

# LABOR

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# DEFENDER

● AMERICA'S ONLY LABOR PICTORIAL ● PUBLISHED BY THE I.L.D. ●

## "SPAIN'S OCTOBER"

Complete 16 page pamphlet  
in this issue

Also:

WM. Z. FOSTER on J. B. McNamara

GRANVILLE HICKS

on the

Executions in the Soviet Union

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

JAN WITTENBER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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## February

## 1935

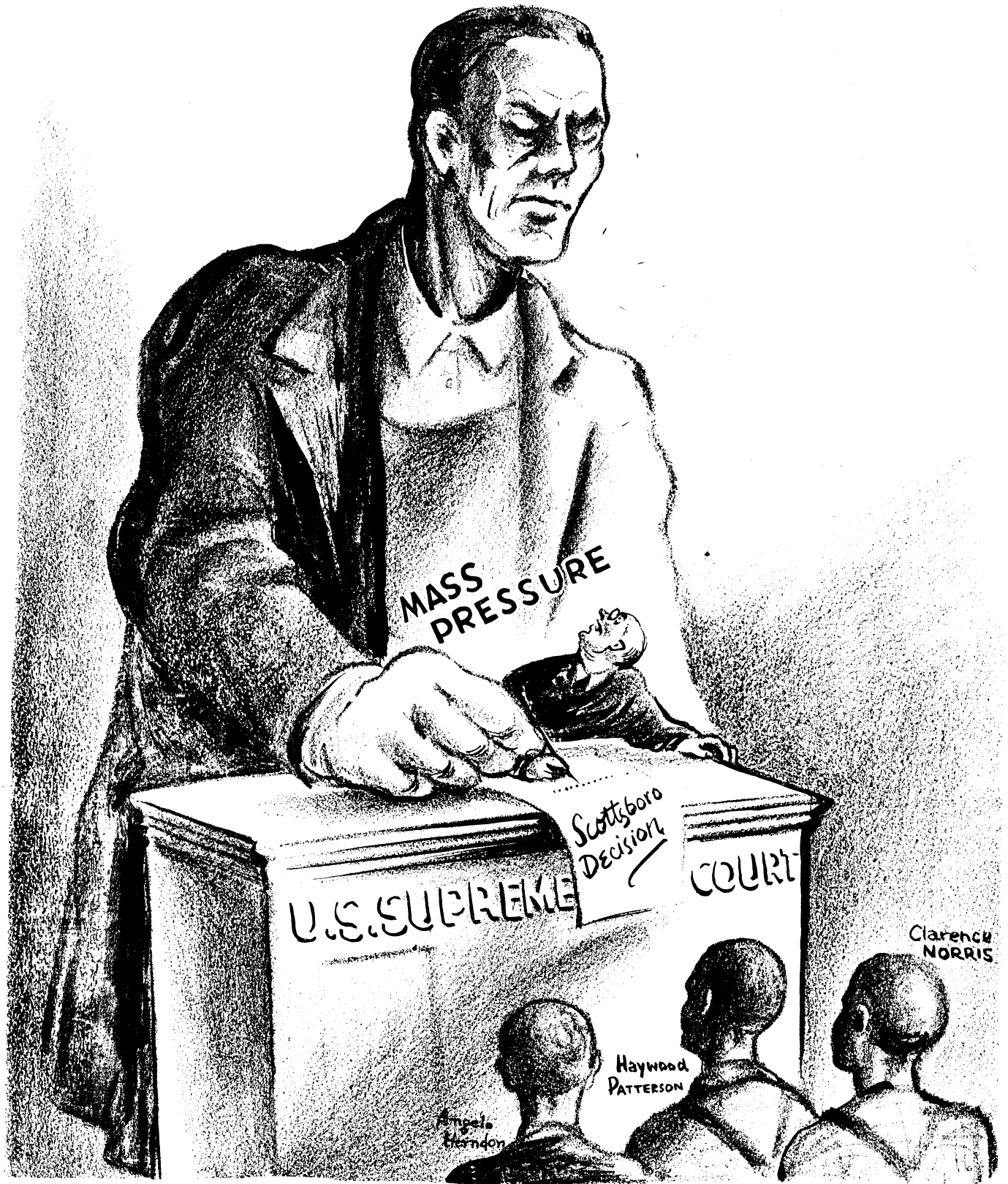
**"Organize  
Your  
Defense!"**



Georgia  
Textile Picket  
Under  
Arrest!



# FREE THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS AND ANGELO HERNDON



Hang this picture where thousands can see it

# LABOR DEFENDER

Official Organ of the  
INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

*America's Only Labor Pictorial*

Editors: WM. L. PATTERSON, SASHA SMALL

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## Attention—U. S. Supreme Court!

Four federal sedition bills and nine against the unemployed, including the famous Dies Bill which passed the house last session and was narrowly defeated in the Senate, have been introduced in Congress. New vigilante bands—armed and drilled are set up in Sacramento, California, by officials—openly this time—and have already recruited 600 business men and thugs. William Randolph Hearst, whose stronghold is among the reactionaries of California, calls for lynching of all workers' leaders, starting with the Communists, all over the country through his chain of yellow journals.

The United States Supreme Court has turned down Tom Mooney's application for a writ of habeas corpus, sending the case back to the California courts which have tricked and lied and openly flaunted the repeated exposure of their corruption. The same courts and governmental forces are engaged in an attempt to railroad 18 workers' leaders to long prison terms in Sacramento, for organizing strikes which even the "New York Times" admits resulted only in bettering workers' conditions.

This is the set-up nationally and in California where the New Deal is concentrating the spearhead of its terror attack, as we enter the month of February.

**FREE MOONEY! FREE THE SACRAMENTO DEFENDANTS!** are the words that must roar in the ears of the California courts and government officials.

**FREE THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS AND ANGELO HERNDON!** must din into the ears of the nine old men of opinion on the U. S. Supreme Court bench.

"... if a State has contrived a conviction through the pretence of a trial which in truth is but used as a means of depriving a defendant of liberty through a deliberate deception of court and jury by the presentation of testimony known to be perjured," even this (in their own words) is not sufficient to persuade the U. S. Supreme Court to set that defendant free, the "court of last illusions" ruled in the Mooney case.

That is the court before which the Scottsboro and Herndon cases are now pending.

What can force it to set them free—clearly, only mass action that will make them shiver in their seats—and the New Deal administrators with them.

## Working Class Justice

The workers' government of the Soviet Union has met the assassination of one of its most beloved leaders, Sergei Kirov, with a sharp, swift answer. One hundred and seventeen plotters against the workers' state have been put to death.

This sentence met with the heartiest approval of the masses of the Soviet Union, and of the friends of the workers' country everywhere. From the enemies of the workers, however, there has come a prolonged campaign of slander and vilification.

Hundreds of newspaper owners and publishers, government officials, and groups under their control, raise their hands in horror at these executions. It is noteworthy that very, very few of these people were stirred by the murders of the Spanish and Austrian workers, by the terror against the colonial masses, by the massacres of strikers in the United States, by the lynchings and mass murders of the Soviet Union take steps to defend their hard-won liberties—and these "soft-hearted" individuals are up in arms.

Who were the plotters whom the workers' government of the Soviet Union put to death? They were paid agents of foreign governments, attempting to bring disorganization so that the capitalists abroad might the more easily make war on the Soviet Union. And the purpose of such a war would be the overthrow of the workers' government, the establishment of a capitalist state, the restoration of the hunger, misery, unemployment, lack of civil rights and race persecution, which characterized old Russia, which characterizes the entire capitalist world today. That the plotters, the murderers of Kirov, received money from the representatives of foreign governments, is known by the confession of the murderer Nikolaev.

In the United States and other capitalist countries, a small group of wealthy persons uses terror, lynchings, frame-up, jailings, special law, the shooting of unarmed strikers, to preserve the rule over the many by the few. This is class justice, against which the International Labor Defense conducts an uncompromising fight. In the Soviet Union, the masses of people decree death for a handful of traitors and assassins to preserve the liberty, the peace, the plenty, of millions—of the population as a whole. This, too, is class justice—working-class justice.

## Hauptmann's Trial

It is safe to say that there is not a newspaper in this country, no matter how large or how small, that has not given at least one-third of its columns to detailed reports of the Hauptmann trial—what color was Betty Gow's dress, how did Hauptmann look, and every single word said in the courtroom by the defense as well as by the prosecution. The LABOR DEFENDER at this stage takes no stand on this trial. It is not vitally concerned with the innocence or guilt of Bruno Hauptmann or with the evaluation of the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby as "the greatest crime of the century." At the same time:

Three major working class cases are now before the highest court in the land. The lives of nine innocent Negro boys hang in the balance. The life of a heroic young leader of the Negro and white unemployed is threatened by an 18-20 year sentence on the Georgia chain gang. Will one of the leaders of the American working class have to remain in San Quentin where he has already been entombed for 19 years, for the rest of his life? These are questions of the utmost importance to every American worker. The final decision in these cases will not only mean the lives of 11 individuals. The decision will effect every democratic right supposedly enjoyed by all of us.

And yet when the Supreme Court granted a hearing on appeal in the Scottsboro case, that news was buried somewhere in the vast expanses of the bourgeois press. The fact that the Herndon appeal was accepted by that Court was not mentioned at all. Perhaps Tom Mooney will get a little more prominence.

The machinery of ruling class justice is well oiled. It does everything to defend and protect its own. It does everything to hinder the defense of those who challenge its might. The silence of the press must be answered by a roar of protest. The U. S. Supreme Court must be flooded with demands for the freedom of these innocent victims of ruling class justice.

# J. B. McNAMARA

## Proletarian Fighter

By WM. Z. FOSTER

EVERY sincere participant in the workers' class struggle draws inspiration from the splendid qualities of the toiling masses. Their simplicity, honesty, courage, solidarity and enthusiasm are unfailing sources of encouragement. But never have I met with an individual worker who has been such an inspiration to me as J. B. McNamara, now serving his 24th year in San Quentin penitentiary in California.

Many times I have visited him in the passing years and each time I have developed fresh admiration for his quiet courage, his confidence in the workers, his indomitable fighting spirit. McNamara has much of the unwavering loyalty and iron fighting quality that goes to make a Dimitroff.

