torture of the 5,000 political prisoners in Venezuela. For it will hearten the oppressed classes of South America to view the solidarity of the United States workers for the colonial workers imprisoned in Tampa. In addition, of course, we must actively support the Continental Anti-War Congress in Montevideo February 28 and the fight against boss-war thereafter. For not only are the capitalist nations jockeying for war against each other—but at the same time they are trying to patch up differences long enough to attack the Soviet Union.

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A typical southern share cropper's home. A share cropper's wife sitting before her shack in Alabama.

WHAT HAPPENED in Tallapoosa County

DECEMBER 19—Deputy Sheriff Elder came to the house of Clifford James with a writ of attachment for two cows and two mules. The house stood near the town of Reeltown. The writ was taken out by Walter Parker, a rich landowner and merchant of Notasulga. Clifford James, a share cropper and a leader in the Share Croppers Union, refused to give up his work animals to the Sheriff. He had bought the farm from Parker in 1924 and still owed \$950 on it, in spite of mortgages on his crops. He knew that he couldn't pay anything on his debt this year and he told Parker that he couldn't. Parker agreed to make some arrangement but instead sent Sheriff Elder in on Monday, December 19th, with a writ of attachment. James refused to give up the animals. "I'm trying to help you, Cliff," said Sheriff Elder. "Mr. Elder," answered James, "do you think it will help me to take my cows so my family can't have any milk? You're the law, but I won't agree for you to get them." Ned Cobb, another share cropper and James' neighbor, came up and said, "Mr. Elder, please don't take 'em." "Boys, I'll tell you what I'm going to do," said Sheriff Elder. "I'm going back and get some more men and come back and kill you all in a pile."

At about noon he returned with 3 other deputies leading a lynch posse, among them Sheriff Kyle Young, the murderer of Ralph Hill. A meeting of the Share Croppers Union was under way. Just how many share croppers were present is not known. The posse opened fire on the cabin. The share croppers defended themselves.

Officially only Jim McMullen, Negro share

cropper, was killed in the yard before James' cabin. Sheriff Young admitted seeing "four or five dead ones lying around." Four deputies were wounded. The exact number of share croppers wounded is still unknown. Clifford James, though badly wounded, managed to escape. Later in the afternoon after the posse's ammunition gave out and they were forced to retreat, the Share Croppers Union held a meeting at Camp Hill and appointed a committee of 15 to investigate the attack upon them. Sheriff Young telephoned to Governor Miller in the evening. He said that the situation was very grave and that everything must be done to preserve law and order in Tallapoosa county. "All the Negroes have taken to the woods. It will be impossible to trail them tonight. We will go back when it gets daylight and try to arrest them."

DECEMBER 20—Unable to form a posse of white share croppers in Tallapoosa County and frightened by the militant resistance of the Negro share croppers, the sheriffs of Montgomery, Elmore, Macon and Lee counties were recruited and arrived with a lynch gang of about 500 to continue the man-hunt for the Negro share croppers who had escaped. Many of them were hidden and sheltered in the home of poor white share croppers who realized that this was their fight too. Eleven Negroes were arrested.

Protests from all over the country, organized by the International Labor Defense, began to flood into Alabama. Hundreds of telegrams to Governor Miller and Sheriff Young of Tallapoosa. In response to the telegrams, Young said, "We can take care of any Communists in

Tallapoosa County and we don't need any help from the outside. I have called off the hunt until the crowds clear away. Then I'm going there some time with some officers and get the men I want." I.L.D. attorneys immediately made attempts to see the croppers in jail at Tuskegee, Wetumpka, and Dadeville. In most cases permission was refused.

The Birmingham office of the I.L.D. was raided. Everything movable was taken away or scattered over the floor. Even the keys on the typewriter were twisted and broken.

DECEMBER 21—Clifford James, wounded in the shoulder, hid in a ditch and later in the homes of friends. Waiting until dark on Wednesday night, he crawled to Tuskegee Institute for shelter and medical aid.

Milo Bentley, share cropper, was arrested by Sheriff Riley of Macon County. Sheriff Riley reported that Bentley had resisted arrest and that "it was necessary to shoot him"—five times!

Ned Cobb, wounded in the battle on Monday, was arrested.

DECEMBER 24—Clifford James was turned over to the police by the officials of Tuskegee Institute. Dr. Eugene A. Dibble of Tuskegee questioned him, twisted his story and turned him over to the officials of Macon County jail in a dying condition. He was later moved to Montgomery County jail and left naked on the floor of a cell in pitch darkness with the windows closed tight. The dirty bandages on his wounds were not changed.

DECEMBER 27—Clifford James died in Montgomery County jail. After his death, Milo Bentley, who was in the same jail, was hastily moved to Kilby Prison hospital. He died ten and a half hours later.

DECEMBER 28—The International Labor Defense through Attorneys Irwin and Schwab secured writs of habeas corpus for 5 share croppers held incommunicado in Montgomery County jail. Mass protests pour in from all over the country upon Governor Miller, who told a committee consisting of Mrs. W. Nash Reed, Mrs. Mary Craik and Rabbi Benjamin Goldstein that he considered an investigation in Tallapoosa county unnecessary.

Tuskegee Institute has been highly complimented for the role it played in betraying the share croppers. Its work is so much appreciated that it is given a special assignment. "It is obvious from the violence near Tuskegee that the enemies of law and order and of the present system of government have established a considerable foothold among the race that Tuskegee Institute is endeavoring to make into law abiding, useful citizens.

"It is plain therefore that there is additional and even more vital work ahead of the Tuskegee Institution. Lynchings are on the decrease, while Communism is growing. Plain should it be that the harder fight must be conducted against the greater menace." (Memphis *Commercial Appeal*.)

Dadeville, Ala., January 18—Judson Simpson, Ned Cobb, Alfred White, Clinton Moss and Sam Moss, five of the sharecroppers arrested and held in the Dadeville jail as a result of the lynch-attack on December 19, were held for the Grand Jury on charges of assault to murder. Bail was set at \$750 each. Negroes were barred from the court-room during the trial but the place was filled with 300 sympathetic white sharecroppers.

Defense attorneys Schwab and Irwin, of the I. L. D., called to the witness stand Deputy Sheriffs Alford and Gantt who admitted that the attack in Tallapoosa County was part of a prearranged plan for the slaughter of Negro sharecroppers.

The N.A.A.C.P. Overlooks 26 Lynchings!

A Joint Statement by the I.L.D. and L.S.N.R.

TO soft-pedal the crimes of the white ruling class against the Negro masses, to lull these masses into a false sense of security and thus to disarm their watchfulness—that is one of the chief tasks of the misleaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Thus, the N.A.A.C.P., in its annual report on lynchings, deceives the Negro masses as to the extent of the present terrible wave of lynch-terror.

A startling report of the extent and nature of this lynch-terror was released some weeks ago by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. In this report, the L.S.N.R. warned the Negro masses, and the militant white workers, that every effort would be made by the reformist organizations to bring down the true total of lynchings, to deny the lynch-character of certain murders because in the lynch-crowds was a sheriff or deputy. That this warning was justified is shown conclusively in the annual report of the N.A.A.C.P. national office.

Here are some outstanding examples of lynchings which the N.A.A.C.P. officials refuse to class as lynchings:

A lynch-gang wiped out an entire Negro family of seven in Senatobia, Mississippi, in September. Accompanied by white men, women and children, Sheriff A. C. Williams invaded the home of Judge Crawford, in search of another Negro, Jesse Williams.

When Crawford said he knew nothing of the whereabouts of Williams, he was struck down and then the wholesale killing of his family began. The dead are Judge Crawford, father; Annie Crawford, mother; three sons, a daughter and a son-in-law.

The misleaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People say that this outright murder of an entire family by a lynch-gang was not a lynching.

An organized murder ring to kill Negro railway firemen was revealed when five white men, arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, admitted that they were part of a group formed to murder Negro employees. Cold-blooded attempts to murder Negro firemen resulted in the reign of terror in the South in 1932. Seven Negroes were killed from ambush. The murderers were paid from a pool, on the basis of \$25 to \$125, depending on the degree of their accuracy in firing.

The N.A.A.C.P. misleaders say that these cold-blooded murders were not lynchings.

Why?

Whenever a lynching is reported, the misleaders of the N.A.A.C.P. get into communication with government officials in the state. If these white government officials can show that in the lynch-gang there was a man with the silver badge of a sheriff, or some other officer of the law, then the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. is satisfied that the lynching was "official." That lynching is then stricken from the list.

Thus the terrible lynch-orgy at Senatobia, which wiped out seven Negroes in one family, was not a lynching—because Sheriff Williams graced the lynch-crowd that gathered at the Negro cabin. The lynching of Ed Dunlap, levee worker, at Greenville, Miss., in November, was not a lynching—because Dunlap was shot down by a lynch-gang led by a sheriff!

A large number of other cases could be cited. The net result is that the N.A.A.C.P. misleaders have once more been able to give out the lying information that a "decrease in lynchings" has taken place.

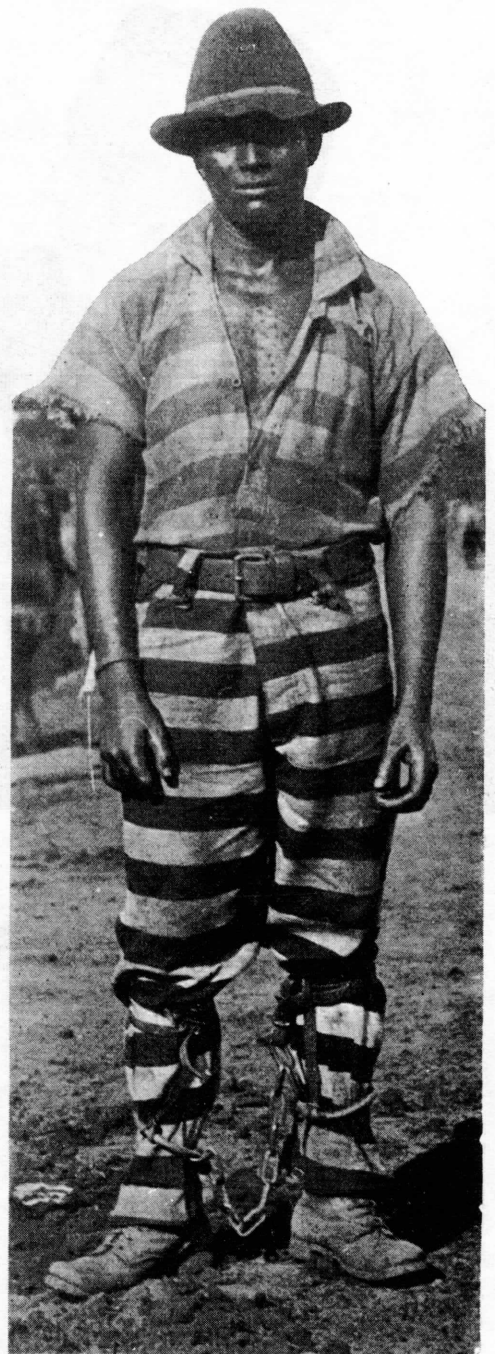
While the League of Struggle for Negro Rights has shown that there are records of at least 37 instances in 1932* in which persons were lynched—that is, killed by more or less organized groups by shooting, hanging, burning or drowning—the national office of the N.A.A.C.P., by omitting case after case of plain lynchings, brings the list down to 11.

Tuskegee Institute, which this last month aided in the lynching of Cliff James, Negro leader of the Notasulga, Alabama, share-croppers, by turning him over to the sheriffs, when he went to the Tuskegee Hospital for aid for his wounds—Tuskegee Institute is able to make an even better showing for the white rulers. It has managed to reduce the list to eight.

The International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights herewith accuse the misleaders of the N.A.A.C.P., and the officials of Tuskegee Institute, of deliberately suppressing information about the lynch-terror in the United States this past year.

We accuse the misleaders of these two institutions of deliberately deceiving the membership of the N.A.A.C.P., and the Negro and white toiling masses generally, as to the present lynch-terror; a deception which, if not exposed, would result in throwing the Negro masses and the militant white workers off their guard against the lynchers. We accuse them of omitting the lynchings led by officials, in order to

prevent the Negro masses from recognizing these state and local officials as the best assistants of the lynchers; and in order to keep these masses from entering into struggle against the whole lynch system. We accuse them of deceiving the Negro masses as to the extent and nature of the present



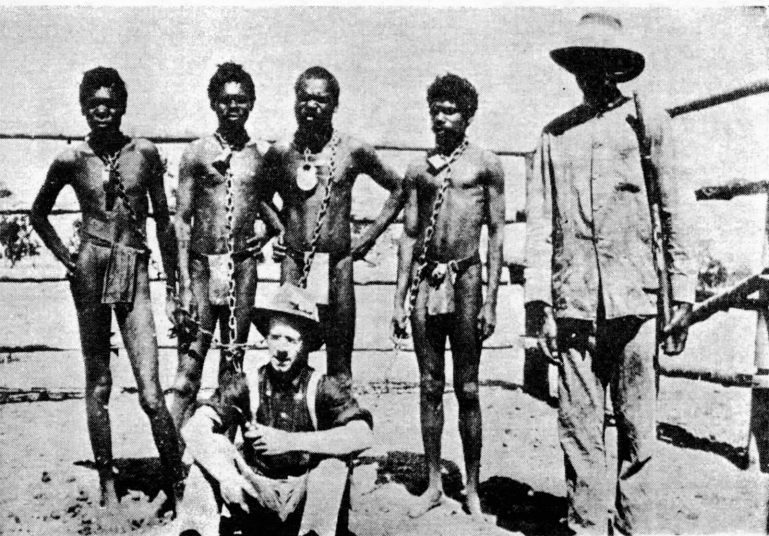
Young Negro worker on a Georgia chain gang. The shackles weigh more than 20 pounds. (Photo from "Georgia Nigger.")

lynch-terror, because, unless these masses can be so deceived, they will turn to united struggle with the militant white workers against the lynchers.