McNamara's imprisonment has been an especially bitter martyrdom. It will be remembered that he, together with his brother J. J., head of the Structural Iron Workers' Union, was arrested in 1911 for dynamiting the Los Angeles *Times* building, during the general strike of metal workers. Later D. Caplan and M. Schmidt were arrested and con-

victed, Schmidt still being in San Quentin doing a life term.

If bomb there was, it did not cause the real damage. This was due to a leaky gas main which caused the explosion that snuffed out a score of lives.



(Left) McNamara as he looked 23 years ago, during his trial. (Above) McNamara as he looks today

The evidence against the McNamaras was very damaging. They determined to fight it out in court, nevertheless; but their lawyer, Clarence Darrow, the top A. F. of L. representatives, Lincoln Steffens, friends, relatives, all begged the McNamaras to plead guilty. It was the only way, they said, to save the labor movement and to protect many other leaders and militants from jail. After a long resistance, the McNamaras finally yielded and pleaded guilty. J. J. was sentenced to 15 years and J. B. to life imprisonment.

Although the plea of guilty was not of their origin, the McNamaras were widely and bitterly condemned for making it, even by those responsible for it. It was made to appear as an attempt



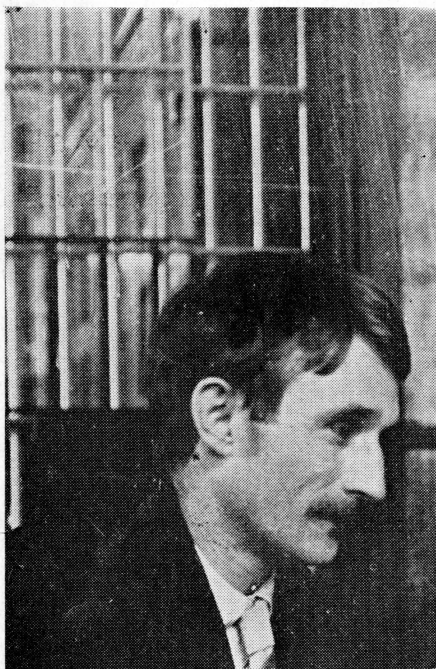
William Z. Foster speaking at a demonstration in N. Y. His appeal for McNamara must be heeded

to shield themselves at the expense of the labor movement. Friends turned against them, A. F. of L. officials excoriated them, the workers were given to understand that they had betrayed the trade unions, and even the revolutionary movement itself misunderstood and practically abandoned them.

Such a base charge was especially out of place when directed against the McNamaras as their unflinching courage had already been amply demonstrated in the class struggle. In reality, their plea of guilty, mistaken though it was, was in keeping with their previous courageous record. It was a brave attempt to save others by sacrificing themselves in a bad situation. But their gesture was completely misunderstood, and condemnation was heaped upon them from all sides of the labor movement.

The ensuing long imprisonment has indeed been difficult. There was J. B., misunderstood and often slandered by the very ones for whom he had sacrificed his liberty and freely risked his life. Tom Mooney is a prison mate of J. B.'s. His imprisonment, too, has been hard and he has made a noble fight for his freedom. But at least Tom has always had the satisfying consciousness that the workers understand him and are fighting for his release.

But McNamara has been denied this sustaining realization. Little of the applause and the glory has been his. With only the faintest hope of eventual re-





lease, he has had to make his lonesome fight all these long years.

It has been a situation that would break the heart of an ordinary man. But not J. B. McNamara. He has stood the storm of it all like the firm oak of a man that he is. Never a whine or a whimper has come from him. Not a cry for help has he uttered. Never has he asked any mercy from or made any concession to the capitalist enemy. In his prison life he has maintained an upright attitude that the other prisoners respect and that not even the harshest regime could break. And through all these desperately hard years he has retained a sublime faith in the working class that had so largely misunderstood him, and, indeed, almost forgotten him.

"Retained a sublime faith," did I say? J. B. McNamara has done that and much more. He has developed a new and broader understanding of the workers and their world-wide struggle. The prison has been his university. In the long, dreary years he has improved his mind and become a revolutionist. He now realizes that the workers cannot solve their problem by a few heroic battlers carrying on terroristic work, but they must unite as a class, destroy the capitalist system and build a new, free society as the Russian workers have done. A fitting conclusion indeed for such a resolute fighter as J. B. McNamara to arrive at.

McNamara has been in San Quentin prison now for almost 24 years. He is the oldest political prisoner in the world

in point of jail time. In any country of Europe he would have been amnestied many years ago. But in "free," "civilized" America this unconquerable hero of the class war is treated worse than a common murderer and made to wear his life out in prison. Nor is there the slightest sign that the ruling class in California ever intends to release him.

The task of freeing McNamara rests with the working class. As we fight for the release of Thaelmann, Mooney, the Scottsboro boys, the I. W. W. prisoners and all the rest of our jailed comrades, we must join in our demands an insistent one for McNamara's liberty. J. B. McNamara is a veritable symbol of the invincible proletarian fighting spirit. He must be freed.

## "SEPARATE ROOM AND PRIVATE BATH"

Persecution of the Foreign-Born on Ellis Island

**F**IVE workers, John Ujich, Christ Popoff, Ray Carlson, Paul Ketunen, and Oscar Mannisto, are being held on Ellis Island as the latest victims of the U. S. Labor Department's determined drive against foreign-born workers whose only crime is their militancy in the struggle against starvation and oppression.

In view of reports that these workers were being persecuted and discriminated against, a delegation representing the Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, the International Labor Defense and the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, visited Ellis Island on January 11th.

The 5 men are in solitary confinement ("separate room and private bath" the commissioner calls it); magazines and newspapers sent them have been confiscated; they are forbidden all contact with other prisoners; they are permitted no outdoor exercise. John Ujich was taken to the hospital an hour before the delegation's visit.

I was the only member of the delegation permitted to see the other four men. I was allowed ten minutes alone with them in their cell, and received a full report of the provocations to which they have been subjected.

The delegation spent an hour questioning Rudolph Reimer, in charge of the Ellis Island prison. Commissioner Reimer is a big blustering man with a back-slapping manner and a brutal jocularly in dealing with the problems of his institution. He laughed heartily, passed around cigarettes and apologized for the lack of cigars, but he categorically refused a general interview with

By JOHN HOWARD LAWSON

the five men and he offered no reasonable explanation for the admitted segregation and ill-treatment of the men, his only excuse being charges that they had tried to "agitate" among the other prisoners, the absurd story that they had tried to set fire to their room, and the general comment that the five prisoners were "dumb" and "they acted stupidly."

The Commissioner's answers on specific questions took the form of a smoke-

screen of evasion and cordiality. "You know how it is; these fellows were stupid; they agitated, they brought it all on themselves."

The only serious charge against the five men relates to their having lighted a squib of paper with a match in order to see the addresses on a package of letters in the dark. (The lights had been out all day and the room was in total darkness.) The frame-up nature of this charge was revealed in every word of

(Continued on Page 20)

*The headquarters of the Marine Workers Industrial Union in San Diego, Cal., after a recent visit by vigilantes.*





# CLASS JUSTICE IN THE U.S.S.R.

How the Soviet Union Treats its Enemies

By GRANVILLE HICKS

*(The Labor Defender invited Granville Hicks, a prominent writer who is neither a member of the I.L.D., nor a member of the Communist Party, to write this article. It expresses his opinion, as a staunch supporter of the Soviet Union.)*

**A** GREAT many of us have been shocked by the recent executions in the Soviet Union. Some of us have long been opposed to capital punishment, which we have regarded as a relic of the Dark Ages. We have come to look upon the U. S. S. R. as the most enlightened country in the world in the treatment of criminals, and these executions therefore seem doubly barbaric.

The Soviet Union has the most enlightened methods of treating crime. In this country men, driven to crime by poverty, are crowded into filthy jails, brutally treated by stupid guards, and then released with no opportunity to earn their living honestly. They become gangsters, and either are allowed to continue their criminal careers with political protection or are killed by the electric chair or by the bullets of federal agents.

In the Soviet Union such men are taken to colonies where they are given every chance to learn to do useful work and live useful lives. They are not deprived of their liberties; they are not at the mercy of ignorant attendants; they are not treated as beasts. Instead, they are made over into true citizens of the Soviet Republic and true builders of Socialism.

That is how criminals should be treated. But we must remember that the Soviet Union is building Socialism in a capitalist world, in a world of enemies. These enemies are inside its borders and outside. It is like war. We all are opposed to war, and we know that war-methods are wrong. But we also know that our enemies will use those methods, and we must resist them. We can only have peace when a classless society is established, and the enemies of a classless society must first be overcome.

What happens in the United States? The government is the instrument of the ruling class, the capitalists. But for the present the ruling class gets the best re-

sults by concealing this fact. Therefore, when it wants to eliminate dangerous enemies, it does not charge them with being class enemies; it frames them. That is what happened to Tom Mooney, to Sacco and Vanzetti, to hundreds upon hundreds of men and women in these United States.

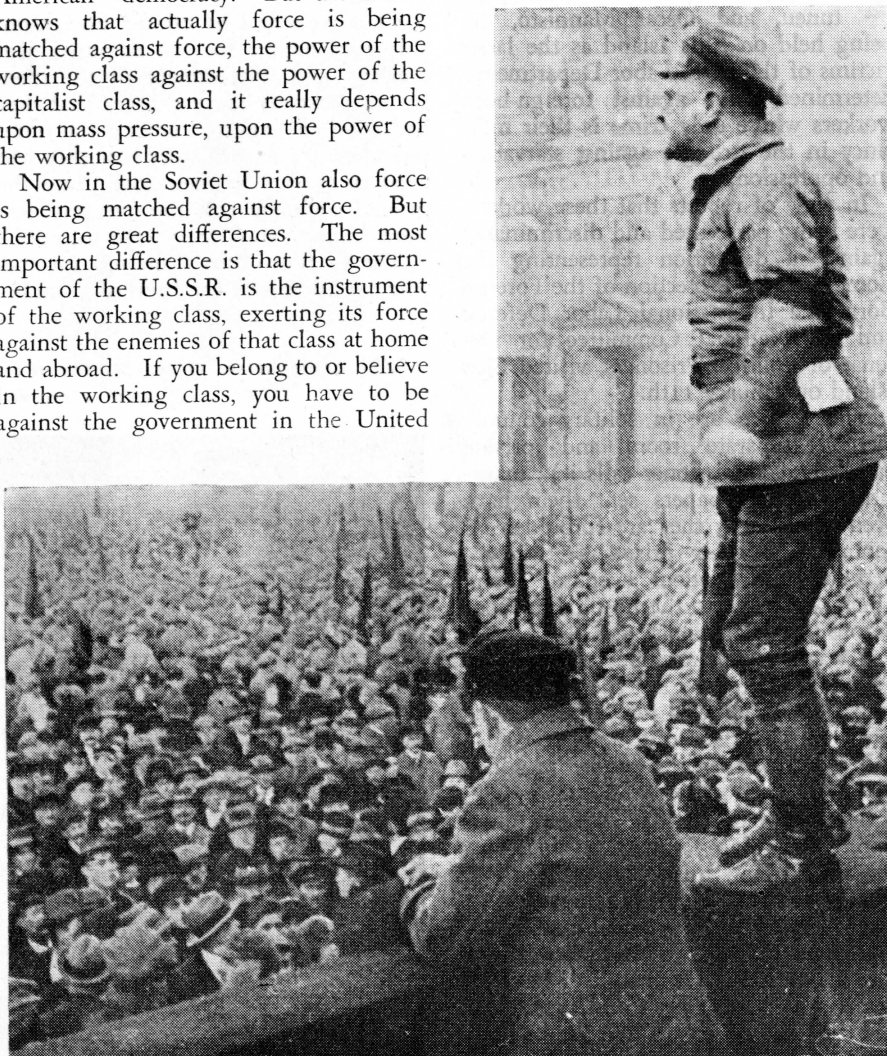
The International Labor Defense fights to protect these victims of American class justice. Since the American ruling class uses frame-up methods, the I. L. D. defends prisoners in the courts, using the best legal aid, taking whatever advantage it can of the rules that capitalism has framed for this game of "justice," exposing the pretensions of American "democracy." But the I.L.D. knows that actually force is being matched against force, the power of the working class against the power of the capitalist class, and it really depends upon mass pressure, upon the power of the working class.

Now in the Soviet Union also force is being matched against force. But there are great differences. The most important difference is that the government of the U.S.S.R. is the instrument of the working class, exerting its force against the enemies of that class at home and abroad. If you belong to or believe in the working class, you have to be against the government in the United

States and for the government in the Soviet Union.

But there is another difference. The government of the United States tries to deceive the workers by pretending that it is impartial, that it is for them just as much as it is for the capitalists. Therefore it has to pretend that it is punishing class enemies for some other reason than that they are class enemies. But the government of the Soviet Union says openly that it is the instrument of the working class and that it proposes to

*Thaelmann, addressing a mass demonstration in Berlin. Hitler must be forced to free him!*





defend the working class and punish its enemies.

When, therefore, a leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is assassinated, the government of the U.S.S.R. hastens to defend the workers. The seriousness of this assassination must not be underestimated. Even if it had been, as some capitalist papers in-



*Mathias Rakosi, heroic victim of Hungarian fascism. His trial is going on now. His vigorous defense must be supported by mass defense of millions the world over. Demand his freedom from Hungary's consuls and ambassador!*

sinuated, an act of individual malice, it would nevertheless have been given political significance by the enemies of the U.S.S.R. White Guards, agents of capitalist powers, and counter-revolutionaries realize that their chances are growing smaller: the Soviet Union is becoming stronger and stronger, and the workers of the world are increasingly ready to spring to its defense. The enemies of the U.S.S.R. want to act before it is too late. They would have liked to follow the assassination of Kirov with the assassination of other Soviet leaders, in the hope both of creating confusion in Russia and of rousing all enemies of the Soviet Union to united action against it.

The Soviet government had to warn the enemies at home and the traitors abroad. It had to make clear to them just what they could expect if they attempted further murders or went beyond terrorism to open intervention. Perhaps the men who have been executed could have been sent to some humane colony and rehabilitated. (Perhaps not; it is one thing to change a maladjusted person, and another to make over a class enemy.) But the great concern of the Soviet Union was not to protect itself against these particular enemies; it was to serve a warning on the greater enemies whose tools they were.

It is hard to admit it, but I think there is nothing else the Soviet Union could have done. In fighting against an enemy that will not hesitate to employ any sort of force, it is force that must be used. We must count the cost of mercy, and if mercy had resulted in the death of more Bolshevik leaders, or in intervention, or even in the interruption of Socialist postpone-

ment of higher standards of living for the Russian workers, too dear a price would have been paid for it.

The only question that can arise in the mind of any friend of the working class is whether the Soviet government had definitely established the guilt of the persons it executed. The trials were secret; they were very brief; there was no appeal. At first it seemed as if the government might have made a mistake.

Now, however, we have learned the facts. We know that the largest number of persons executed were actual agents of foreign powers and tools of the White Guards, who had secretly entered the Soviet Union for the specific purpose of fostering counter-revolution. We know, too, that a small group was definitely implicated in the assassination of Kirov because this was stated by the assassin himself, Nikolaieff. In other words, we are beginning to see that the Soviet government was acting upon full and conclusive evidence.

This seems to me to teach an important lesson. When the news of the executions first arrived, I was afraid the Soviet government had made a mistake. But I remembered other cases, and I remembered how, though the capitalist papers had made it seem that the Soviet government was acting unjustly or at least hastily, we had later discovered, from full records of the trials, that the prisoners had been given far greater justice than class enemies have ever received in an American court. Remembering all this, I decided to wait until the full story was told. The Soviet Union had deserved my confidence in the past, and it should have my con-

*(Continued on Page 18)*

## DIRECTIVES FROM TOM MOONEY

*These were written before the U. S. Supreme Court's base decision. But they apply just as well to the State Supreme Court of California.*

*(The LABOR DEFENDER heartily endorses the proposals made in the letter from Tom Mooney circulated by the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee. The I.L.D. is with you, Comrade Tom, and we are calling on all our members and friends to do what you ask.)*

THE more hell that is raised about my FRAME UP IMPRISONMENT the greater the protest, the larger the demonstrations and the wider the public opinion of mass pressure, the better are my chances for freedom. The more quiet the Mooney case remains the less chance will I have for liberty. Every union and all other working class and

liberal organizations should draft a vigorous protest against this monstrous frame-up conspiracy against militant labor.

These protests should be sent to Pres. Roosevelt, Gov. Merriam, your Congressman and U. S. Senators, to the Mayor of your city, the Governor of your state and your representatives in the state legislature. They should also be sent to your local daily papers, to all labor and other working class papers urging them to publish same and make editorial comment on this infamous travesty upon justice. Special committees should be appointed in all organizations to carry on the work of defending Tom Mooney, now well into his 19th

year of imprisonment. Mass meetings, parades and demonstrations of protest against this conspiracy should be held in every city and town in this country. Funds should be collected and sent directly to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee to help us meet the tremendous financial burden involved in preparing and presenting the case to the U. S. Supreme Court. . . .

I have faith that you will not desert our mutual cause now. Please accept my warmest personal wishes and proletarian greetings from the tomb of the living death, and hoping the dawn of the new year will bring working class victory.

(Signed) TOM MOONEY,

31921





*Mathias Rakosi, heroic victim of Hungarian fascism. His trial is going on now. His vigorous defense must be supported by mass defense of millions the world over. Demand his freedom from Hungary's consuls and ambassador!*

# HILLSBORO—A VICTORY

Of United Front Defense

By JAN WITTENBER

**T**HE husky vigilant hand of the militant working class squeezed perspiration from the corrupt skins of the Montgomery county officials. And it freed the 14 Hillsboro defendants. Had the prosecution had its way, our illegal arrest would have ended in a trial railroading us to long sentences in the penitentiary.

Despite the fact that Claude Pearcy, president of the Progressive Miners' Association, addressed the Nokomis Chamber of Commerce 7 days after our arrest "complimenting them on their campaign of law and order against subversive elements," the rank and file of the local union stuck through thick and thin with our united front defense. Over 50 PMA locals passed resolutions demanding our freedom and the repeal of the Illinois Criminal Syndicalism law.

One of the defendants is a member of the Socialist Party. His leaders resorted to one alibi after another to stay out of the defense. The rank and file supported us and demanded action on the united front. Because of this the "New Leader" issued a false report stating that Jurkanin (the defendant) had joined the Communists and begged the rank and file to consider this in their demand for a united front. After this the S. P. leaders withdrew from the defense entirely, demanding a postponement for 60 days, before they would enter.

On January 7th, the day set for the trial the courtroom was so crowded, the doors could not be closed. At once the prosecution began its dickering. The judge and the prosecution sneaked from one room to another. They offered all

*Post card broadcast by the Vineland I.L.D.*

sorts of compromises to the defense to save themselves the failure of a lost trial. They proposed to parole 9 of the 14, to give 3 of us 30-day sentences and Adams and Wittenber 1-year sentences in the pen. Proposal unanimously rejected by all the defendants.

They tried again. All defendants would be freed if Adams and Wittenber accepted a 1-year sentence. Unanimously rejected. The next variation was the same with a 90-day sentence on the state prison farm. In the early stages of the dickering a proposal was made for 9 month parolled sentences for 9 and 1-year sentences for the other 5. The prosecutor had come a long way.

While all this was going on not one person left the crowded courtroom. The defendants got up and explained what was going on, exposing the manoeuvres of the judge who thought he could trap the defendants into pleading guilty to the original charges of criminal syndicalism and accepting jail sentences. The dickering was so obvious that one reporter is said to have asked State's Attorney Hall whether or not he had a permit to peddle!

The 14 defendants finally agreed among themselves to accept the last proposal: quashing two indictments—treason and conspiracy to do an illegal act, plea of not guilty—9 months suspended sentence to Vandalia farm, on parole with a monthly written report.

The full significance of this partial victory is being further explained to the workers involved in the united front mass campaign. The Village Board of Taylor Springs is sponsoring a meeting for this purpose. A state wide conference for the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law is being called for Febru-

ary 16th at which this question will be analyzed still further. The 14 defendants, all free, are already actively at work helping to organize this conference. Miners, farmers, all sections of the working population in Illinois have taken on a new courage from this splendid defense fight. They know what the only mass defense organization of the working class, the I.L.D., can accomplish. On all sides one sees a firm determination, a real enthusiasm for building the International Labor Defense.