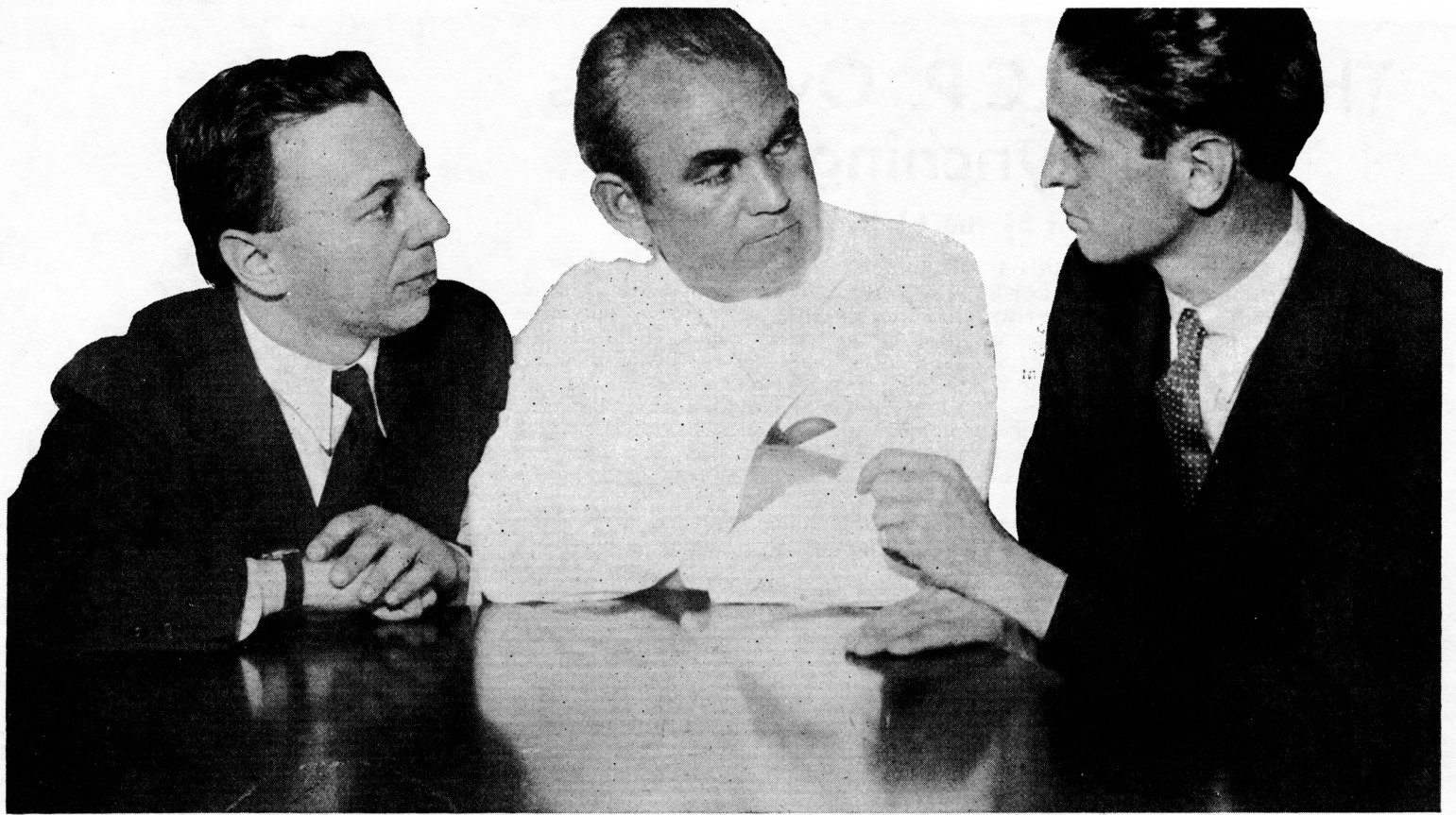
In the face of the large number of lynchings committed by sheriffs and their posses this last year; in the face of the large number of legal lynchings which have been committed or which are in process; in the face of unparalleled police terror and police murders of Negro share-croppers and Negro unemployed; in the face of official efforts to cover up lynchings; in the face of the official whitewash of lynchings, which attained the status of a fine governmental art in 1932—in the face of all this, the misleaders of the N.A.A.C.P. dare say that the lynch-spirit is the "focal problem of law-enforcement in America." (Our emphasis.)

Tuskegee Institute, now official and much-praised assistant to the Alabama lynchers, also urges "reliance on the law." There were 31 instances, it proudly reports, in which "officers

(Continued on page 18)



Shackles for Negro natives of Australia, too.



Face to face with the man he unknowingly helped convict. Paul Callicotte (extreme right) speaking to Tom Mooney and I. L. D. Attorney Goodman.

Face to Face With Tom Mooney

By PAUL M. CALLICOTTE

IT isn't easy to meet and talk with a man who has served 16 years in prison for a crime you may have committed.

I learned this recently when I talked with Tom Mooney behind the drab walls of San Quentin prison, the penal institution that has been his "Home" since 1916.

The meeting was held when I went to San Francisco to relate to the grand jury my story that I unwittingly planted the Preparedness-day bomb at Stewart and Market Streets.

When Mooney walked smilingly into the visitors' room at the penitentiary, I was trembling and admittedly frightened. I was seeing the man, who, perhaps, had given 16 years of his life because of my silence. Face to face with Mooney, I quickly realized that it was the first time in my life I had ever seen him. He was not the man who gave me the suitcase in Oakland nor was he the one to whom I delivered the valise to in San Francisco. Mooney was not at all bitter. Nor was he angry. He greeted me pleasantly and throughout our conversation always called me "Paul." No matter what the police or public think of my story, Tom Mooney believes it. Leon V. Jenkins, Chief of Police of Portland, Oregon, believes it. District Attorney Matthew Brady of San Francisco believes it. Theodore Dreiser, famous writer, believes it. Aaron Sapiro, N. Y. Lawyer, Lincoln Steffens, internationally known journalist and many others believe my story.

Who doesn't believe it? For one, there's Captain Charles Goff. Goff, in a public statement, said: "I am firmly convinced that Callicotte is 'Spooing' and that he is a 'Publicity Hound'." Goff, it will be remembered, was one of District Attorney Fickert's tools who helped gather "evidence" that sent Mooney and Billings to prison for life.

The meeting with Mooney and the events leading to it were the most dramatic of my life. As I stood on the deck of the ferryboat

thoughts of the past crowded my mind. I pictured that day in July when I was paid \$5 for carrying the suitcase across the bay, and remembered how I had set the grip on the sidewalk alongside the Exchange Bar a short time before the fatal explosion.

Now, after 16 years, I was again crossing the bay, but this time bound for San Quentin prison and an interview with the man who California authorities say was responsible for the bombing. Accompanying me to the prison were Irvin Goodman, Portland attorney, who represents the Tom Mooney Molders Defense League; Anna Mooney, a sister of Tom, and a photographer and reporter of the *Call-Bulletin*.

Warden James B. Holohan of San Quentin granted us permission to visit Mooney and allowed the photographer to take pictures of the meeting. He then escorted us to the main building where we were led into a room where a number of guards were standing and a few convicts were checking in supplies. Mooney was sent for and soon appeared.

After the first greeting and we posed for pictures, Anna Mooney and I were directed to the visitors' room, where I talked with Tom Mooney for nearly an hour.

I'll always remember the way Mooney talked. He said:

"Paul, if you had gone to the police and told them what you knew and what you had done, they would have told you to shut up or they would have run you out of town.

"The San Francisco authorities wanted to get me, to fasten something on me, and they did. They put me here and they are going to keep me here as long as they can.

"Now, Paul, my case is not just an ordinary case. It must be handled with care. I know what a grand jury will do in my case.

I have had 16 years' experience with them. Paul, I ask you not to tell your story to the secret session of the grand jury. I ask you to tell your story openly, that all may hear. I want to arouse public opinion. I want the public to know how I was framed and why I was framed. I will not accept a parole. I am an innocent man and I demand an unconditional pardon at once."

After Mooney finished this conversation, I repeated my story of the unwitting role I believe I played in the bomb outrage. Mooney interrupted my story several times to request more details on certain points. He asked for minute descriptions of the two men who paid me to deliver the suitcase and had me retell where and how I met them. All this I did to the best of my knowledge and when we left, Tom Mooney was smiling happily.

Since that talk I have been asked a number of questions concerning the celebrated prisoner. "What do you think of Mooney?"

"Is his hair really gray?"

"How does he talk, and what about?"

"What does he think of your belated confession?"

These are but a few of the interrogations of friends. Some I have already answered. Others, I will attempt to answer now.

On my way to San Quentin I expected to see a beaten man, one who had given up all hope.

But a surprise awaited me. When I came face to face with Mooney I met a smiling man. He was dressed in a white suit, white shirt and tie. His hair is gray; his sideburns black—the color of his hair when he entered prison. As I looked at him in his white outfit he reminded me of a physician—dressed for the surgery.

He speaks forcefully, but in mild tones and, in most of his conversation, at least with me, he spoke of the rights of the working man and reiterated his stand that he will uphold these rights even if it means his remaining in jail for life. (Continued on page 18)

We Need Your Help

JAPAN has the most reactionary government in the Far East. Its puppet government in Manchuria is but a mask of its plan to attack the Soviet Union and for destroying the Chinese Revolution. It has a big army entrenched in North China and in Manchuria; it has established an air-station in Kabafuto and in northern Japan for conducting war from the air against the revolutionary workers and peasants of China and Russia.

There are 3,000,000 unemployed workers in Japan, and many more work only part time. The burden of heavy taxation, high rents and loss of land has plunged the farmers into the misery of starvation. Workers and farmers are worse off than those who because of poverty were at one time forced to emigrate to the United States. To conceal this condition, the Japanese government has declared the so-called "Emergency Period for War."

The fear of rebellion on the part of workers and farmers at home is deep in the hearts of the Japanese imperialists. To escape this danger they have resorted to war in Manchuria and to terror within the country. When starving peasants demanded rice from the government's warehouses, police arrested them, beat and tortured them. Construction workers who toil 12 hours a day for 4 cents daily were attacked by armed police and gangsters when they demanded higher wages. Some of these workers were killed. In all the large cities of Japan, such as Tokyo, workers are stopped on the streets and searched for reading matter that might contain revolutionary writing. All the left-wing organizations, including those of cultural character, have become illegal or semi-illegal. All revolu-

tionary struggle must be carried on underground as in Russia during the Czaristic regimes. Since the wholesale arrest of members of the Communist Party on March 15, 1928, revolutionary workers have been continuously imprisoned.

Over 3,000 Communists and revolutionary workers are now in jail. Last summer, Comrade Ueda, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, was brutally murdered. On November 2nd, Comrade Iwata, one of the leaders of the Communist Party, was beaten to death in the metropolitan police station in Tokyo.

On October 29th, 181 Communists and revolutionary workers who had been arrested since 1928, were sentenced to an aggregate of 776 years and 6 months. Among them, Comrades Sano, Nabeyma, Mitamura and Ichikawa were sentenced to life imprisonment. The rest, 177, received sentences from several years to 15. The trial lasted half a year. Four years have passed

since they were sentenced, and during these years they have been tortured in jail and are under threats of death. During their trials the prosecuting attorney failed to mention the reason why these comrades were indicted. The Court suppressed the fact that these comrades fought for the freedom of the working-class.

Despite the attempts of the capitalist class of Japan to suppress the facts of the trial, workers throughout the world hear of them. In America, the International Labor Defense, the sister organization of the Seki-Shoku-Kyuenkai (Japanese section of the Red Aid), protested against the imprisonment of the Communists in Japan.

The Japanese masses are engaged in a determined struggle to demand that the imprisoned comrades be immediately and unconditionally released. The "Association for Immediate Release," based on broad mass organization, organizes mass protest meetings, open-air demonstrations and signature campaign under the leadership of the Seki-Shoku-Kyuenkai.