## SUPPORT THE SACRAMENTO DEFENSE!

### BULLETIN!

SACRAMENTO, CAL.—SIX HUNDRED VIGILANTES ARMED HERE FOR TERROR DRIVE AGAINST UNEMPLOYED AND DEFENSE OF 18 CHARGED WITH CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM NOW ON TRIAL—POLICE HOLDING RIOT DRILL IN PARK PREPARATORY FEBRUARY UNEMPLOYED CONVENTION—IN SPITE OF DEFEAT IN ELECTIONS NEAL MCALLISTER SPECIALLY HIRED BY STATE AND EMPLOYERS TO PROSECUTE 18—BILLS PROHIBITING COMMUNIST PARTY AND EVERY CONCEIVABLE WORKERS ACTIVITY INTRODUCED LEGISLATURE—WORSE THAN ANY CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LAW BACKED BY WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST AMERICAN LEGION CHAMBER COMMERCE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION AND OTHER REACTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS—ONE BILL AIMS SET UP DICTATORSHIP UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA—PROPOSED LEGISLATION DICTATED BY HEARST AND CONFORMS CLOSELY HITLER LAWS IN GERMANY—

The above telegram was received by the LABOR DEFENDER as it went to press, and as the trial of the 18 charged with criminal syndicalism in Sacramento was about to start.

A full report of the trial itself, written by an eye-witness and a complete discussion of what led to the arrest of the 18, will appear in the March issue of the LABOR DEFENDER.

### V I C T O R Y

JANUARY 4, 1935—ELEVEN INDICTED SEABROOK STRIKER CASES ~~NOT~~ PROSSED BY PROSECUTOR T.G. TUSO. GUMBERLAND COUNTY AUTHORITIES CAN'T TAKE THE PUNISHMENT HANDED OUT BY SOUTH JERSEY LABOR DEFENSE.

SOUTH JERSEY WORKERS PLEDGE TO MAKE 1935 A YEAR OF VICTORIOUS STRUGLES AGAINST THE TERROR EMPLOYED BY BOSS CLASS TO SMASH WORKERS ORGANIZATIONS.

PLEDGE OUR SUPPORT TO THE STRUGGLES OF ALL WORKERS? HERE AND ABBHAD.

Vineland, I.L.D.  
Bill O'Donnell. S<sup>d</sup>C.

Directions on folding the pamphlet:  
Tear out the next 8 pages as one unit—  
fold once—cut across the top.



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ACTION  
PICTURES**

From the world-wide front of the class struggle  
The I. L. D. in action:  
Conducting mass defense  
Organizing self-defense  
Mobilizing mass pressure

*In every issue of the*

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# SPAIN'S OCTOBER

By Robert Blache



Published by the International Labor Defense—1935

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# SPAIN'S OCTOBER

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## BEFORE OCTOBER

The Republic was beautiful—  
under the Kingdom.

Events in Spain raced like wildfire in a dry forest.

The Samper cabinet fell on October 1, over the Catalan question. Lerroix returned to power on the second. On the third he called in the fascists Gil Robles and de Valesco to share it with him. The general strike broke out on the fourth. On the fifth, Catalonia declared itself an independent republic.

A republic! Forty months before the fascist dictator and his King had been driven out by the toiling majority of Spain's millions. Primo de Rivera took his fat jowls and Alphonse XIII his hungry vulture's beak, for permanent display to the fashionable beaches of France.

A republic! The word became a synonym of liberty in Catalan and Basque. It would mean the end of poverty. It would surely dispossess those 50,000 rapacious landowners who held more than half the soil of the peninsula. The republic would restore the land to its millions of sons and daughters who tilled the domains of the Grandees, the priests, and the big landlords.

Republic would mean land to the peasants, jobs for the unemployed. Long before the crisis, only the most fortunate of the workers of Spain worked as much as two days out of four, or ate in the same proportion. If you had asked ten men: "Are you working?" six would have answered: "Not at all", and four: "A little." A republic would mean bread, land, freedom!

### REALITY

But what actually happened? The actions of the Spanish republic—and by its actions the true identity of any government is revealed—took quite a different pattern. Beneath its new political clothing moved the unchanged body of capitalism, with its handful of rich parasites on top, and teeming misery of the toilers beneath.

The monarchy fell on April 14, 1931. In 1934, not one of all the great results assigned by the toilers of Spain to the "*republic of the workers of all classes*" (as it styled itself)—not one had been accomplished.

There are one hundred million acres of land in Spain. The big landowners still own fifty-seven and a half million acres. By the end of 1933, only one-sixth of one percent, or one hundred thousand acres, had been expropriated and turned over to the landless peasants.

The multimillionaire Catholic church received 131,000,000 pesetas in the space of three years as indemnities for confiscated land from the republican and "non-clerical" state. In spite of the dissolution of the order of Jesuits, and the limitations placed on the church in matters of education, it remains the same formidable power of exploitation and corruption that it was under the Kingdom.

the terrific tasks facing the Spanish I.L.D. We understand our international duty. We realize the vital need for developing the greatest wave of international solidarity with the thousands of victims of Spain's October.

Every Spanish consulate in the country must be made to feel the might of mass protest. Delegations from trade unions and other workers' organizations demanding an end to the terror against the Spanish masses and freedom for the thousands imprisoned will mean much to the fighters in Spain.

Resolutions, passed at meetings, in trade union locals, in all workers' organizations addressed to the Spanish embassy in Washington and to President Zamora in Madrid, Spain, will show the fascists that their vicious deeds are known and condemned and that the workers whom they seek to crush by their brutality have thousands upon thousands of friends and comrades the world over.

This is not a campaign of a week. Martial law continues in Spain indefinitely. The jails are still filled with thousands who have never been tried or even indicted.

Funds to aid these victims are an absolute necessity. The Spanish I.L.D. is heroically collecting what it can despite all the terror of Lerroix and Robles. But the exploited workers of Spain cannot possibly raise enough to care for their comrades. Money must continue to come from all parts of the world to meet the tremendous needs.

Every cent represents another voice raised in international solidarity with the victims of Spanish fascism. Every coin is a blow against fascism, not only in Spain, but in Germany, Austria, Poland, and its ambitions here at home.

The heroes of Asturias, men, women and children, fought not only in their own interests. Their fight against fascism was our fight. The menace of fascism is slowly engulfing the whole of the capitalist world. Here in the United States it is advancing more and more rapidly. In Spain, it is established on a tottering foundation. Its rule is threatened by the organized might of millions. Seventy thousand in the jails will not crush the struggle of the Spanish masses. The Spanish workers are determined to continue their fight against fascism. We can help them. We must help them. Add your voice to the international protest and solidarity movement. Add your contribution to the fighting fund of material aid to the prisoners, widows, orphans—fighters in Spain's October.

Send your contribution through the national office of the I.L.D., 80 East 11th St., N. Y. C. We transmit it by cable direct to the Spanish I.L.D.

Besides the collections which were immediately organized, several sections contributed funds directly from their relief treasuries, amounting to nearly \$30,000. The fighting members of the I.L.D. realized that the victims, the political prisoners, and their families in Spain could not wait for collections, but needed immediate aid.

The Belgian I.L.D. published a special number of its newspaper, devoted to the heroic struggles of the Spanish people and to the cause of solidarity with the victims of the terror.

The English section sent 50 pounds sterling to the Spanish comrades, and organized special collections of money, food, and clothing. A ship was chartered to take the food and clothing to Spain.

The Cuban I.L.D. held huge demonstrations in Havana and Camaguay. A special campaign of meetings and collections was organized throughout the country.

In Berlin itself, the Spanish ambassador had to complain to his government that during the whole morning of November 12, he was forced to contemplate a huge inscription, inscribed overnight with indelible red paint on the sidewalk under his window: "Down with Spanish fascism! The workers of Berlin express their solidarity with their Spanish brothers!"

The Shutzbunders of Austria, now in Moscow working on the construction of a hotel, decided to dedicate a whole day's wages for the Spanish revolutionists.

The American I.L.D. mobilized protest actions to the Spanish consulates and sent \$1,500 for relief.

### WHAT MUST STILL BE DONE

But here in America we have not given the full share of our international duty to our sister section of the I.L.D. in Spain. We who are faced with the colossal burdens of defending thousands in every corner of our country who have been taken prisoner in the class struggle, with national campaigns of the dimensions of Scottsboro, Herndon, Mooney, McNamara, can easily understand the problems of the Spanish I.L.D.

We still enjoy a measure of freedom in the United States. With the exception of the deep South our organization functions legally and openly. We are still permitted to hold meetings, to publish literature, to keep headquarters. But even with this comparative measure of freedom, we have tasted the difficulty of working under conditions of open terror. Our I.L.D. offices were smashed during the vigilante raids that followed the General and marine strikes on the West coast. Our organizers were thrown into jail. In the South, in Alabama and Georgia, office after office established by the I.L.D. has been raided and smashed by police and thugs, equipment has been confiscated and thousands of pieces of literature wantonly destroyed.

Multiplying this situation a hundred fold, we can easily appreciate

The national question is no nearer solution. Madrid conceded a shred of autonomy to Catalonia, but kept all finances, customs, and the army in its own hands.

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

On January 1, 1934, the government officially admitted that there were 619,000 unemployed. But in reality a million and a half men suffered in forced idleness. Unemployment relief and insurance were as absent as they had been under Primo de Rivera's hated dictatorship, and those who had jobs were scarcely less miserable than the totally unemployed. An agricultural worker in Salamanca, for example, earned two pesetas and a half (20 cents in American money) per day!

A law, outlawing all strikes was passed under the slogan of "*defense of the Republic*." Another, passed on April 8, 1933, delivered all working-class organizations into the merciless hands of the authorities. Long before the October insurrection, the prisons were choked with close to ten thousand revolutionary workers and peasants.

The criminal deception practiced on the Spanish people under the "republic" was all the greater inasmuch as since 1931, the power had been in the hands of the "*left republicans*": socialists, radical-socialists, republicans, right Catalans, and Galician republicans—all "*radical*" parties.

Elections, in the year 1933, strengthened the reactionaries. They became bolder in their attacks. In April they drove the Socialists out of power, replacing them with "*Lerroux radicals*."