The Japanese comrades remember with thanks the several hundred Yen which Japanese workers in America sent to us after the wholesale arrests on March 15, 1928. Comrades in America, the wave of reaction is sweeping over Japan! Relief for the class-war victims is an urgent task.

We in Japan hope that all of you, especially the Japanese workers in America, will help by supporting this system for the further development of workers' solidarity.

Comrades in America, demonstrate before the Japanese Embassy and Consulates for the immediate and unconditional release of the 181 Communists.



Police terror in Japan. Japanese workers forced to hold their meetings under the searching eyes of the Japanese police.

Support the Montevideo Congress Against War

SOUTH AMERICA is not only an armed camp. In many sections of that vast continent undeclared war is taking the lives of tens of thousands. The native ruling classes respond to the dictates of the moneyed powers of U. S. or Britain, as the case may be, whose interests in the vast untapped wealth of Latin America—oil, minerals, agriculture, cattle-raising, etc.—are provoking fierce struggles. Great Britain against the U. S. A. The battle for markets is on—and has been widening ever since Yankee imperialism's interests in South America rose from \$2,000,000,000 in 1914 to \$5,000,000,000 in 1932. Rose to equal the investments of the British ruling-class.

The crisis forces the big powers to fight all the harder for the markets. And this is the secret for the undeclared wars spreading throughout Latin America. A call issued by the organizational committee of the Latin American Anti War Congress is of vast importance to the workers and all sincere anti-war elements in the U. S.

It says in part: "The greediness of the imperialists and their native allies in Latin Amer-

ica, the semi-feudal landlords and the incipient national bourgeoisies, is shedding rivers of blood in the Chaco region, has provoked armed conflicts on the frontiers of Peru, with Ecuador and Colombia giving rise to the bloody warfare in South America. And these are just the beginnings. Day by day the tenseness in Argentine-Bolivian and Bolivian-Uruguay relations is increasing. We have just witnessed the rupture of diplomatic relations between Argentina and Uruguay."

The call points out that terror rises to unreached heights against the toilers and peasantry in this period. "All this hunger, war and reactionary drive is part of the impending world imperialist offensive." . . . "We are on the verge of a new world butchery, far more bloody than that of 1914-1918 and in which there will be no neutrals." Airplanes, deadly poison gases, bacteria loaded bombs, long range cannon will bring death to the women, children, aged and invalids of the cities. The call tells of Japan's role in China and Manchuria; of the mobilization of forces simultaneously for *attack on*

the Soviet Union and the war upon the Chinese Soviets."

"We must fight against war or perish in war serving imperialism." Reference is made to the Amsterdam congress against war: and its counterpart that has been proposed by the Latin American Confederation of Labor. It calls upon all trade unions, Indian and Negro organizations, student institutions, leagues of small traders and small proprietors, and anti-imperialist intellectuals, on all those who are decidedly ready to struggle against war, to take part in the great Continental Anti War Congress which will take place in Montevideo, beginning February 28, 1933. The aim will be the preparations for an effective struggle against war and against imperialism—its instigator: and to unify all force for such action. The call is signed by Miguel Contreras, general secretary of the Latin American Confederation of Labor; Dr. Nidya Lamarque, chairman of the National Anti War Committee of Argentina, Berbane Michelena, chairman of the National Anti War Committee of Uruguay.



Guardian of the Florida Prison Camp system and proud of it. Warden standing before a sweat box, where many workers, Negro and white, have been tortured and killed. In such horror chambers the Tampa prisoners are driven insane.

We Cry to You From Florida's Dungeons

WE prisoners are still persecuted inside the very prisons in which we are. Two or three weeks ago there was a strike in the Road Camp of Indian Town where Angel Cabrera and Ismael Cruz are serving one year. They were put in the sweat box because they protested the savage treatment and the rotten food, then for this all the prisoners of the camp, Negro and white, protested vigorously, won the strike, forcing the brutal capitalists to give their convicts a "little more" of consideration and to take our comrades out of the sweat box tortures.

The state officials made an investigation about this case and reported that it was originated by some of the radicals who are serving one year time for an inciting to riot charge. This, of course, is to justify the capitalist's attitude and further punishments they will give to our comrades. Their life is in danger.

Worker after worker is being deported to Cuba, illegally and without charges of any kind. "Suspicion" of being members of the Tampa Tobacco Worker Industrial Union is enough evidence for the Immigration authorities to send the cigar workers to jail for nine or ten months and then deport them. Concrete facts of this are the cases of Joe Ferras, J. Espinoza, R. V. Aguila, Sotero Gonzales, a Negro, P. Aedaya, Blanco, M. Fernandez—all cigar workers who have lived in Tampa for years and now deported, leave their families in the misery and suffering. This evening they deported another worker, A. Vega.

All these deportation cases are very widely advertised by the radio and local newspapers to further terrorize the cigar workers from organizing into the union for the fight against wage cuts, unemployment, and the most brutal conditions of exploitation.

The Tampa workers have shown their great sympathy for the revolutionary struggle. Their militancy in the class struggle is historic. A short time ago two of our comrades, Hy Gordon and Crawford, here, were going to be lynched by the police and gangsters. They were tarred

and feathered after being beaten almost to death. One of them, Fred Crawford, is still very sick in the hospital fighting between life and death, yet not a single report of this affair in our papers, not a single protest, neither a resolution. How can the great masses of the American working-class come to our defense and understand our call? How can it be possible to build a serious mass defense and solidarity with such negligence manifested by our responsible comrades?

We have seen in Tampa the children of all the public schools singing the Internationale while marching by the streets to join ten thousand workers who strike under the direct leadership of the Trade Union Unity League—a strike of great political character and significance, because this strike was to demand freedom of us, 17 Communist workers, and took place in the most backward section of the South.

The workers here facing the worst terror are not terrorized. The announcement of the participation of the Communist Party in the ballots gave a gigantic enthusiasm to the Tampa workers. When Hathaway, the campaign manager of the Communist Party, was going to speak in the Labor Temple for the party in his national tour, the police closed the doors and arrested several workers taking with them all the literature and papers they found in the building. One day before the elections the police came again and took down all the election posters, more leaflets, papers, books, some signs and what not and burned all this in the street before the Labor Temple to show the workers what "men" they are. Yet our comrades during the whole night went all over the city and workers' sections to post in the street walls more big signs with the Foster and Ford pictures. They put plenty of them in the Negro sections. The police were like dogs after them with black paint and a brush to cover up the faces of our candidates, the slogans and the hammer and sickle. They put a little more of paint in the slogan that reads "Equal Rights for Negroes and Self-Determination of the Black Belt. . ."

One more word about our case. It will be before the Supreme Court of the state soon. We are waiting for an appeal. If you comrades start now a national mass defense for us, we 14 workers will be put free of the bosses' lynchers. But if you continue as till today, we have to go to the penitentiary to die there. That means another defeat for the working-class of America. And their challenge of the Southern lynchers to the working proletariat. But we are not pessimistic. We believe in class solidarity. If the International Labor Defense and revolutionary working-class defeated American imperialism so far in the great Scottsboro case, then make another vibrant triumph of the working-class—win the Tampa case.

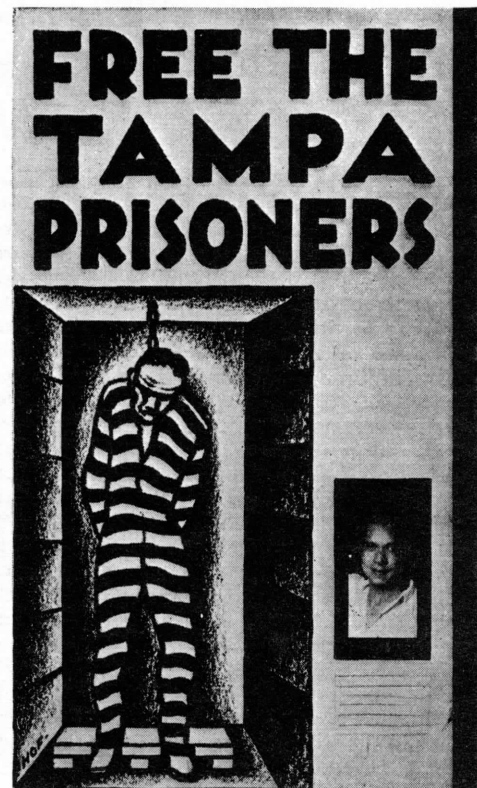
With proletarian greetings from all of us, political prisoners of Tampa.

JAN. 20.—Homer Barton, jobless leader in Tampa, has been convicted and sentenced to five days under a city ordinance for "being a known Communist and found in Tampa." The I.L.D. will appeal this case to the Supreme Court if necessary to smash this anti-working-class ordinance.

A reign of terror has broken out anew. When four workers called to see Barton in jail, one was beaten and almost choked to death, and three others were arrested on the same charge as Barton. Manuel Menendez was the one beaten. Those arrested were Armando Lopez, Eviqueta Palacios, and Yorkina Romero.

Last minute news from Tampa inform us that Homer Barton was released on a writ of habeas corpus on Saturday, January 21, but immediately rearrested by county and immigration agents. He is now held with any charge.

Flood the office of Governor Scholtz with these post cards. Get them from the nearest I. L. D. branch or from the National Office. Send hundreds of thousands to Tallahassee, Fla.



LATEST SCOTTSBORO NEWS!

Just as this issue goes to press, two important new developments in the Scottsboro case are announced.

On Jan. 23, in Jefferson County Court, Birmingham, Ala., a writ of habeas corpus demanding the release of Roy Wright, youngest of the Scottsboro boys, whose trial was declared a mistrial in the original lynch-hearing in Scottsboro, but who has been illegally held in jail ever since, will be argued. Atty. Gen. Thomas Knight of Ala., the chief of police of Huntsville and the desk sergeant at the Huntsville, Ala., police station, have been subpoenaed to appear. I. L. D. attorneys will demand that they produce the letter of Ruby Bates in which she categorically denies the charges against the Scottsboro boys. Ruby Bates has also been subpoenaed. Mrs. Wright will also appear to testify to Roy's age.

The I. L. D. has also announced that Samuel S. Leibowitz, one of the most prominent, and reputedly the most able, criminal lawyer in the country, to defend the boys at the re-trial of the Scottsboro boys next March. With him will be associated as Chief defense counsel, General George W. Chamlee of Chattanooga, and Joseph Brodsky and Irving Schwab, New York I. L. D. attorneys.

FLASH!—HERNDON ATLANTA "6" TO TRIAL

JAN. 20.—Angelo Herndon, 19-year-old Negro unemployed organizer, was sentenced to 18-20 years hard labor in Atlanta, Ga., under an "insurrection law" which dates back to 1866 and is unconstitutional. The Jim Crow court which sentenced him excluded Negroes from the jury. I.L.D. Attorneys Davis and Geer, both Negroes, immediately secured a writ of habeas corpus pending appeal and filed motion for a new trial. The I.L.D. won an important partial victory in the Herndon case in December, 1932, forcing Herndon's release on bail by the reduction of the amount from \$25,000 to \$2,500.

The fight to save Herndon from death on the chain gang will be linked with the fight against exclusion of Negroes from juries.

On Jan. 23, the famous Atlanta "6," arrested two years ago on the same charge, with the same penalty, will be called to trial.

The "crime" committed by these workers was organization of Negro and white workers, and advocating their unity in the class struggle.

The Atlanta "6" are Henry Story and Gilmer Brady, Negroes; Mary Dalton, Anne Burlak, H. M. Powers, and Joe Carr, white. The indictments against them are based on their distribution of a leaflet with an illustration of a Negro and a white worker shaking hands.



When I Was on the Chain Gang

By BECK KERR

"My sympathies are with Robert Elliott Burns in his fight against being returned to Georgia. I have read everything which he has written about the Georgia prisons and I know it to be true, for I have been there, having served four years and a month. I could tell a far worse tale than any told by Mr. Burns about the half-animals who have charge of the Georgia chain gangs.

"I have stood and watched a Negro man beaten to death with a thick leather strap bradged to a hickory handle, and then saw his death reported in the Atlanta papers as being due to pneumonia.

"More than 2,200 prisoners worked in the coal mines at Durham. The owners of the mines gave each man a minimum amount of coal to dig and if he fell short of this amount he was whipped unmercifully. As the men were marched out of the mines the deputy warden would stand at the entrance and call out the names of the men who were on the short list. Ten licks on the naked skin would be given for 150 pounds, fifty licks for 1,000 pounds short and more in proportion. Many of these men were inexperienced as miners and could not do their 'task' at first, but were beaten until they were able to turn out the work expected of them. We were 'shorted' in our food and clothes when the deputy warden was down on us. The place was a regular living hell, unfit for animals, let alone human beings.

"When any one died, and deaths were frequent, the bodies were laid out in front of the wash house door and we had to step over the bodies to get into the wash house. I have seen bodies jumped on in this place.

"On one occasion I saw the bodies of two Negro convicts placed in a single box for burial. The box was made of undressed pine lumber. A Negro trusty placed the bodies in the box, one on top of the other. The lid would not go on the box and the trusty climbed up on top of the bodies and rammed them down with his knees, cursing horribly all the while.

"David O. Webb, an Atlanta street car con-

ductor, was received at the prison. He had a crippled arm and was not physically fit to dig coal. However, he was placed in the mines and given a 'task' of coal to dig. He was unable to do this task and was frequently beaten and abused for it. One day he told me casually that there was going to be a little hell in the yard. Shortly Deputy Warden Walter Mitchell appeared and called Webb, telling him to take his 'pants down,' which was the preliminary order preceding a beating. Webb said that he was not going to be whipped.

The deputy warden called to guards to seize him. Webb then pulled a razor and dared any one to touch him. Mitchell pulled his gun and said that he would kill him. Webb told Mitchell to go ahead and kill him, that he had twenty years to stay there and be beaten for not doing the impossible and he would rather be dead.

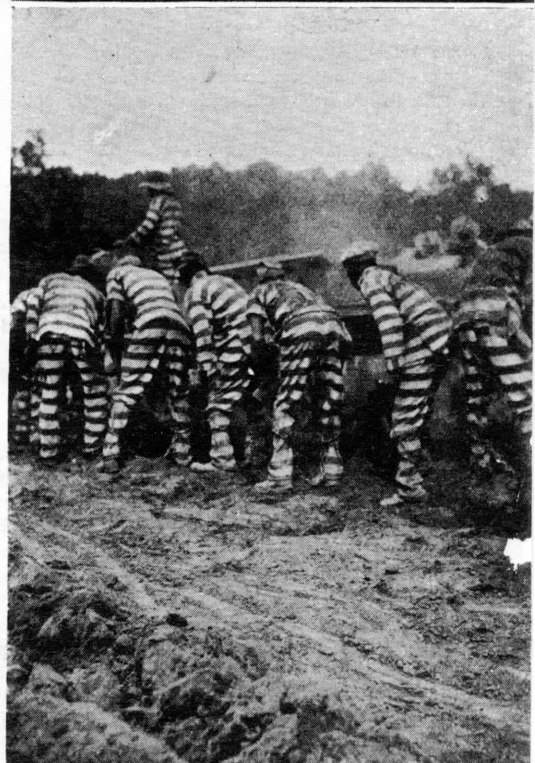
"The warden then said that he would give him a short time to think it over before killing him. The convict replied that he did not need any time, that he would rather be killed than whipped. Webb then leaned over and told Mitchell to shoot and the deputy warden deliberately shot him through the neck just below the ears. Webb died while they were taking him to the hospital. The newspapers reported the death as having occurred while Webb was trying to escape. Webb was buried with the double shackles which he was wearing when shot, still on his legs. This was recalled later and the body was dug up and the shackles taken off to be used on other convicts.

"I could tell of many other acts of bestial cruelty, but the story would take up too much space."

1. As mean as he looks. Warden of a Georgia prison camp.

2. No rest, no let up, when you get on the chain gang, building roads—free—for the state of Georgia.

3. And if you try to escape—blood hounds! (Photos from "Georgia Nigger.")



Dixie—Where a Nation is Chained to the Soil

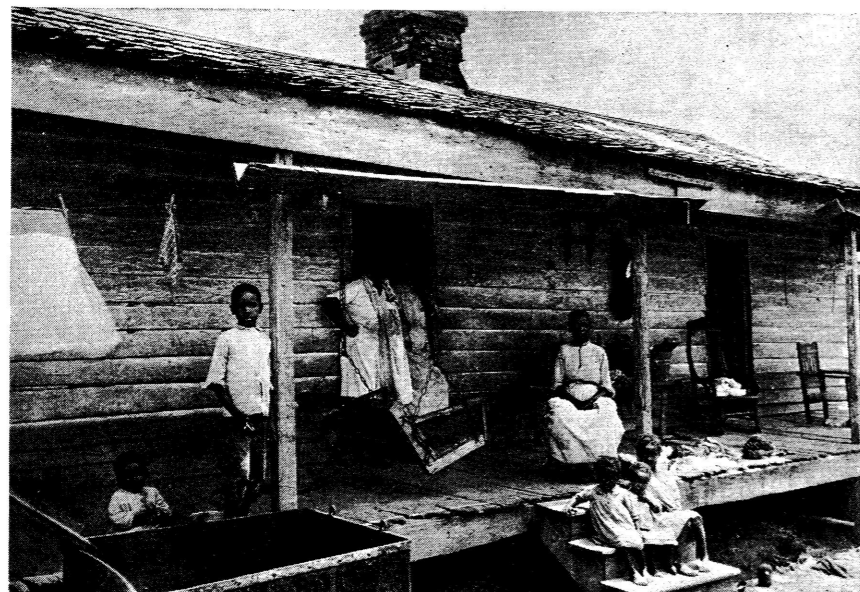
By JAMES S. ALLEN



THE blaze of guns at Reeltown (Notasulga), Alabama, on December 19, 1932, informed the world in staccato terms for the second time in a little over a year that the Negro sharecroppers of Alabama's Black Belt had entered upon a determined struggle with the ruling class. Fire from old shotguns shook the very ground under the century-old system of oppression and exploitation. It was not so much the number of shots fired by the Negro peasants, but the issues at stake, blazoned across the heavens in flame, that set the ground trembling under the feet of the slave-drivers and bankers who had sucked the life-blood from millions of Negro peons, ever since modern slavery first watered the soil of the Southern cotton plantations.

What had been evident only in isolated instances or in blurred form before, became clearly evident with the first armed clash of the Tallapoosa County croppers and the landlord-capitalist power in the battle at Camp Hill on July 15, 1931. No sooner did the Negro sharecroppers begin the organization of their Union and enter upon a struggle for the most "elementary" economic demands, when they found the whole lynch-terror power arrayed against them. Without even the slightest pretensions of "democracy," without any recourse to the usual formal trappings of capitalism, the landowners and credit merchants set out to destroy the Union with bullets and fire—for the system of which they are the lords recognizes no human rights for the Negroes and needs no pretty dressing for the barrels of its guns.

To one uninitiated to the semi-feudal tenant system which enslaves the Negro peasantry of the Black Belt and extends its ball and chain to all layers of the Negro toiling population, the demands raised by the Sharecroppers' Union would seem "elementary" enough. But inherent in their demands and in the fact that Negro croppers even dared to formulate them and organize around them, was a thrust at the whole economic basis of the enslavement of the Negro people. They de-



manded the continuation of food allowances: the food—from one to two dollars worth of coarse corn meal and fatback for each family for a week—which is supplied by the landlord or credit merchant at exorbitant prices and at high interest to be taken off the croppers' part of the crop at harvest, had been cut off by the landowners on July 1 after the crop had already been cultivated, leaving the peasants to starve until cotton-picking time in September. They demanded the right to sell their cotton themselves ("Let it stick where it is picked," is how the croppers phrase it): for the landowner always sees to it that the cotton travels directly from the fields into his own barn. They demanded cash settlement for the season at cotton-picking time: for the planter never gives his cropper any kind of cash settlement, seeing to it (he keeps the accounts) that he owes the cropper nothing, but instead that the cropper owes him and is therefore forced to remain in debt slavery. They demanded the right to have their own gardens: for the cropper is forced to plant cotton and corn which the landlord can take and sell, while a cropper's garden would deprive the planter of a great source of profit from "selling" food. They demanded a 9-month Negro school with free school bus: for 30 per cent of the Negro children in the South do not go to school at all and most of the other children go only for two or three months in the whole year—to provide more "hands" for the planter on the fields. And uppermost in the whole agitation of the croppers was the demand for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys.

But the landlord power learned a bitter lesson, which now has been administered in even a sharper dose at Reeltown. They found that they were not dealing with "Uncle Toms" and that "Simon Legree" no longer evoked the terror he had been accustomed to. They suffered from the illusion that things would go as well for them as at Elaine, Arkansas, in 1919, when a share-croppers union was smashed and 200 Negroes killed by the Bourbon terror. They found that the idyllic picture drawn up for them by the Negro gentlemen at neighboring Tuskegee Institute of a cringing, submissive Negro peon, existed only in the imagination of these gentlemen. For the Negro croppers defended themselves, and although it was only

buckshot they had against rifle bullets and machine guns, they were able to stop the terror short after it had murdered Ralph Gray, cropper leader, and caused four others to "disappear."

And if the lords of rope and faggot moved cautiously it was due not only to the fact that the croppers were organized and militant, but to the very uncomfortable and penetrating thought that the eyes of the world masses were turned on Alabama. The Scottsboro case had encircled the world and the Negroes were no longer an isolated people suffering and struggling in a hidden corner but had entered the field of battle in alliance with the most potent revolutionary force in the world—the working class.

It was not the croppers who retreated in this

first clash. The big landlord clique stepped back aghast before the immensity of the struggle opened at Camp Hill. For it was the first forerunner, and Reeltown the second at even a faster clip, of the whole revolutionary struggle for Negro liberation. Tallapoosa County, Alabama, differs from the other 350 counties of the Black Belt which runs like a sickle through 12 Southern states, only in the fact that the Negro peasants there have definitely and unequivocally entered upon the struggle for national emancipation. Otherwise the conditions of exploitation and oppression of the Negro majority throughout the Black Belt are the same. The majority of the Negroes here are landless peasants. From a standard of living which can hardly be called living they have been thrust into the very



jaws of the crisis by the planters and bankers. The rules of ordinary "civilized" capitalist society are suspended for them; instead the ruling class has called forth from a previous century especially brutal methods of terrorization and torture. They are an oppressed people, forcibly retarded at a level of economic and social growth below that of any other layer of the American population. And as the "lowest layer" they are likely to move first and in such a manner as to burst asunder the whole top rock of century-old oppression. The whole direction of the movement can only be towards the possession of land which has been denied the Negro peasantry although they form the majority on this land, and have ever since cotton first began to blossom in the South. And as history is not bashful in pronouncing: the cry for land is accompanied by the cry for freedom—in this case the cry for the right of self-determination, the right of the Negro majority to set up a republic and choose for themselves whether to remain totally independent or be federated with the existing government of the United States.

All this is inherent in the Scottsboro case and in both battles in Alabama. Both the Camp Hill and Reeltown conflicts have shown that the slightest struggle carried on by the Negroes in the Black Belt immediately raises paramount issues for solution and inevitably takes on a most serious character. The Black Belt is, at present, the most sensitive spot in the whole armor of American imperialism. Events in Alabama and the Scottsboro case have transplanted Lenin's words into the soil of the South: "The tendency of every act of resistance on the part of oppressed peoples is the national uprising."

The continued and persistent organization work by the croppers in Alabama after the Camp Hill battle showed that the movement was so deeply rooted that it could withstand terrific shocks. The croppers continued their work. The Union spread into four adjoining counties. Action was again taken. Croppers on one large plantation won the right to sell their own cotton; on another plantation relief was obtained from the planter for a number of starving cropper families. Literature was distributed. When planters asked Sheriff Young, who led the lynch mob at Camp Hill in 1932, to



raid the cabins of the cropper leaders and confiscate the literature, he replied: "As long as they leave me alone, I'll leave them alone." The planter power had become extremely wary.

For the croppers were showing signs of advance on the most crucial point—the winning over of the white tenants and small white landowners. "Poor whites" were fraternizing with the Negroes! They came into their cabins, borrowed and lent from meagre cupboards—and sat down to eat from the same table with Negroes. White tenants were inquiring as to how to join the Union. The crisis was grinding out its grave-diggers.

Summer had left more than its share of starvation. Winter came to Tallapoosa—into bare cabins with empty cupboards. The planters pressed hard, lifting cattle and whatever belongings still remained to the croppers. Both sides were gathering their forces. And when the landlord power tried to take Cliff James' mules in payment for a debt to a big white landowner, they tried once too often. The details of what ensued is too well known for us to go into here, except to emphasize—and this cannot be over-emphasized—the fact that the "poor whites" of Tallapoosa had reached the point where they helped the Negroes by various methods to resist and finally force the withdrawal of the lynch gangs.

Nor must we overlook the role played by Tuskegee Institute, the bastard child of Booker T. Washington and the Bourbons. The act of its officials in turning over the wounded Negro sharecroppers, Cliff James and Bentley, to the ruling class to be murdered, was merely the act of sealing in the blood of the Negro masses an alliance with the lynchers which had been in force for fifty years.

Camp Hill, Reeltown, and—these, and others will come, are but forerunners of the fundamental struggle for Negro liberation. They face the working class as a token of the militancy and revolutionary power of the Negro masses. They must evoke from the working class a fervent and immediate tender of immediate and material aid.