The parliamentary elections at the end of the year confirmed the triumph of the reactionary right, which rose from 42 to 212 seats. The loss of the "*left*" parties was heavy. Victims of an anti-democratic system of elections which they had themselves worked out, they saved only 98 seats out of 291.\*

Yet, what a poor political prophet a ballot-box can be under a capitalist system! Having achieved this success, the fine feudal, clerical, and fascist flower of Spain, grouped together in the famous C.E.D.A., felt that its moment of final triumph was approaching. Lerroux, in power, began to march openly down the fascist road. Plans were laid to restore to the nobility the bits of land that had been taken from them; to give its property back to the church, and with it all its rights in the educational system. Monarchist ministers and generals were amnestied. The price of bread went up. Potatoes suddenly retailed at double their former price. In February, 1934, the last "*left*" radicals were eliminated from the government.

### THE OFFENSIVE BEGINS

But even while the financiers, priests, and landowners were celebrating these gains, the toiling population on the land went over to

\*The Communist Party, on the other hand, increased its votes from 60,000 in 1931, to 400,000 in 1933.



the offensive. With hunger generating energy, they attacked 225 great estates in the month of January, and succeeded in occupying 164. Twenty-four villages officially distributed the harvests of the Grand Seignors among the toilers. Poor peasants and agricultural workers cut wood in the forests (a "crime" against the feudal lords of Spain), took over the distribution of the harvests and formed peasants' defense militia which battled with scythes and pistols against the Civil Guards.

Three hundred thousand agricultural workers went on strike in the month of June. In April a strike in Madrid succeeded in reducing a fascist demonstration before the Escorial (royal palace), planned for 100,000 to 50,000.

Daily, everywhere, the destitute people of Spain, those who cultivated the land and built industry, went into battle against those who starved and oppressed them. Eight hundred and sixty strikes in 1931, 700 the following year, and more than 1,000 in 1933. In September, 70,000 Madrid workers marched militantly behind the bier of Joaquin De Grado Escalona, young Communist murdered by a fascist. It was the surge of revolution, inexorable as the floods of spring.

The workers and peasants counted their dead at 100, their comrades in the jails at 10,000, their wounded by the thousands. The Spanish International Labor Defense was pressed with tasks on every hand. Such matters as suppression of publications, raids on workers' centers and closing of their headquarters were matters of daily occurrence.

Then Lerroux came to power again. The shadow of fascism had enveloped him more completely than ever before. Restlessness, consternation, anger, stirred the toilers of city and field. The revolutionary movement surged. . . .

## II. SPAIN'S OCTOBER

On October 7, three days after the proclamation of the Catalan republic, its president, Companys, capitulated. For three days he resisted the demand of the Catalan Youth and the Workers Alliance (Socialist and Communist), that he arm the people. But he held out only a few hours against General Batet, before yielding to him—and receiving his congratulations.

### ITS HEROES

The history of Spain's October is not yet written, and could not in any case be contained in this pamphlet, which is dedicated solely to a plea for international solidarity. Full of political lessons, rich with proletarian heroism, this movement will stimulate avid, admiring study in the workers of other countries. But this much can be stated confidently—that for 10 consecutive days and nights, it brought insomnia and anguish to those who exploit and profit.

In spite of the illegality of the work, it was undertaken from the very first with energy commensurate with its magnitude.

While the artillery still roared, and the streets ran with blood, the Spanish International Labor Defense succeeded in bringing the equivalent of twenty cents in American money, *daily* to every prisoner.

## THE I. R. A. ACTS

The prisons and prison-ships of Spain are gorged with prisoners, equivalent to the population of a city like Schenectady. Wracked in soul and body, chained to stone walls and in the dark holds of freighters, they think of their homes—destroyed, of their families—murdered or dispersed. The roads of France are covered with refugees, constantly being pressed northward, driven about, waiting for a word of friendship, for the material help of proletarian solidarity. Some of them are orphans who have seen their parents massacred, and who have survived them only to starve. There are thousands of young bodies to clothe, frozen, swollen feet to shoe, wounds to be dressed.

There are, finally, thousands of insurgents to be supplied with legal aid, to be protected by a fearless campaign against summary sentences of imprisonment, torture, death.

The task of the I.L.D. in Spain, France, Portugal, even with the support of the millions who can be organized by I.L.D. sections in other parts of the world, is perhaps beyond its strength. But it is determined to succeed. And it is accomplishing it—so fast that by the time this pamphlet is read, the following paragraphs will probably have become the most out-of-date in this pamphlet. So we will only try to sketch the very first solidarity moves to meet the Spanish terror.

The struggle was still raging in Spain, the Foreign Legion had just been dispatched against the miners who had taken over control of the region, when the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid called on its sections in seventy countries of the world to organize assistance for the victims of the Spanish reaction.

But this call was superfluous. Internationalism is so deeply rooted in the sections of the I.R.A. throughout the world that they reacted immediately to the situation in Spain, both in the countries where the work of the I.L.D. is carried on legally, and in those countries where it has been driven completely underground.

While the battle was going on, appeals were sent out by all the sections for protest against the terror and actions of solidarity with its victims. They came from France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, and the countries of the Caribbean and of South America.

The MOPR, (I.L.D. of the Soviet Union), was foremost in the ranks in the collection of funds for aid to the Spanish victims. Nearly \$400,000 was collected for relief and defense and sent to the I.L.D. of Spain for distribution.

"Is it true that the revolutionaries despise money?" the reporter asked.

"It is absolutely true. They had the Economic Bank in their hands, and did not even touch it. The leaders, especially, tried to avoid difficulties. I witnessed a picturesque scene. Some miners went into a tavern, and began to drink wine. All at once, one of the leaders appeared at the door and shouted: 'Do you live to drink, or to make the revolution?' They all left the tavern at once."

The quotations give an idea how completely the "atrocious campaign" failed and why the government so furiously ordered the arrest of all foreign investigators: Lord Listowell and Ellen Wilkinson, English members of the World Relief Committee, Miss Tery of the French bourgeois newspaper "l'Oeuvre," the lawyer Oppmann, a delegate of the International Juridical Association who offered to assist the victims of the court martial, Rabate, correspondent of the French weekly "Monde", and others. The last-mentioned was threatened with twelve years imprisonment because he dared to include two copies of anti-fascist leaflets in his correspondence.

#### RIGHT OF ASYLUM

The right of asylum, freely granted by the French government to counter-revolutionists, from the White Guards who arm and drill for intervention in the Soviet Union, to Primo de Rivera and King Alphonse XIII of Spain, has been violated almost daily by this same country in regard to Spanish revolutionary refugees. The French police summarily returned all refugees from the white terror to the Spanish Civil Guards.

The mayor Aluisellas, his secretary, and three small merchants from the same town, were arrested almost the moment they arrived in France, and turned over at Portillon to Spanish police, who had been summoned by telephone. Five anti-fascist refugees, among them a Spanish soldier were turned back in the same way to the Spanish police at Marchandean, on October 25. The same thing happened to four others at Canfranc. The secretary of the Taxi-Drivers Union of Pamplona, Eucario Redin d'Anneguy, who took refuge in Pau, was also returned.

It is impossible to estimate the total number of refugees sent back to prison and death in this manner. Only in a few cases were official reports made public. Similar actions took place along the Spanish-Portuguese border. Among those delivered by the Portuguese government to the Spanish government was Simon Diaz, secretary of the Asturian regional committee of the Communist Party.

#### SPANISH INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

With scores of thousands in jail, scores of thousands of women and children left destitute by imprisonment and murder, the tasks of the Spanish International Labor Defense have been tremendous.

On October 9, while the cabinet deliberated, Lerroux could hear the rattle of insurgents' bullets against the walls of the Escorial. The merchants of Madrid were ordered by the authorities, on pain of severe penalties, to keep their shops open. The concierges (door-keepers) were held responsible for shots fired on civil guards by elusive inhabitants of their houses—fired by sons of the classic country of guerilla warfare. News came of the mutiny of the Gerone regiment, which executed five officers and the general staff commandant, Dominguez. Neither the telephone, telegraph, or railways were in operation. At Trubia, a battery of artillery fell into the hands of the insurgents, and Oviedo was taken by storm after street battles that lasted five days and displayed the rarest heroism. Workers scaled walls, their pockets full of dynamite, exposed themselves to machine-gun fire, lit short cartridge fuses with their cigarettes, and were blown up with them if the objective was too close, or their movements too slow.

At Barcelona, the stupidity—or treachery—of Companys, who broadcast his call to arms over the radio only after the armies of the state were already within the walls, crippled but did not crush the revolutionary population. When the Spanish regiment from Monjuich marched into Remblas, store and factory employes shot from the windows, and kept up a withering fire on the troops of General Batet until artillery-fire crumbled the buildings into dust, burying them beneath the debris.

At Sabadell, the textile workers are all members of the anarchist union. They were expelled by the leaders two years ago. They were too much inclined, it was stated, to form united fronts with Communists and Socialists. On the 5th, they prepared for strike—and battle. On the 7th, at four in the morning, they sent out columns of trucks to the relief of Barcelona. On the road they learned of Companys' capitulation, and the people, rage in their hearts but hopes undermined, carefully hid their arms for future use.

Even when it became clear that the treachery of the anarchists and the unpreparedness of the movement, were going to bring defeat, and that the struggle was confined to Asturias, the government troops, equipped with the most modern weapons, preceded by bombing planes and followed up by artillery regiments, found no signs of weakening among the revolutionaries.

The labored dispatches of General Lopez, assigned to the subjugation of Asturias, recall the daily bulletins of the general staff during the war, when things went badly. On October 17, Lopez blamed geographical difficulties for slowing up his advance. On the 20th it was "snow and rain." It took him another week to overcome the resistance of the miners of Pennaroya, and on the 28th he admitted he was still bombarding the entrenchments of the Asturian revolutionaries who had taken refuge in the mountains.

## ITS ALLIES, THE SOLDIERS

International revolutionary experience is a valuable thing. Because they had studied the history of the Paris Commune and of the 1905 revolution in Russia, and learned its lessons, the strategists of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 spared the Russian soldiers, peasants, and workers the agony of defeat and the white terror.