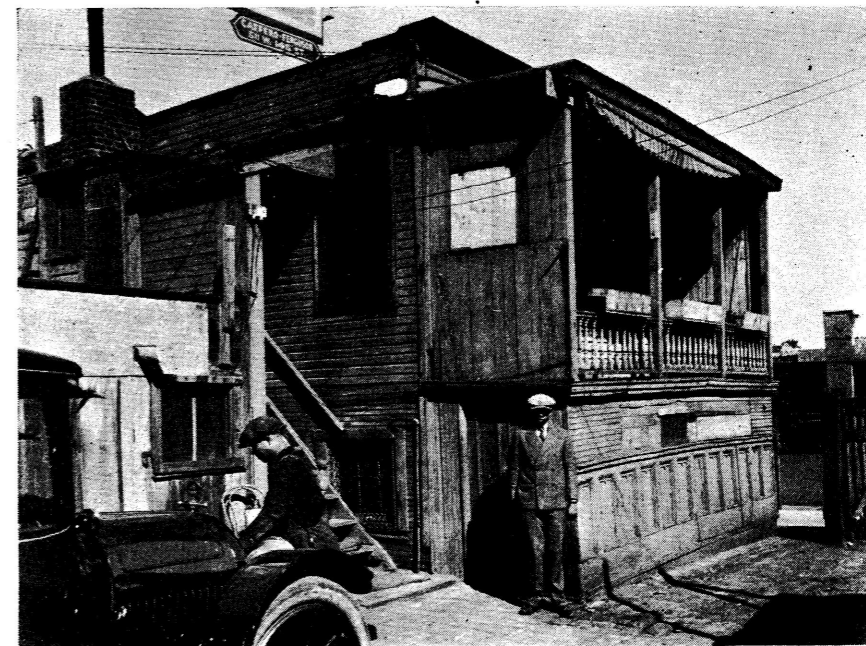
UPPER LEFT: *The Fiery Cross. Symbol of terror and lynching raised whenever the Ku Klux Klan gathers at the bosses' call to frighten the Negroes into silence.*

LOWER LEFT: *Home. This wretched hovel is home to three generations of Negro plantation hands in the Bayou country of Louisiana.*

CENTER: *Cotton is King—and the southern ruling class his henchman. Bent backs, aching fingers, starvation wages, Jim Crowism and lynching for the Negro workers. Alabama cotton has once more been stained with their blood.*

UPPER RIGHT: *Negro and white—unite. Negro ex-serviceman calling on a crowd of Negro and white workers for a militant fight against starvation and persecution.*

LOWER RIGHT: *In the "free" North. What used to seem the haven of refuge to Southern Negroes—Harlem. The same Jim Crow streets, schools, treatment—and houses like this one don't look much better than share croppers shacks in the Black Belt.*



Scottsboro—Our Next Tasks

By WM. L. PATTERSON

THE struggle to save the 9 Scottsboro boys has been raised to an extremely high political level. The very government of the United States has become an open participant. It has used its powers indiscriminately in an attempt to smash the defense. This is reflected most clearly in its communication with every capitalist European country, where its representatives were instructed: "Stop the mass protest demonstrations for the Scottsboro boys." These demonstrations expose the murderous policy of national oppression which existed in America, exposed the hypocrisy of its lofty declarations of democratic government. The creators of the Scottsboro murder trial have been placed on the defensive and are trying to beat back the outraged protest movement it has aroused.

The European workers, further stimulated by the presence of a Scottsboro mother and J. Louis Engdahl, late National Chairman of the International Labor Defense, crowded into the streets in which American consulates and embassies were located, before these to protest the murderous lynch verdict against 9 innocent boys, and the vicious Jim Crow system from which it flowed. Their voices could not be stifled.

In the Soviet Union, where the oppression of innumerable national minorities ended with the October Revolution, the workers and toiling masses, free from police terror, rallied by hundreds of thousands in support of the defense of the Scottsboro boys. It was their experience in fighting against the influence of racial-national chauvinism that enabled them to react so rapidly and speedily to the defense of the Scottsboro boys.

European workers raised the banner of international working class solidarity high on the walls of defense struggle. In the struggle to save the lives of their Negro brothers some of them lost their own, murdered by the police European imperialism sent into the streets in answer to the Wall Street government's damnable directive, but the European workers and sympathizers built stronger their defense organizations in the defense of Scottsboro.

J. Louis Engdahl died a martyr on this front of class struggle. The death of this able leader helped to steel the European workers for greater struggle. But in the United States, where the Scottsboro case was born amid the struggles of the working class and toiling masses against starvation and mass unemployment, we failed to organizationally strengthen the International Labor Defense, our weapon of defense struggles in this heroic struggle.

Why have we failed to fill the ranks of the International Labor Defense when at the same time we have won tremendous influence through Scottsboro? Because we have not penetrated into the masses with Scottsboro. Its flame blinded us to the smaller Scottsboros in every hamlet and every city. It was a magnet which would and did attract tens of thousands, but they saw their own daily defense struggles rather than Scottsboro as an inseparable part of their

lives. The hideousness of the crime of Scottsboro detracted our attention from those Scottsboros of lesser magnitude. We did not develop the local defense struggles. These local struggles, these day to day denials of equal rights to the Negro masses, these increasing defense struggles of the whole working class must be linked with Scottsboro. Scottsboro is an inseparable part of them. Merged together greater strength is gained for each.

The struggle to save the innocent Negro boys who for two years have eaten, drunk and slept within sight of the electric chair must be raised to a higher political level. The ruling class sought through the Scottsboro terror to chill the blood of the earth-crushed Negro masses, but their liberation struggles have been raised to a higher level. The toiling Negro masses stand ready to defend their rights, and as in the cases of the Alabama share-croppers, they are defending the rights of the white toiling masses as well. The Scottsboro defense will steel both Negro and white toiling masses as it clears their vision to the forces aligned against them and shows to them their common interests. Scottsboro is pregnant with struggle. Well might the profit-seeking landlords whose dollars drip blood say, "We want no more Scottsboros." Every recent major struggle of the American working class has borne aloft the banner "Save the Scottsboro boys" — and every struggle has thereby gained addi-

ed strength for itself.

We have got now to find the link that binds our national campaigns together. Scottsboro with Mooney, Scottsboro with Tampa,—Scottsboro-Mooney-Tampa,—the defense of the Alabama share-croppers—these are major defense tasks flowing from the same source of ruling class oppression, but these must be inseparably linked together with local struggles for the tasks of defense can be successfully achieved only if we draw hundreds of thousands of more workers and sympathizers into the struggle as part and parcel of this defense organization.

We must develop a united front of defense around these struggles. Negro reformists, Socialist leaders, renegades—these agents of the ruling class must be isolated from the masses they seek to lead. Freed from this drag upon them the masses must be drawn energetically into the struggle around each case, organized in a defense committee, but it must be a united front committee. It must be formed of all who are willing to fight for that particular issue against which we are struggling. It can well be named for that issue. We must examine each situation, keep our ear to the demands of the masses. There must be no attempt to force upon this committee the entire program of the International Labor Defense. Gradually, through the correctness of our policy in the united front activities must we prove the correctness of the whole policy of the International Labor Defense.

Our momentary victorious Scottsboro struggle will enable us to go forward to complete victory. The basis has been laid by our activities and the proved correctness of our methods for the development of a mass defense organization. Only our own inner weaknesses can prevent our realization of this. These weaknesses which are keeping us from the masses must be overcome. We must go to the masses with the story of how our partial victory in the Scottsboro case was won, how our enemies were up to the present moment defeated. We must go into the shops, from house to house, among the employed and the unemployed workers, the organized and the unorganized, those in reformist and those in revolutionary trade unions, Negro and white, native born and foreign born, young and old.

The Communist members of the International Labor Defense must understand that the International Labor Defense is not a Communist organization, must recognize that he is the best Communist whose activities best enable that organization of which he is a part to function to reach the masses, to clarify the masses as to their interests, to draw them into struggle.

Free all of the class war prisoners!

Build the I.L.D. in struggle!

In the Shadow of Booker T. Washington. This statue was made as a memorial to Booker T. Washington symbolizing his protection of Negroes. It stands at Tuskegee Institute. Third from the left is Principal Moton of Tuskegee, who turned Cliff James over to the Alabama police—to die.



A Call to Stop the Deportation Terror

From EDITH BERKMAN

TWO years ago, on February 27, 1931, I was snatched out of a successful strike struggle and arrested for deportation. During these two years all the schemes of the bosses' "deportation department," to deport me was stopped through the organized protest of the International Labor Defense. Now, after two years of continuous persecution, I was released—for recovery from tuberculosis contracted during my imprisonment.

Since the February, 1931, Lawrence strike the Department of Labor is used by the bosses, as an open strike breaker. During the Lawrence strike the first time telegraphic warrants for deportation of union organizers were used. Since then every strike has deportation cases. Every strike, demonstration or hunger march is followed by—singling out of foreign-born workers for deportation. This is done for many reasons: to terrorize the millions of underpaid and starving foreign-born workers, to focus the attention, through the boss controlled press, on the fact that "only foreigners are Reds," to divide the workers into native and foreign-born.

Can we stop the deportation terror? My release on \$1,000 bond, after the Department of

Labor was ready to deport me to Poland, should serve as a signal, to all, that mass protest will bring victories.

And let no one say that the I. L. D.'s policy of workers' mass defense through demonstrations, protest delegations, sending of protest letters and telegrams does not help to defeat terror. Yes, comrades, if it were not for the nationwide protest and my 10-day Hunger Strike I would now be in a Polish dungeon, dying from T. B. If not for the world-wide protest the Scottsboro boys would have been dead long ago. But mass protest without continuity of the defense movement defeats the bosses' terror only partially. To defeat the terror successfully we must increase the membership of the I. L. D. We must build new branches and get workers' unions and other organizations to affiliate with the I. L. D. And above all we should connect the deportation struggle with our fight against starvation.

To stop deportations we must organize a broad, united front movement. In every city conferences and meetings should be called. Special

leaflets should be issued teaching the workers how to behave when questioned by Immigration inspectors. *The fight against the terror means a fight for the right to organize—for the right to build fighting unions.*

Deportation Doak and many district immigration (read deportation) commissioners will be replaced when Roosevelt becomes president. A "Democratic" set of deportation officials will come into power. The workers must be ready for renewed terror. We must prepare to greet the "Democratic" deportation officials with the following demands:

1. The right of all foreign-born workers, now out on bail to remain in America.
2. A stop to the deportation terror.
3. The right of all workers to organize and to strike.
4. Against the Dies Deportation Bill.

Only through the organized might of the workers have I been saved from deportation to Poland. Only the solidarity of all workers will win freedom not only for those held for deportation but for Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, and all class war prisoners.

Douglass Day—February 13

By RICHARD B. MOORE

The ILD calls upon the masses in the United States to make Feb. 13th, Day of Struggle for the release of the Scottsboro Boys, the Negro share croppers of Alabama, the Tampa workers, Tom Mooney and all victims of capitalist terror.

For on Feb. 12 the boss oppressors will again seek to use the birthday of Abraham Lincoln as an occasion to spread illusions of freedom to quiet the starving, terrorized masses. They will attempt to commemorate the emancipation that failed to free the Negro people and which laid the basis for the present slavery of all the toilers, black and white.

But we shall celebrate Feb. 13th in commemoration of struggle waged against chattel slavery by Frederick Douglass, militant Negro abolitionist. We shall utilize the tradition of that great struggle to strengthen the fight for the Negro share croppers, the Scottsboro boys and for the immediate unconditional release of all class-war prisoners.

For today we witness massacres of Negro

farmers who dare organize against slavery and starvation. How empty and hypocritical is the disgusting boss drivel about emancipation to the millions of terrorized Negro and White toilers who are crushed under the iron heel of capitalist terror and slavery?

In the jails at Kilby and Montgomery, the nine Scottsboro boys are still held by the Alabama lynch master, eight of them in death cells. The partial victory gained by the international mass struggle led by the ILD which forced Supreme Court to reverse the death sentences must not be made complete victory. The Negro share croppers of Alabama victims of the recent murderous attack, must be freed; the struggle must be raised in defense of Angelo Herndon and the six Atlanta workers, Negro and white whom the Georgia slave-masters are moving to electrocute under an old slave statute enacted before the Civil War.

The Tampa tobacco workers, tortured on the chain gang, two already driven into insanity, must be torn from the clutches of Florida inquisition. The fight for the freedom of Edith Berkman, Frank Borich, Vincent Kamenovich, militant leaders of the textile and miners strike struggles, must be strengthened. Tom Mooney must be saved from the living death in San Quentin jail.

The week of Feb. 5-13 should be a week of intensive activity in the factories and working class neighborhoods and among the organizations of the toilers black and white to mobilize the masses for the united struggle against boss terror. Let Feb. 13th ring with the protest of the toilers. Mass actions—protest meetings, street parades and demonstrations of all the workers and poor farmers, Negro and white, native and foreign born, must be organized. Strengthen the Scottsboro-Mooney campaign. Build the solidarity of the Negro and white toilers in common struggle against the terrorists drive. Raise the struggle to free the nine innocent Scottsboro boys, Tom Mooney, the Negro share croppers, the Tampa workers and all class-war prisoners.

BULLETIN

On February 11, 1933, a hearing on the one remaining indictment against Tom Mooney will be held, to determine whether or not he will get a new trial. This indictment has stood since 1916. District Attorney Fickert succeeded in getting all the other indictments against Mooney dismissed after he was convicted. But this one, for the killing of one of the victims of the bombing remained. The present District Attorney Brady is trying to get rid of this one now.

This remaining indictment is Tom Mooney's chance for a new trial. *It must not be dismissed.* The I. L. D. doesn't want it dismissed. Tom Mooney doesn't either.

The hearing of February 11 must result in a new trial for Tom Mooney. San Francisco must be flooded with telegrams from now until February 11th demanding the granting of a motion for a new trial and demanding that Tom Mooney appear in person to argue the motion for a new trial.

Telegrams should be addressed to JUDGE LOUIS WARD, SUPERIOR COURT HALL OF JUSTICE, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Demonstrations and street meetings will be held all over the country on the evening of February 10 and the morning of February 11 demanding a new trial for Tom Mooney, the release of the Scottsboro boys and the freedom of all class-war prisoners. Attend the meetings. Get your organizations, unions, branches and clubs to send telegrams and resolutions to San Francisco on February 11. Only mass protest will win a new trial for Tom Mooney.

We Have Not Forgotten Harry Sims

In February, 1932, Harry Sims, 19-year-old Natl. Miners' Union organizer, was murdered in Kentucky. The cold-blooded shooting of this young leader was only one of the many acts of terror committed by the coal operators' police and deputy sheriffs in Harlan, Kentucky.

Harry Sims lost his life in the battle against terror, in the battle for the right to organize and fight against starvation. He must not be forgotten and the best way in which we can honor his memory is the building of a mass International Labor Defense, a broad and powerful organization for mass defense against every form of terror and persecution.



The Problems of United Front Against Boss Terror

By FRANK SPECTOR

On November 7, 1932, the U. S. Supreme Court yielded to tremendous mass-pressure, organized and led internationally by the I. L. D. and I. R. A. and granted a new trial to the seven Scottsboro boys.

True to its nature, the U. S. Supreme Court — the supreme class-justice instrument of American capitalism—in its very decision sought to rob the black and white toilers of the fruits of their victory. It reversed the Scottsboro lynch-verdict not upon the fundamental issues raised by the I. L. D., such as barring of Negroes from jury service, the lynch trial setting, the frame-up nature of the whole case, etc. It rejected these fundamental issues and concerned itself solely with a comparatively less important question of "right to counsel," thus intimating to the Alabama lynchers that if they chose legal-lynching of Negroes they must perform it "according to Hoyle."

TASKS OF THE I. L. D.

Our victory is but partial, the Scottsboro boys still remain in the clutches of Alabama lynchers, and are therefore still in great danger with their lives. The I. L. D. therefore still faces the task of their speedy and unconditional liberation, as well as their safety. The decisive factor in the final victory in the Scottsboro case is yet greater mobilization of black and white people—workers, farmers, intellectuals—to storm the legal and mob-lynch system of the white ruling class.

The mobilization of such force will not be achieved unless we put into use the most effective organizational form, a form that can move a tremendous number of people united around an immediate burning question — the smashing of the Scottsboro frame-up—the symbol of national oppression of fourteen million Negroes in the United States. Such organizational form is the United Front.

WHAT IS A UNITED FRONT?

United front on the field of struggle against boss-terror is a tactic through which we can unite large numbers of workers and honest middle-class people upon a specific, burning defense issue, without the condition of acceptance of the whole program of the I. L. D. or its formal leadership.

Such a tactic does not for a moment mean that we are to conceal the I. L. D., or give up its organizational form. On the contrary, while we are "one of the organizations" that make up the United Front, it is through our initiative in undertaking and our efforts at building the united front that we build the I. L. D. and recruit into our ranks workers and middle-class people. In the course of the united-front, they begin to recognize in the I. L. D. a militant, courageous and capable leader in defense struggles. Such a recognition comes not merely because our name is International Labor Defense,

but comes through our correct and skillful political leadership backed by deeds—tireless devoted and exemplary work on the part of the I. L. D. members in the United Front bodies.

WRONG METHODS IN BUILDING UNITED FRONT CONFERENCES

In the burning defense issues of today's struggle against boss terror and national oppression, United Front Conferences are powerful instruments in the workers' hands. The utmost care must therefore be used to build such conferences as real, living bodies, expressive of the will of the masses to struggle against capitalist terror.

Our successes achieved of late could have been far greater, were the I. L. D. an able organizer besides being a good agitator. In the course of the Scottsboro campaign, we have built numberless conferences. With a few exceptions those quickly petered out because they were organized with a United Front purpose in words only. In deeds they were narrow, sectarian bodies, almost duplicating the I. L. D. itself, and containing, for the most part, the same people.

All the methods that heretofore resulted in the narrowing down of the United Front conference should be ruthlessly discarded. The most notorious among them is to "mail a call to all organizations upon whose addresses we come across, and sit and wait to see what will happen." What generally "happens"—a few left wing organizations respond; their delegates gather, listen to long and tedious resolutions, elect a few on the executive committee. Finally the "conference" disbands to await the next spurt.

We must state outright that any I. L. D. District or City Committee which is at present engaged in building, or intends to build, a "United Front" conference within the narrow sectarian limits of left wing ("inside") organizations will do better to give up the effort at once. The net result obtained from such "united front" is generally nothing organizationally. In fact it tends to retard the I. L. D. growth and lowers the morale of our membership. Such activity is merely distortion of the united front tactic.

HOW TO BUILD LOCAL SCOTTSBORO CONFERENCES

The following are some of the elementary organizational steps necessary for initiation and building of a broad United Front Scottsboro Conference.

1. Organize a small but representative provisional committee containing well-known Negro and white people—workers, intellectuals, professionals—known as honest and courageous sympathizers with the struggle for liberation of the Scottsboro boys, Tom Mooney, Tampa prisoners, etc.

2. Let this provisional committee draft a call for a city-wide United Front Scottsboro

Conference, setting forth the need for united efforts of all people, of all colors and nationalities to free the Scottsboro boys.

3. In printing or mimeographing the call space should be provided below, or a separate sheet inserted, for credentials for two or more delegates. The call should be delivered or mailed to every Negro and white working class union and fraternal organization; cultural, professional, intellectual groups; branches of the N. A. A. C. P.; political parties, (Communist, Socialist, Socialist Labor, Farmer Labor parties, Democratic and Republican clubs, known to contain workers and middle-class people); churches with poor and middle class congregations; ex-servicemen's organizations—W. E. S. L., American Legion, Khaki Shirts, Veterans of Foreign Wars, etc.; Women's, Youth and language organizations—in short, to all local organizations where the cross-section of the American, foreign-born, Negro and white, population lives its social and political life.

4. The date of the conference must be set enough in advance (not sooner than four weeks from the date of the call) to insure it will reach the general membership of the organizations.

5. *The type of activities the I. L. D. membership conducts from the date when the call is issued till the conference convenes will determine the success or failure of the United Front Conference.* Before the call is issued the membership in the branches should hold thorough discussions on the political meaning of the Scottsboro, Mooney, Tampa issues, as well as local defense struggles, and the organizational steps necessary to insure the broadest united front conference. The discussions should be concluded with mobilization of every member for work connected with the conference. The following are some of the steps which should be undertaken by the branch:

- a) Delegations equipped with credentials from the Provisional Committee should visit every organization in its territory to present the call and procure endorsement, delegates and funds. Such delegations to speak as representatives from the Provisional Committee.
- b) Distribute I. L. D. local and national leaflets, in which the call to the United Front Scottsboro Conference is endorsed.
- c) Hold I. L. D. neighborhood, open or indoor meetings, to make popular the coming conference.
- d) Organize block or tenement Scottsboro-Mooney groups among the Negro people. Mooney-Scottsboro among white, Tampa-Scottsboro among Latin-American. All these to elect delegates to the coming conference.
- e) Send branch members as representatives of the Provisional Committee on Sunday: to address Negro and white churches, open

forums, at night to address lodges, N. A. A. C. P. branches, etc. Have them urge the adoption of resolutions and election of delegates to the conference.

- f) The Youth members should concentrate upon youth organizations, women upon women's circles and clubs. Pioneers should form Scottsboro troops. From all these groups delegates should be elected to the coming conferences.

Concentrate upon Negro organizations and churches, A. F. of L. locals, shops and factories. The conference should be predominantly of working class Negro and white delegates. When visiting Negro organizations, churches, etc., emphasize the Scottsboro issue, the murder of the share-croppers in Alabama; at A. F. of L. locals, Mooney and Tampa issues, linking these with Scottsboro and also exposing local police terror. At language groups and lodges emphasize the deportation outrages.

6. **Publicity:** This is an extremely important factor in building of a United Front Movement. A special committee headed by a competent member of the Provisional Committee should carry on this work—obtaining publicity in working class and capitalist and Negro papers, feeding every possible publicity channel with frequent and live news on mass and legal developments in the Scottsboro case, linking those with the coming conference. It must also obtain from organizations, churches, prominent individuals endorsements of the conferences and give same wide publicity.

7. In preparations for the United Front Conference, the Provisional Committee should form delegations of workers and middle-class people to call upon City Councils to obtain endorsement of resolutions demanding freedom of the Scottsboro boys. I. L. D. branches should send delegations to individual councilmen in their territory demanding endorsement of resolutions. Negro and white newspapers which are suppressing news on defense issues and conferences should be picketed by workers and sympathizers led by I. L. D. branches. All these actions should be accompanied with the widest publicity. These, and a number of other locally devised means, are methods that constitute real, day-by-day, activities that will earn for the I. L. D. in the eyes of the masses, the recognition of our right to leadership, will bring them into our ranks in thousands, and will transform the I. L. D. itself into a real United Front mass organization.

OUR RELATIONS WITH REFORMIST ORGANIZATIONS

At the bottom of our frequent failure to develop a broad united front has nearly always been the sectarian attitude on our part. Sectarianism consists largely in our stubborn refusal to connect ourselves with organizations upon a concrete defense issue, and also our slowness to admit into our ranks persons who are not yet ready to accept the I. L. D. program 100%. We fear lest we may "pollute" our ranks with such contacts.

One essential feature of the United Front for struggle against boss terror is exactly the unity of separated groups of workers and honest liberals for a joint struggle on a specific defense issue.

Our sectarianism is also a result of our failure to understand the nature of the United Front tactic which resolutely rejects the united front from the top, that is "alliances" with reformist leaders in place of unity with the rank and file. *An outstanding purpose of the united front tactic is to isolate the reformist leadership and win to our side mentally and organizationally the rank and file, with whom we have*

united to obtain concrete joint action upon the specific issue for which the United Front is formed.

As an excuse for sectarianism, we have, in the past, advanced objections to "unity" with reformist leaders—in reality we exploited this objection to abstain from unity with the rank and file of the reformist unions and organizations.

Sectarianism is also a collapse before difficulties. It is easy to approach a lone A. F. of L. or Socialist Party bureaucrat and form an alliance with him. But it takes conscientious, daily efforts to win over the rank and file. To be sure we kept our conscience clear by refusal to engage in alliances from the top, but at the same time we continued to remain a narrow, sectarian clique by our failure to undertake the tedious task of building a united front from below.

The arguments often advanced are that if the reformist organizations are asked to join in a United Front, they will send as their delegates the treacherous bureaucrats with whom we will be forced to deal. This argument reflects the ignorance of United Front tactic. To form "private" alliances with bureaucrats is one thing, and to face them at United Front bodies as delegates from the rank and file of their organizations is entirely another thing. In the latter case, the reformist leaders appear at the united front conferences against their own will—forced by the rank and file. We do not make the united front a "love feast," where past treacheries of the bureaucrats are forgotten. Neither do we indulge in "name-calling." We state clearly and unmistakably our position on the issues before the conference, make clear political and organizational proposals, and with this as a basis expose the treacheries of the reformist leaders, inside and outside of the conference.

The United Front tactic means the sharpest and most pitiless struggle against the reformist leaders who mislead the workers and betray their struggles. While we may raise no objection to the reformists as delegates from their organizations to a united front conference, we at the same time, do not declare a truce with them. We expose them on the basis of their betrayals in the past, citing specific examples of treachery.

Through our exposure and through the actions of the reformists at the conference directed at efforts to betray the United Front, the workers learn of the treacherous role of these misleaders. Through our correct fighting policies and honest devoted work, the workers accept the I.L.D. as their leader against boss terror. It is exactly through the United Front that these contrasts are brought forcibly before the rank and file.

BUILD UNITED FRONT FOR STRUGGLES

No matter how successful a United Front Conference, no matter how broad its composition, it will die a natural death unless a concrete program of vigorous mass activities is mapped out, discussed and adopted by the conference with concrete steps to put these into immediate effect.

It is at this point where the I.L.D. delegation must reveal its ability to lead politically. At United Front Conferences, the I.L.D. as an organization, brings forth a concrete program of action. This action should include mass demonstrations; obtaining of thousands of signatures to petitions; visiting of additional organizations to procure endorsement of the conference; collection of funds; organization of neighborhood Scottsboro Defense groups—women's, youth's and children's—shop and factory committees—in short every effective form to give

mass backing to the legal defense of the Scottsboro boys.