Other organizations of the international proletariat will make a meticulous examination of the events and preparations for Spain's October of 1934. They will no doubt give special emphasis to the absence, at the side of the insurgents, of the decisive masses of peasants, soldiers, and oppressed colonials; they will establish the responsibility for this fatal underestimation of anti-war work.

One thing is clear, that in spite of this failure, the bourgeoisie was able to use its own armies only at great risk.

Interpreting the spirit of his troops, Lieutenant-Colonel Lopez Bravo, commanding an "African" battalion, told his friends that: "My men will never shoot their brothers." He was immediately withdrawn from the command.

It is highly significant that the criticisms against Lerroux and Gil Robles in the Cortes (parliament) by the monarchists, nearly all deal with the fraternization between the army and the insurgents. They complain of the revolt of the Gerone regiment, the solidarity demonstration of the flyers at Leon, the mutiny of the sailors of the fleet at Santander, and many other similar actions.

Reports have filtered through indicating how widespread fraternization was. In Asturias, a soldier shouted: "*I cannot kill these men!*" and was promptly shot down by his lieutenant. At Carthagena, a quartermaster and 14 sailors refused to serve the counter-revolution. They were tried by court-martial and nearly all of them sentenced to death.

To make up for the numerous defections, and to complete its victory over the insurgents, the government was forced to draw troops in from Africa, the Foreign Legion, Moroccan rifle regiments composed entirely of natives.

Luis de Sirvel, a newspaperman employed by the "Voz de Guipuzcoa", a bourgeois paper, and a member of the "radical Socialist" party, was in Oviedo late in October. He witnessed unspeakable cruelties practiced by the imported troops, and collected certain documents. Among these were: 1) a secret order to officers to shoot down on the spot all persons found bearing arms, and 2) a photograph showing a Moroccan soldier wearing two freshly-severed heads hanging from his belt. A White Russian Lieutenant in the Foreign Legion, named Ivanof, heard that Sirval had these things in his possession. He had him arrested.

On October 26, just as he was being arrested, Sirval managed to

I disapprove as much as anyone, have been the exception, and by no means the rule. This impression of mine has been categorically confirmed by General Lopez Ochoa. I say that these stories of crucified sons of officers, these children whose eyes have been torn out, are pure and simple lies. The revolutionaries killed those who resisted them by force of arms, but in general they respected their prisoners."

## RED ORDER

In spite of the fever of revolution, the tense atmosphere of combat, and the shadow of death that attended the birth of the Asturian Soviets, order reigned.

This proclamation by the Oviedo Soviet, inspired by deep concern for the interests of the population speaks for itself.

## NOTICE

*We have decided:*

1) *All pillaging must cease immediately, and we warn that all individuals who may be caught in any act of this sort will be shot;*

2) *Every person having arms in his possession must immediately report to the Committee. Anyone found bearing arms, without having previously reported to the Committee, will be severely dealt with;*

3) *All persons in whose houses pillaged objects are stored must return them immediately. Those who fail to obey this order will suffer the punishment reserved for enemies of the Revolution;*

4) *All members of administrative committees of workers' organizations of Oviedo must report to the Committee immediately. This order is made in connection with the distribution of food and clothing;*

5) *The members of the Parties and Youth organizations of Oviedo must report immediately with their membership books, to form a red guard which will maintain order and guard the welfare of the revolution.*

Oviedo, October 9, 1934.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

## TWO VICTIMS OF "RED" ATROCITIES"

One of the editors of "Stampa", an equally reactionary paper, also published in Madrid, interviewed an official of the "Locksmiths' Employers' Union," who was held prisoner by the revolutionaries. He asked him to describe his sufferings.

"No," he said. "We were not ill-treated. Whenever they spoke to us, it was to offer us some ham and some coffee. We did not accept, because we did not have any appetite."

Another ex-prisoner of the insurgents, Judain, a municipal official, told the same journalist:

"We were treated very well. We got bread and ham three times a day."



He knew of his execution 24 hours in advance. When his wife came to pay him a last visit, he wanted to be photographed with his baby in his arms, so when his son grew up he would know his father's face. The Jesuits forced him to remain in the condemned cell, and turned his last night into a wake. In the morning, he was taken to the execution grounds. The firing-squad was several hours late, and Corrales lived his last hours marching up and down to fight back the intense cold.

#### IV. THE ASTURIAN SOVIETS

Cruelty is always prudish. It loves to justify itself by besmirching its victims. While the judges and the Civil Guards did their jobs, the newspapermen were not idle. While the first wiped out the lives of the militant fighters, the others dishonored their memory.

The Communards of Paris in 1871 were called "fire-bugs"; the colonial peoples, robbed and massacred during the last few centuries, have been dubbed "barbarians" by the imperialist murderers; and the Russian workers, who were killed and whose wives were violated by the troops of Wrangel and Denikin, in the pay of Clemenceau and Curzon, were called "red bandits" and even "cannibals".

Spanish newspapermen, eating out of the hands of the big trusts and the lords of the land, have added nothing new. They have not advanced the science of lies by a single step. Their lies were coarse and unimaginative. For example, here is how one Maurice Prax, describes the Oviedo insurrection:

"For ten days, the revolutionaries were in power. Unspeakable atrocities were committed. Civil Guards were slaughtered and carved up like cows in a butcher-shop. Neither women nor children were spared. Priests were burned alive. Houses, railways, bridges, and roads were blown up with dynamite. The devastation of the land was carried out with a fury of bitterness and despair."

The quotation is from the "Petit Parisien," published at Paris, France, October 30. However, on the same day the "Heraldo de Madrid" said:

"It is not true that revolutionaries at Sama slaughtered and ate a priest. It is not true that at Giano they cut open the belly of the wife of a Civil Guard and forced a three-cornered hat into the opening. It is not true that the body of a captain of Civil Guards was shown in a butcher-shop window with a sign 'Pork Sold Here.' It is not true, either, that the revolutionaries pierced the eyes of the children of Civil Guards."

Captain Fernandez Castillejo of the general staff, himself stated: "The cruelties attributed to the revolutionaries of Asturia are part of a perfidious campaign of exaggeration." He went further: "Around the events in Asturia, which I wholeheartedly condemn, there has been constructed a perfidious campaign of exaggeration. Cruelties, of which

scribble a note to an official in Madrid, which reached him next day.

... "Prisoner Oviedo Please Intercede Ochoa, Sirval."

The official telephoned to General Ochoa on the 27th. It was too late. The White Russian officer had gone into Sirval's cell, murdered him, and taken the documents.

#### III. THE INQUISITION LIVES AGAIN

The vengeance of the landowners and priests, the industrialists and bankers, of Spain was measured by their fear.

The Jesuits of the inquisition, and the corsairs of the Atlantic may be proud of their descendants. Torquemada burned and tortured 8,000 prisoners in the 18 years, between 1480 and 1498. The lords and merchants, the great adventurers, of Spain, swarmed like a plague over the rich lands of Central and South America in the XVth Century. They hunted men and gold, annihilated whole peoples. Their cruelty, the instinctive hatred of a bandit for his victim, of the parasite against the slave who feeds him, have survived. 1934 can rival 1530 in the history of the Spanish bourgeoisie. The executioners of old slew one at a time. Their modern descendants conduct massacres with autogyros and artillery for weapons. In 1530 they called it a "purification." Today, they call it a "clean-up."

*"The legionnaires have made a real clean-up of the enemy at Oviedo, with efficient and effective methods, when they were being shot from behind. They were able to settle accounts with all those found with arms in their hands, or surprised in aggressive positions! (1) They dealt exemplary punishment, in accord at all times with the severest laws of war."* (From *El Debate*, Madrid.)

#### HOW MUCH BLOOD?

Figures? Statistics? They are not yet available. The blood still flows, the flesh still screams. When the legionnaires captured a group of Asturians, they forced them to dig their own common grave, and shot them into it. Commandant Doval gave orders to the shepherds not to take their flocks out any more, for fear that the refugees on the mountain peaks and in the snow-filled ravines might find means to keep from starving, which would prevent them from surrendering.

The legionnaires took the wounded out of the hospital at Oviedo, in groups of six and eight. As they walked off they were killed on the pretense that they had tried to escape. This is what is called the "ley de fuga" (law of flight.)

A poor woman whose husband had "disappeared", went out to look for him. She found an open grave into which 26 bodies had been thrown, some heads down and some heads up. Among them were two municipal guards from a Socialist commune, killed by blows from a rifle-butt. At Sotroñdio, a Socialist town, all the municipal guards were massacred.

Admission of the Oviedo massacres is contained in the proclamation of the military authorities there, which was scattered from airplanes:

*"All the damage that has been done by aerial bombardment, and by the troops, are but a glimpse of what you will infallibly suffer if you do not cease your rebellion and lay down your arms before sunrise. After that time, we will march against you until you are completely destroyed, without quarter or pardon."*

Every act of the armed forces proves clearly that the objective of the Spanish bourgeoisie, especially in regard to Asturias, was the extermination of the miners. Oviedo, capital of Asturias, was practically destroyed by aerial bombardment. The men, women, and children who perished in this bombardment are not counted among the 3,000 officially reported killed. In three days, in Oviedo alone, 1,000 persons were buried.

### THE TERROR SPREADS

Immediately after the city of Oviedo was taken, 700 workers were shot in the infantry garrison by the government troops. Others were shot by firing squads on warships, in the streets, and on the public squares. Immediately after the recapture of the Asturian cities, revolutionary miners were shot down wherever they were found. Eight days after the suspension of hostilities, firing-squads were busy executing wounded revolutionaries in one of the hospitals in the Asturias. Blood literally ran in the streets of Oviedo after the city had been taken by the government forces.

Sixty thousand prisoners, eighty thousand prisoners; six thousand killed; ten thousand wounded—these are provisional figures. In the little town of Figueras alone, 600 bodies were found piled up in the chateau.

### THE VICTIMS SPEAK

A Basque revolutionary describes two nights spent in the prison at Bilbao as follows:

"Some of the workers are tied to a bench at the hips, their bodies dangling on either side. They dare not let their heads touch the floor; a watchful guard forces them, with brutal kicks, to stay in an absolutely horizontal position. At the same time, they are so tied that it is impossible for them to sit up. Their hands are tied behind their backs, and they are forced to stay in the position I have described from dusk to dawn."