The I.L.D. delegation bases its proposed program of actions upon a report of mass and legal activities conducted by the I.L.D. prior to the conference. Our representatives give a summary of the national and international Scottsboro campaigns, the beginning of unity between Negro and white workers, the victories won, the significance of the U. S. Supreme Court decision, etc. Here the I.L.D. links up the Scottsboro struggle with the fight to free Mooney, Tampa and all class war prisoners. They also point in frankest self-criticism to weaknesses and shortcomings. They invite full expression of constructive criticism and urge the adoption of the presented program.

In presenting the program of action, the delegation must use all efforts to win over the conference for the major political line of the I.L.D. for a united mass struggle around the issue upon which the conference was built. It must at the same time avoid the disruption of the conference upon points of lesser importance, revealing readiness to compromise for unity's sake where such compromise does not defeat the I.L.D.'s major policies of mass struggle against boss terror.

INDEPENDENT ROLE OF THE I. L. D.

During the process of formation and all through the actual operation of the united front, the I.L.D. maintains its independent role through daily activities based upon its program of militant struggle against the whole system of boss terror and national oppression of the Negro masses. It brings before the masses, into bold relief, the full meaning of the Scottsboro issue, as one growing out of American capitalism's system of savage oppression of the 14 million Negro people in U. S. A. as a part of its main policy to divide the workers, by inciting white against black, native against foreign born in alliance with middle-class people, to out of the sweat and tears of all toilers.

Against the bosses' policies the I.L.D. proposes to the workers the joining of hands of all toilers—white and black, native and foreign born in alliance with middle class people, to smash the Scottsboro frame-up and to fight the whole wretched system of national oppression; to do away with bounding of foreign born workers; to free Tom Mooney, Warren K. Billings, the Tampa victims and all labor prisoners, in all capitalist colonial lands. It tirelessly exposes the treacheries of the reformists—the leadership of the A. F. of L., of the Socialist Party, the N.A.A.C.P., the Musteites, etc.—as the willing and conscious helpers of the American ruling class, as the framers and jailers of victims of the class struggle.

However, at no time in the course of the united front must we permit ourselves to impose upon the other organizations the acceptance of our full program. We must be ready and capable to win over, step by step, the workers and middle-class people who entered into a United Front with us, towards the understanding and acceptance of our program and our leadership.

The I.L.D. is rapidly gaining influence and prestige among large sections of the American population through its correct and militant policies, through its dogged struggles against boss terror. This influence can and must be translated into organizational gains. In the course of building the United Front we must daily recruit hundreds of the cross-section of the American toiling and middle-class people who are willing to join our ranks for common fight against boss terror. We must in the same time improve and strengthen our organizational struc-

(Continued on page 18)

NEWS FROM THE DISTRICTS

The Case of Sam Weinstein

IN June, 1932, the workers of the Muskin Manufacturing Co. in New York, went out on strike against wage cuts. Sam Weinstein, ex-serviceman, one of the workers in the shop, had been very active in preparing the strike. He had noticed for some time that the bosses were trying to play off different groups of workers against each other. Italians against Jews, men against women. The method was a simple one. Each group was told that the other was willing to accept the bosses terms. Sam Weinstein saw through these schemes and went around telling the other workers what he thought. When the strike was called, he took an active part leading it.

Resorting to the usual means of breaking a strike, the bosses of the Muskin Manufacturing Company threatened Weinstein with beating and prison. Through another usual method—frame-up—they got Weinstein arrested and charged with manslaughter. The crime with which he was charged took place at 1157 Southern Boulevard, Bronx at 7 a. m. on July 19, 1932. According to testimony of several witnesses, Sam Weinstein was picketing the Muskin shop, 232 Throop Street, Brooklyn, at 7 a. m. on that day. These two points are more than an hour's subway ride apart.

Harry Prashker, the boss who threatened to get Weinstein into jail for his activity in the strike is the chief witness who identifies Weinstein as the "criminal."

The Weinstein frame-up is not an isolated case. It is just another example of terror used by the bosses to frighten workers into submission.

Sam Weinstein is an example of one other interesting quality the bosses have—"gratitude."

Corporal Sam Weinstein in the uniform of the U. S. Army, decorated for bravery on the firing line—but framed-up for fighting against wage cuts.



He was an outstanding hero during the World War. He was a corporal who "in the attack on the Hindenburg line, on Sept. 29th, maintained fire under most unfavorable circumstances, protecting the flank of a forward trench at great risk to his own safety. In later operations . . . his courage and gallantry were a great incentive to men of his own platoon." (From Major Andrews' report.)

This praise doesn't help him very much in the bosses' courts. All his heroism is forgotten since he has become a fighter in the ranks of the working class. The courts are doing what they can to help the Muskin Manufacturing Company frame him on a charge of manslaughter.

The International Labor Defense is leading the fight to free Sam Weinstein. Every worker, particularly those who live in New York City should help save him. Further details of the Sam Weinstein case are to be found in a new

pamphlet—The Frame-Up of Sam Weinstein Another Mooney Case. This pamphlet should be spread in thousands of copies so that workers may learn from still another example what boss terror means, how it works and what they must do to fight it.

Police Terror In Long Beach

Long Beach is a well-known summer resort and also an important oil center. The Red Squad here has raided homes, meetings, beat up workers, and made arrests without placing charges.

On the night of November 16th, a party was held in a private home for the benefit of the International Labor Defense. The District Organizer was called to give a report of the Cleveland Convention. While the meeting was in progress, a gang of men in cars watched the house. When the meeting was over and there were only a few of the comrades left, those men lined up in front of the house. I went outside and asked them what they wanted. "We want you," they said, and rushed for the door. Those of us who were inside tried to hold the door against them but they pushed it in, while others came through the back door and windows. They beat my father and brother over the head with clubs. They used black-jacks and sections of rubber-hose against the others, knocked them down on the floor and tied them. I cried for help through the open door.

The raiders had already taken us, bound and gagged, into cars outside when police cars showed up. The raiders did not stop. "Murphy knows about this," they said to the police. "He said it was O. K. If you don't believe us, call Lieutenant Murphy." This Murphy is a lieutenant of the Red Squad. There was a large sympathetic crowd, with some of the neighbors standing in their night clothes, so the police took on a legal front. "I don't care what the hell Murphy says, you can't take the law into your own hands," the police leader said. Everyone knew that the raiders were Klansmen, for a cross was blazing on the cement walk, and the street and lawn were littered with leaflets on which was printed, COMMUNISM WILL NOT BE TOLERATED. THE KLAN RIDES AGAIN.

Some of the comrades beaten up were taken to the hospital and some to the police station. My mother and I went into the house. The floors were dirty with blood. A bunch of plain-clothes men came and searched the house. They took my mother and me to the police station, where we met my father and brother and some other comrades, all of whom had been hastily bandaged. At the station we weren't asked anything about the raid. Instead, Dungan of the Red Squad tried to find out from us who had been at the party. Dungan and another detective, Wishon, took me into a private room and questioned me.

After several hours we were ordered to identify the raiders who had been taken by the police. We were told we had to identify them, and that the police would not bring charges against the raiders. When we were taken before the raiders they had been washed and wore clean clothes in place of those they had bloodied during the attack on us. We could have identified them by their voices, but they were told by the police not to talk. In addition the police demanded that we identify only those that had personally beat us.

Next morning we learned that eleven of the raiders who had been arrested had been released

"because of insufficient identification," although some of them we had positively identified as having been in the house during the raid.

Attorney Gallagher, of the International Labor Defense, went to the District Attorney, to the Municipal Courts and to the City Council to have warrants issued against the eleven who had been released, but he met with rebuffs everywhere. In the Municipal Court hearing we recognized two in the audience as members of the raiding gang. When the Judge refused to issue warrants for their arrests, I followed one of them outside and on the street ordered a policeman to arrest him. This man was taken to Lieutenant Murphy who refused to arrest him, and went as far as fixing up an alibi for this raider by phoning the fire department where the man said he was employed. We took the man to the fire department to check up on his alibi. The Chief said he did not know the man, but changed his statement when the man said, "You know, I'm being accused of taking part in the Klan kidnaping Wednesday night."

We workers in Long Beach are determined to fight to the last ditch against this mob terrorism against us. We appeal to all comrades to help us. Send protests immediately to the Long Beach City Council demanding the dismissal of Murphy, Dungan, Wishon and Yancy. We hold the police directly responsible for the raids and for the protection given the criminals who conducted the raids. Demand an end to the police terror in Long Beach.

Weaving Prison Sentences in Utica, N. Y.

The weavers and spinners of the textile mills in Utica, New York, jobless for months and even years, witnessed last month the manner in which the courts of capitalism spin a web of lies about workers on trial and condemn them to long prison terms. Particularly the starving of Utica—their eyes were on the case of the five Utica workers, fighters against hunger, who are now behind prison bars.

Today, Peter Kraus, organized of the Communist Party in Utica and John Della Monica, leader of the I. L. D. wear the prison gray at Auburn State Prison—sentenced to from 1½ to 3 years; Frank Carone, a one-armed Italian youth, one year; and two others, Mike Charles and Rocco Volpe. These five unemployed carried their fight against hunger from City Hall to the County Court House where their trial in December broke through the legalistic hocus pocus and for a week drew the attention of thousands in Utica to mill owners' trickery aimed to halt workers from organizing.

At the trial: a maze of lies from the 22 beefy cops and dicks. Masses of workers in attendance jeering at the obvious lies of the police. The case was so clearly one which exposed the police as real rioters, carrying out orders to smash the unemployed council that the attending workers believed the jury could but come in with the verdict freeing the prisoners. But Judge Hazard of the poker-face, in his charge to the jury wove a web of lies that "proved" the workers had launched a "plot" to "get" the police. The jury, composed of businessmen and rich farmers, returned with the verdict of "guilty." Notices of appeal have been filed against the conviction and for a new trial by the I. L. D. Support of all workers is asked in the drive for \$1,000 necessary to carry through the appeal. Send contributions to the district office, I. L. D., 476 Williams Street, Buffalo, N. Y.

*Corporal Sam
Weinstein in
the uniform of
the U. S. Ar-
my, decorated
for bravery on
the firing line
—but framed-
up for fight-
ing a g a i n s t
wage cuts.*



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

WHAT I SAW IN MOSCOW

WE arrived in Moscow on the Big Day of the year. It was the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Russian revolution. The streets teemed with workers and their families, joyous, free, happy, reveling in the holiday spirit.

Workers marched from everywhere: factories, homes, clubs, all toward the great Red Square.

No police terror here. Instead the Red Army soldiers are the stalwart friends of the working-class and defend them to the last.

It seemed like a world turned upside down, for one from Los Angeles where the Red Squad rules. The streets of Moscow were a veritable art gallery. Displays of socialist construction in every window and nook. For two days the celebration lasted, and one could see that from the youngest to the oldest, all were expressing their devoted support to the Workers' Fatherland and their intention to defend it with their last drop of blood from the planned attack of world capitalism.

The Congress opened on November 10 in the Trade Union theater. Katayama, old Japanese revolutionist, sounded the keynote when he opened the historic event. The struggle against all forms of capitalist terror and for the release of the 200,000 political prisoners was the order of business.

Two hundred nineteen delegates from every corner of the globe on hand. Germany to El Salvador: China to South Africa, all represented. Seventy sections of the International Red Aid—all but one from capitalist lands. One section from the land of workers and peasants.

Andre Marty, leader of the revolt of the French fleet in the Black Sea, in defense of the Soviet Union speaks. What applause! Then a Red Army soldier of Soviet China told of the heroism of the Chinese workers and peasants—called for the defense of the Soviet China. And now the workers of a certain factory in the Soviet Union proudly relate the accomplishments of a certain factory in the U.S.S.R. and presented banners which their MOPR groups had made.

The spirit of the Congress was overwhelming: a spirit that expressed the determination to build our organization despite all the bloody persecution of the master class—and to carry on the fight until we succeed in breaking open the bars of capitalist dungeons and freeing all class war victims.

By MIRIAM BROOKS.

IN JAPAN

As this is being written three Japanese armies are sweeping forward into Jehol province; a Soviet whaling fleet has been interned by Japanese authorities; the Japanese foreign office spokesman has announced the sabotage by his government of peace efforts of the Soviet Union, and has rejected the non-aggression pact offered by the Soviet.

All evidences point to a wide Japanese military drive to broaden its military base prior to the attack on the Mongolian People's Government and the Soviet Union.

The city of Shanhaikwan has been raked by air, sea and land guns of the Jap invaders. More than 5,000 non-combatants have been murdered and thousands more, men, women and children, are crippled for life.