Another witness, from the Asturias, told a newspaperman:

"Just before I left, I heard a Civil Guardsman say: 'If the government says we must not execute them, we manage to deal out justice just the same.' They did it, and they still do it. The Guards and the legionnaires arrest suspects in their homes, take them into the mountains, and shoot them. That is, when they shoot them. Often, they kill them by beating them with rifle-butts."

The reactionary Spanish press eagerly publishes full descriptions of scenes of cruelty. The reactionary "Ahora" said on October 18:

*"General Ochoa's troops found one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement, near Aviles. He was a Socialist mayor, travelling in a car with a young man who is supposed to be his son. General Ochoa arrested them and made them march at the head of the troops during the offensive."*

On the 17th, the same paper reported: *"After the bombardment of the fishing village of Cimadevilla by the cruiser 'Libertad', 300 persons,—men, women and children—were found, shelterless, and driven half-mad. They were arrested. Some of them were tied together and held in the square, in order to protect the troops."*

The "Stampa" of October 20 confirmed the report of the arrest of 40 in Gijon of these, mostly between the ages of 18 and 25. They were used by one of the brigades as cover against the revolutionaries. Every one was killed, saluting with raised fist.

### COURT MARTIAL

The workers taken alive, and not killed on the spot by the civil guards, are still in danger. They must face the Court Martial which have already caused Jose Laredo Corrales, of Gijon, and Guerra Pardo, of Leon, to be executed, and who have at the time this is written sentenced additional scores to death.

A bitter campaign, into which the International Labor Defense of Spain, in spite of the terror, is throwing all its forces, is being fought around the execution of the brave insurgents. The fascists and the Jesuits are stamping with impatience, demanding their toll of corpses. Gil Robles has made the following cruel and crafty statement to the press:

"Examples must be made at all costs, to avoid the return of those painful days. In the case of serious punishment, delay in its execution is in itself a cruelty."

Those found "guilty" who have not been condemned to the gallows have been condemned to punishment almost as terrible. Here are a few of the more "kindly" of the sentences:

Manuel Sierra Martinez, 19, condemned to 12 years imprisonment for distribution of "subversive leaflets".

Luis Alacio, student, sentenced to three years and a day for "insulting a Civil Guard". Garcia del Moral, peasant, sentenced to 20 years for being caught with a weapon in his hand. Mendieta Lopez, 24, 12 years for trying to persuade a street-car conductor to strike. A worker in Coruna, 15 years for possession of forbidden arms. These examples, only a few of hundreds, are taken from "El Debate", agrarian catholic newspaper of Madrid.

The press also provided many details on the execution of Jose Corrales: -

**ORGANIZE  
SCOTTSBORO  
HERNDON  
PROTESTS!**

**DOUGLASS DAY**

February 12

By RICHARD B. MOORE

What is the most immediate, burning organizational task that faces every branch and every member of the I.L.D. in the fight to free the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon?

It is the organization of the broadest united front mass protest movement against these attempted legal lynchings, in the course of which we must not only raise \$10,000 to pay for the expenses of the appeals; we must draw in hundreds of thousands of whites and Negroes into active struggle; we must build the I.L.D.

The frame-work exists, in the National-Scottsboro-Herndon Acting Committee, and in the local action committees, for the forging of such a united front. The job of the I.L.D. is to build more of such committees, to broaden those now existing. Through its leadership in the campaign, through its independent action—and this means on the part of every member and every branch—the I.L.D. must build this protest movement everywhere, in the locals of the Socialist Party, of the American Federation of Labor, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other mass organizations. Meetings should be called jointly by these organizations, the action committees, and the I.L.D. Protest resolutions should be introduced to each of these organizations. Scottsboro stamps should be sold to their members. Their participation in every Scottsboro-Herndon action secured.

**FLOOD THE MAILS WITH SUCH  
RESOLUTIONS AS THESE:**

To the Judges of the U. S. Supreme Court:

The Scottsboro boys are innocent. This has been overwhelmingly proved. The lynch-verdicts of death against Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris are now before you on appeal, the Patterson case for a second time.

Angelo Herndon has been sentenced to 18 to 20 years on the chain-gang for organizing starving white and Negro workers together. His case is also up before you on appeal.

I (we) demand the complete reversal of these lynch verdicts, and immediate freedom of the nine innocent Scottsboro Negro boys and Angelo Herndon.

Name .....

Address .....

ON February 12th the enlightened and conscious toilers, black and white, will honor the memory of Frederick Douglass, the heroic Negro slave who led the most consistent struggle for the abolition of chattel-slavery and for the rights of the downtrodden Negroes.

Fully do we recognize the "progressive and revolutionary significance" of the struggle for the overthrow of chattel-slavery which culminated in the Civil War of 1861-1865. Both for the enslaved Negroes and the white workers and poor farmers, the abolition of chattel-slavery was a great, historic step forward. But contrary to the lies of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the northern capitalists never intended to free a single slave. Forced into the war by the violent class conflict between the Southern slaveholders and themselves, the bankers and bosses of the North conducted the war solely to establish their system of wage slavery—their power to exploit, rob and suppress the people of the entire country.

As the political representative of the rising capitalist class, Lincoln was driven by events and the logic of the class struggle to abolish slavery. In his speech at Carlinville, Ill., he said of Negroes: "Shall we free them and make them our political and social equals? MY OWN FEELINGS WILL NOT ADMIT OF THIS." To Greeley he wrote: "If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it." Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation only when he found it impossible to win the war without the decisive force of Negro labor and the 200,000 heroic Negro soldiers.

Outstanding among the real abolitionists who led the fight in the face of brutal terror to overthrow chattel slavery and for full equal rights for Negroes, is the revolutionary Negro leader, Frederick Douglass. Born a slave, Douglass early rebelled, resisting his overseer, though he knew he faced death for doing so. "I had reached the point at which I was not afraid to die. This spirit made me a freeman in fact, though I still remained a slave in form."

After several attempts, Douglass succeeded in escaping to the North where he soon joined the abolitionists. He traveled throughout this country and in England and Scotland, challenging the defenders of slavery, exposing the system and arousing mass struggle against

it. He published an anti-slavery paper, aided slaves to escape through the Underground Railroad, joined in the rescue of slaves from slave-hunters under the Fugitive Slave Law, supported John Brown in his immortal raid on Harpers Ferry, not going with him because he "had other work to do for the slave . . . the tools to those who can use them!"

The attitude of Frederick Douglass to the laws and courts of the slave masters is inspiring in this crucial moment. It is absolutely opposed to the servile and treacherous policy of the Leibowitz', Haynes', Whites, Pickens, Houstons, etc. Douglass in a public speech correctly denounced the Dred Scott decision of the U. S. Supreme Court and called for mass struggle against it.

Characterizing it as "this infamous decision of the Slaveholding wing of the Supreme Court," he declared: "Such a decision cannot stand. . . . We can appeal from this hell-black judgment of the Supreme Court, to the court of common sense and humanity. You may close your Supreme Court against the black man's cry for justice, but you cannot, thank God, close against him the ear of a sympathizing world."

Douglass fought hard against the Jim-Crow policies of the Lincoln government, finally forced equal pay for the Negro soldiers and reprisals against the especially brutal treatment of these by the Confederate army. After the Civil War, Douglass fought militantly for the vote for Negroes, for equal rights and against peonage and lynching.

Yet the servile Negro reformist misleaders loudly spread the myth of Lincoln while burying the name and work of Douglass or tacking his name to the tail of Lincoln's in Lincoln-Douglass celebrations.

Let us honor the memory of Frederick Douglass on February 12. Let us carry forward the militant revolutionary traditions by building the United Front of Mass Struggle. Thunder into the ears of the U. S. Supreme Court: The Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, Tom Mooney—MUST GO FREE! Let us demonstrate our solidarity with the victims of fascism in Germany, Italy, Spain—with all the victims of boss-class terror. Let us intensify the fight for equal rights and the right of self-determination for Negroes! For the rights and freedom of the toilers of all races and nationalities!



# THE GREAT DYNAMITE PLOT

of the North Carolina Textile Manufacturers

"WE are getting one of the rawest deals, equal to Tom Mooney."

That is how seven textile workers in Burlington, N. C., sum up the frame-up that has put them behind bars for sentences totalling 27 years. The frame-up, which hinges around the old familiar theme of dynamite planted by agents of the mill bosses, is aimed at the organization of the textile workers. It is a direct attempt to smash the United Textile Workers' Union in North Carolina and the South.

The seven men are Tom Canipe, Avery Kimrey, Howard Overman, J. F. Harraway, J. P. Hoggard, Florence Blacklock, and John Anderson. Anderson drew the longest term—8 to 10 years at hard labor.

During the hard-fought textile strike last September, the E. M. Holt Plaid Mill of Burlington, not content with calling the National Guard to gas, club and beat strikers, had a few sticks of dynamite planted in the yard of an abandoned section of the mill. When the dynamite exploded—injuring no one and damaging no property except a few windows—the mill bosses were

ready to proceed with the frame-up. Soon seven union men, including Anderson, president of the Piedmont Textile Council, were in jail.

With the help of four detectives from Uniontown, Pa., former henchmen of the notorious anti-union and anti-

beaten, made almost insensible with dope. And before a jury from which all union men were barred, these workers were sentenced to long terms in prison.

The workers of North Carolina have not taken this attack on the union lying down. They have formed a Workers' Defense Committee, which has enlisted the help of large numbers of the workers, and of sympathetic intellectuals. It is fighting for a reversal of the decision against the Burlington seven. The Workers' Defense Committee needs aid. Its address is Box 427, Graham, N. C.



*Tom Canipe, one of the framed textile strikers, and his family*

labor Frick Coal Company, and with the willing assistance of three paid stool-pigeons of the local mills, the frame-up got under way. The arrested workers were tortured in jail,



## CLASS JUSTICE IN THE U.S.S.R.

*(Continued from Page 7)*

fidence now until I was satisfied that it no longer deserved it.

Some other writers, on the other hand, took the stories in the capitalist press at their face value, and they began to issue protests. What happened? These writers found that they had actually joined an alliance composed of William Randolph Hearst and his flunkies, open White Guard enemies of the U.S.S.R., and the most reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party. They discovered that, whether they liked it or not, they were not serving the cause of justice but were fostering an attack on the Soviet Union and the working class.