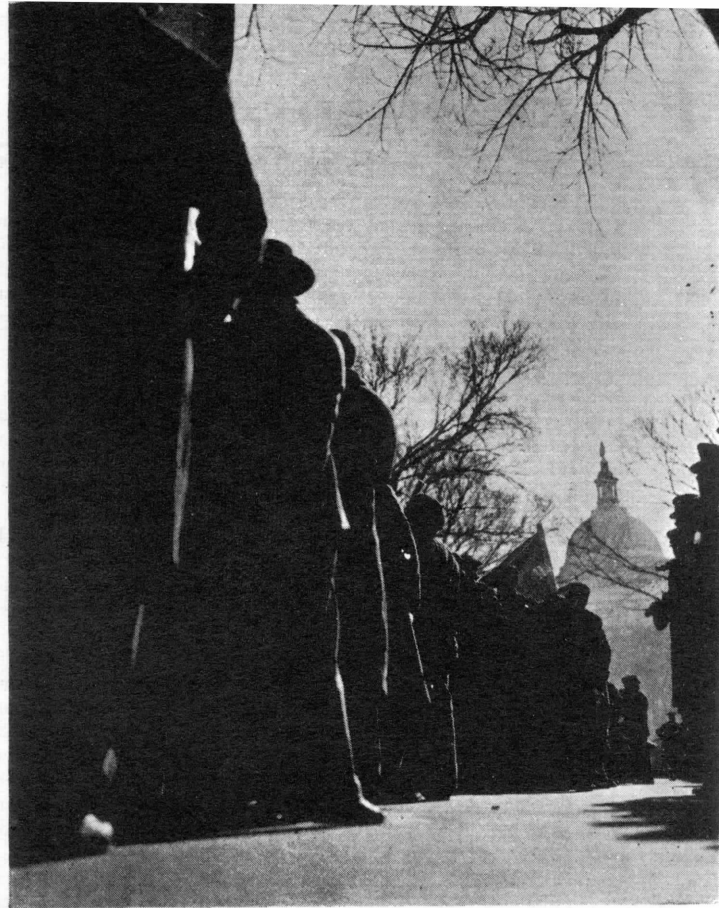
The world-wide war is striding on seven-league boots into all lands: carrying with it the dreadful promise of poison gas, death by shell, bullet and bayonet. In South America, the wars instigated by the ruling classes of Great Britain and U. S. A. are raging; taking a mounting toll of lives. These very wars are spurring the imperialist powers to attempt even more frantically to make a united front for the attack on the U.S.S.R.

The spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Office distorted Stalin's remarks on Soviet defense measures. Stalin indicated that the Soviet government had made certain readjustments in the first Five-Year Plan to strengthen the defense of the U.S.S.R. in view of unsettled conditions in the Far East and the refusal of certain neighboring powers to sign non-aggression pacts with the U.S.S.R. The Japanese foreign office thereupon declared that the Soviet Union was "feverishly preparing for war." Totally ignoring the fact that the U.S.S.R. had consistently refused provocation into war despite the monstrous attempts of the imperialist powers.

The United States government is trying to turn the Japanese invasion toward the Soviet frontiers and away from their own sphere of influence and investments in China.

In the meanwhile the Nanking government, under the influence of the Wall Street agents, pretends to resist—in order to still the ferment of the masses against the Kuomintang traitors who are "cautiously waiting, while announcing determination to resist," as a capitalist newspaper declared. But Nanking is

Fifteen million of us in the U. S. A.



Marching Against Hunger. Hunger Marchers marching towards the Capitol between solid lines of police—to demand immediate cash relief and unemployment insurance.

not at all amiss in its efforts at raising funds to build its aerial fleets for use against revolutionary Chinese workers and real defenders of the liberation of the Chinese land.

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR HUANG PING

Huang Ping, chairman of the All-China Trade Union Federation is in the hands of Chang Hsiao-Liang, the Northern Kuomintang militarist, and faces death—after undergoing horrible torture. His arrest occurs in the midst of the Jap drive into Jehol, which is being resisted by the rank and file of the Chinese troops who are repeating the heroism of the 19th Route Army a year ago at Shanghai. The arrest and persecution of Huang Ping is inspired by the Wall Street and other imperialist representatives at Peiping, in an attempt to halt the surge forward of the anti-imperialist struggle—the fight against the foreign invaders in China. Ping was leader of the great Canton-Hongkong strike in 1925 which lasted for 18 months and had great international significance.

Wall Street fully understands the international significance of the Chinese revolution. Under the repeated blows of the victorious Chinese Red Army the tottering Nanking regime has been able to survive because the American government supplied necessary support and was responsible for the execution of 1,000,000 Chinese workers and peasants since 1927.

Determined mass protest from the American workers and intellectuals means not only the support of the national liberation movement in China but is also a protest against American imperialism which is preparing to plunge the American masses into another world slaughter for the division of colonies and the intervention against the Soviet Union. Only world wide protest can save Ping. Protests must pour in on the Kuomintang butchers at Peiping and Nanking and the Chinese legation at Washington!



FOR ALL FRIENDS OF THE LABOR DEFENDER TO READ

It is customary at the end of the year to look back over the accomplishments of the old year and make resolutions for the new. Looking back over the books of the LABOR DEFENDER for the year 1932 we find the following situation: The I.L.D. District Offices, our chief source of income, accumulated a debt of \$3509.49. Some districts have been worse offenders than others in this slackness, it is true, but every district shares the responsibility because every district piled up some of the debt. The smallness of the debt can hardly be put forward as an excuse. If it is so little why not pay it off and start with a clean slate?

The detailed report is as follows:

District	Amount
Alabama	\$ 110.50
San Francisco	209.45
Los Angeles	60.75
Colorado	44.84
Chicago	187.00
Boston	61.65
Detroit	415.98
Minneapolis	249.08
Missouri	48.45
New York	1,080.10
Buffalo	88.75
Ohio	34.80
Philadelphia	32.73
Pittsburgh	49.80
Seattle	485.64
Connecticut	349.97
	<u>\$3,509.49</u>

This sum, \$3,509.49, represents four issues of the LABOR DEFENDER. We can print four issues for that much money. We did print 3 of those issues without this money—at the expense of coming out between one and two weeks late, at the expense of piling up a terrific debt to creditors who hound us constantly with threats of lawsuits, and at the expense of the last issue of the year—the December issue—which we were forced to miss. We gave the districts a new plan for starting the new year right. We agreed to let them have LABOR DEFENDER at 6c a copy—one cent less than they were charged in 1932. We agreed to write off the old debt if they paid in full for each month's bundle order. The response of the districts has been very disappointing. To date, January 9, seven districts have not sent in ONE CENT on their January bill which they received December 19. The others have paid only in part. We are telling you all this so that you as friends of the LABOR DEFENDER will know the difficulties under which we work to get the magazine out every month. We feel that all readers of the LABOR DEFENDER should know that the district offices are not cooperating with us as they should. This is as much an explanation as an accusation and we hope that the publicity will have its desired effect.

If every district pays in full for its bundle order each month we can get the issue out on time without any difficulty.

We must have your cooperation.

THE N. A. A. C. P. OVERLOOKS

(Continued from page 5)

of the law prevented lynchings." But what must be noted about these near-lynchings is the following: In practically every case, the officials persuaded the lynch-crowds to give up their victims on the promise that a swift conviction would follow in the courts—in other words, that there would be a legal lynching. This has led to the repetition of "Scottsboro" from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The misleaders have good ground for their fear. The Negro masses fought with heightened militancy against lynching in 1932. Instance after instance is recorded, of self-defense against the lynchers. Great masses of white workers have entered the struggle against lynching. Militant working-class organizations have fought with vigor against lynchings and lynch frame-ups.

The word "Scottsboro" is written large in the reason for the growing militancy of the Negro masses and the militant white workers against all forms of lynching. The militancy of the Negro and white workers displayed in the Scottsboro struggle had the effect of preventing many a lynching. The Scottsboro case is educating large masses of white toilers who are realizing for the first time that the struggle of the Negro masses is their struggle, is part of the larger struggle of the whole working-class.

The Negro masses are refusing to be disarmed, to be lulled into a false and dangerous feeling of security by the lying misleaders of the N.A.A.C.P. and Tuskegee Institute. They are going steadily forward, joining hands with the militant white workers; building defense corps of Negro and white; developing the struggle against the growing lynch terror of the

white rulers under the fighting slogan: "Death to lynchers."

—International Labor Defense,
League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

* The L.S.N.R., in its official report, stated openly that its total of 37 is far too low. The fact is that 37 lynchings came to light. Many lynchings were not reported in the press; there were definite attempts to cover up lynchings. Also, this total omits the enormous number of police murders of Negroes.

FACE TO FACE WITH MOONEY

(Continued from page 6)

The strongest impression I gained from Mooney is that he is a fighter. One whose courage has not been dampened by 16 years' imprisonment.

Before I left San Quentin I promised Mooney I would not tell my story to the secret session of the grand jury and would tell it only at a public hearing. I kept that promise. On November 6th, I repeated my story to 18,000 persons at the Civic Auditorium, San Francisco. At the meeting, I challenged the authorities to come up on the platform and question me. My challenge was not accepted.

Captain Goff accuses me of doing a great injustice. The following in part, are Goff's own words:

"For not only is he (Callicotte) doing us a big injustice he is also injuring the case of justice in the United States."

To that, I answer herewith; I am not doing the California authorities an injustice neither am I injuring the case of justice in the United States.

But—I am ashamed that the United States Government will allow the State of California

Prisoners' Winter Relief Campaign

The New York District is chosen for the material for this article since up-to-date information of the work of the other Districts on this campaign is not so easily accessible.

Coupon booklets were distributed on Dec. 5, 1932. New York took 2,750 of which only about 600 have gone out. None have come in and therefore there has been no income from this source in the District up to this time. National leaflets went out with the coupon booklets and, at the end of December, attractive posters. The posters are not in evidence as yet in the New York District.

Affairs: About 30 Branches in the New York District are planning affairs but, as far as the District Organizer knows, none of them have been held as yet or, at any rate, no returns have come in. No affairs on a Section scale have even been considered. The District affair, probably to take place on February 3rd at the New School for Social Research will take the form of a concert. Some talent has already been obtained, more will be gotten as well as a prominent speakers. Tickets will cost \$1.10, \$.83, and \$.55 (tax included).

Concrete results are to date nil in this District and in view of the fact that the first directives for this campaign were sent out at the end of November this activity is very poor. But the other Districts seem to have done equally unsatisfactory work with one exception. No returns have come in except from San Francisco which held a District affair as long ago as Dec. 17 and sent in funds, which, though far from the District quota, at least show activity. Districts should remember that this campaign lasts until March 18 (Paris Commune) and that much can still be done. Arrange District affairs, give affairs in private houses, sell the coupons! Liven up this campaign and do not forget that it has a far wider appeal than have many of the I.L.D. campaigns.

to keep two innocent men in prison.

The San Francisco police have said, "We want to settle this once and for all."

It is my hope, too, that "This" will be settled once and for all,—and when it is settled, if settled rightly with Justice, I know of a few who will "Get a taste" of how it feels to remain behind the bars and the grim walls of San Quentin prison.

UNITED FRONT

(Continued from page 15)

ture to make possible the keeping of the new members in our ranks. Our failure till now to entrench ourselves organizationally among the masses can be laid largely to the failure to understand the full nature of the proper United Front tactic as the most powerful means towards ending our isolation from the masses and becoming an organization possessing, as its base, hundreds of thousands of Negro and white workers, farmers, and middle-class people. Through the proper understanding and application of the United Front, we will involve additional masses in defense struggles, consolidate our agitational gains and become a mass I.L.D.

**Watch the Next Issue of the
Labor Defender for All the
News and Scores of the Sub
Drive—**

So far CHICAGO is in the lead with VERA BLOCK at the head of the list. LOS ANGELES, led by MAX FACTOR, is a close second, and NEW YORK follows next.

Remember the winner must have 100 subs to his or her credit!

Chicago is on the job and unless everyone else gets busy—they win!

Are you in on this contest?

There's still plenty of room for those who want to join.

And how about those of you who started and then dropped out—you still have every single sub you sent in credited to you and it's not too late!

**Our Goal Is 5,000 New
Subscribers by May 1, 1933**

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tising contracts, rates, today, to Room 430, 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

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made the supreme sacrifice in the struggle to save the nine Scottsboro Boys.

Together with the Mother of two of these boys, Engdahl toured 16 European countries, raising the international mass struggle which forced the U. S. Supreme Court to reverse the death sentences.

Engdahl's last words are a clarion call—

CARRY ON THE FIGHT TILL THE NINE INNOCENT SCOTTSBORO BOYS ARE FREED!

Today the Scottsboro Boys Are in Great Danger!

Lynch terror rises in Alabama—the slave masters have raided the Birmingham office of the I.L.D. — the statements of the officials show their determination to carry through the legal lynching—the new trials are set for early March—before the same Scottsboro court.

The mass defense must be raised to a new high level.

Our attorneys are fighting for the most elementary rights. For their removal from the death cells, for bail, change of venue, the right of Negroes on the jury. But the defense is seriously endangered by lack of funds.

WE MUST RAISE \$10,000 AT ONCE!

Surely you will answer this Emergency Call! Please send your contribution — the utmost that you can — TODAY.

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