Personally I would rather be on the side of the Soviet Union, even if I believed it had made a mistake in a particular instance, than on the side of Hearst and his gang. I would rather trust the Soviet Union to remedy its mistakes, if it makes them, than encourage anti-Soviet, which means anti-working class and pro-Fascist, sentiment in the United States. And I think it becomes increasingly clear that no mistake was made.

## AMONG OURSELVES—

The 16-page pamphlet in this issue is a feature never before used by any other magazine in the U.S.A. Some of the European and South American countries have used this format for many years and found it to be very popular. Spain's October is a complete history since 1932, the fall of the monarchy until the turbulent days of October, 1934.

Among the writers is WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, one of the best known and beloved revolutionary leaders. JAN WITTENBER, one of the 14 accused of criminal syndicalism in Hillsboro, Ill., and freed by mass defense, is one of the leading members of the Chicago District of the I.L.D. JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, famous playwright, is also the author of "A Southern Welcome," a splendid report of a visit to Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys. GRANVILLE HICKS is one of the editors of the "New Masses," leading Marxian critic in the field of literature.

A new regular feature will begin in

the March issue: SELF DEFENSE IN COURT, practical and useful advise as well as a discussion on this extremely important phase of labor defense. This issue will also carry the history of the PARIS COMMUNE by an outstanding French writer.

A worker from Detroit writes: "I was a regular subscriber of the LABOR DEFENDER, but for some reason I forgot to renew my subscription. Everytime I went to a meeting I bought a copy or two. We know what the I.L.D. means to the workers. It is the duty of every working man and working woman to subscribe to our own magazine, the LABOR DEFENDER. Enclosed you will find money order for one dollar for a year's subscription."

Nicholas Wirth newly added to our staff as managing editor will speak at the Labor Defender Ball in Philadelphia to be given at Ambassador Hall, 1704 N. Broad Street on Feb. 22, 1935.



*Tom Canipe, one of the framed textile strikers, and his family*

labor Frick Coal Company, and with the willing assistance of three paid stool-pigeons of the local mills, the frame-up got under way. The arrested workers were tortured in jail,

down. They have formed a Workers Defense Committee, which has enlisted the help of large numbers of the workers, and of sympathetic intellectuals. It is fighting for a reversal of the decision against the Burlington seven. The Workers' Defense Committee needs aid. Its address is Box 427, Graham, N. C.



# VOICES FROM PRISON

## "WE WILL WAIT FOR HIM"

Billie and I are well and strong and thank you for the Christmas money. Surely we would enjoy it and life much better if Comrade Frankfeld was here with us. But he is a prisoner for the workers interests and we must be ready to face all struggles and wait for him. Perhaps the I.L.D. and the workers will win his freedom, then he may not have to serve his 2 to 4 year sentence. . . . I brought the baby to see him for the first time. I went straight into the warden's office and asked him to permit my husband to see him properly. So they brought him in the guard's office and let him look at the baby for 3 minutes. So he was at least able to reach through the bar door and touch the baby's hand but he sure was glad to see his little son.

MARY FRANKFELD, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Billie is 3 months old (Phil Frankfeld is the leader of the unemployed in Western Pa.)

## CHRISTMAS FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

We received big Christmas packages which contained delicious chicken and other food. We were all surprised and proud of the achievements of the I.L.D. for the political prisoners. We were the only ones of the 1200 prisoners in this place to receive such attention. Our joy was not so much for the food we received as for the appreciation. We distributed candy and cigarettes among the other prisoners and they were glad to accept them. Then we all sang solidarity forever.

HARRY FOX,  
Welfare Island, N. Y.

## FROM TWO WHO ARE FREE

We received your letter and package all O.K. We all rejoiced together for the clothes that we received. They had a nice fit and we appreciate them very much and thank you a thousand times.

We want to write few lines on the conditions in prison in Nashville, Tenn., from which we were just released. If a prisoner is sick he is dead-headed (drugged—ed.) by the doctor and old bull Dick, the yard guard and the whipping boss send the prisoner to his cell and make him stay there. You can't stay in the yard. They tell the prisoner that if he is well enough to stay

in the yard he is able to work and old bull Dick if he catches a prisoner in the yard he puts him to work. Some of the prisoners try to work though not able to, rather than to be locked in a little cell all the time.

The guards never show visitors the bull pen or the flat rock which the prisoner has to lay down on or the leather strap which is about 4 inches wide and about 4 or 5 feet long and a good hand belt which is a piece of wood nailed to the leather which gives old bull Dick a long swing and a hard lick. It makes a bad hurt and leaves a bad scar and sometimes they hit a prisoner too high and he gets kidney trouble the rest of his life.

J. and N. PIERCE, Tenn.  
(Served 1 year each for  
"Stealing Copper Wire.")

## PRISONERS RELIEF WORK AROUND THE WORLD

**Poland:** Because they were taught that dog-fat is a cure for consumption, the peasants in West White Russia, who belong to the illegal Polish I.L.D. breed dogs, slaughter them and send the fat to the jails for tubercular political prisoners. Many peasants breed "ILD hens" and "ILD rabbits" which they sell to raise funds for prisoner's relief. In some villages the first sheaf of grain in the harvest goes to the I.L.D.

**Lithuania:** In the city of Kaunas, 12 bakeries, 8 butchers and several tobacco shops have been organized by the prisoner's relief department. They make regular contributions of goods which the I.L.D. sends on to political prisoners. Many doctors have been induced to treat the families of political prisoners free of charge.

**France:** The French I.L.D. collected and distributed more than \$25,000 in prisoner's relief during 1934!

*The large drawing is from the French I.L.D. Christmas Drive material. The bundles are addressed to famous European prisons. The Spanish card was issued by the Cuban I.L.D. (D.O.I.) It wishes the Cuban political prisoners a Merry Xmas and a Happy New Year.*

## AN ASTURIAN HERO SPEAKS

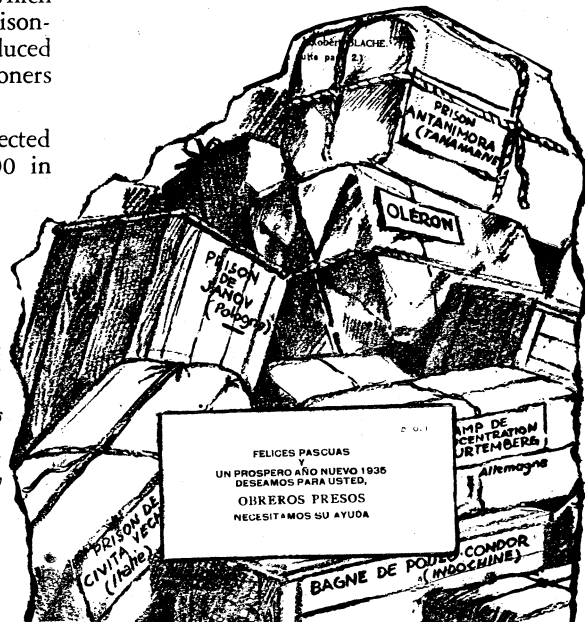
An Asturian miner (now in prison) from Sama De Langreo, writes:

Yesterday another 43 were murdered by the civil guards—shot "while trying to escape"—they were buried in one common grave. In addition another 200 are missing. We are told that they are in prison at La Felguera, Ciano Santa Ana, Sotriondio and Labiana. We are also told that in the Mieres and Moreda districts the suppression is even more horrible than here.

In Oviedo the counter-revolutionists murdered a woman. She died shouting, "Long live Communism." This young woman was the active leader of a fighting group which included many men. She was commanded to turn her back to her executioners. She protested, stating that only cowards died that way and she was no coward.

The other day the legionnaires and civil guards seized the workers' library at Sama—a library of more than 3,000 volumes and burnt it to the ground. ABC and EL DEBATE will probably call this culture. . . . When we took power we captured fifty policemen whose lives we spared and whom we finally freed. The wives and children of the policemen did not lack food. It was even brought to them in their houses. They thanked us for being good to them, but today some of these very people are reporting us to the police.

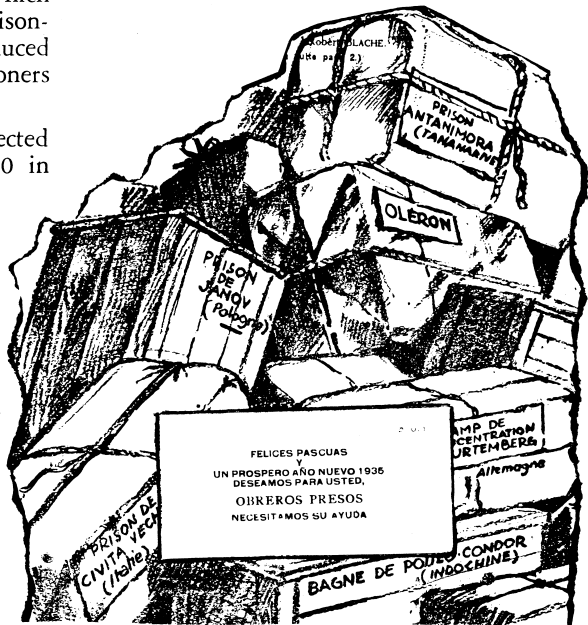
October 29, 1934.





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COLLY

—From *The Western Worker*.

## PERSECUTION OF THE FOREIGN-BORN

(Continued from Page 5)

the Commissioner's elaborate and ludicrously improbable story of this "attempt at arson." He said he had "discussed this with the City Fire Commissioner," but had generously persuaded the Fire Department not to make a formal investigation. He accused one of the men, Christ Popoff, with having lied because he stated he had not seen the fire. I later questioned Popoff on this and he told me he was in the toilet at the time of the alleged fire, and told the truth in saying he had seen nothing. The men gave me a factual account of what took place: a small piece of paper was lighted because of their eagerness to see the mail; Inspector Dwyre rushed into the room followed by other guards; Dwyre shouted, "We're not afraid of the dark, we'll shoot you anyway, we're not afraid to shoot you."

This incident was used as an excuse for putting John Ujich in solitary. Commissioner Reimer became tearful as he told us how badly he felt thinking of that "poor fellow all by himself." "The others wanted John back, but I wasn't sure . . . I felt sorry for him but if this

fellow is so hysterical that he starts fires it might not be safe to have him with the others." Finally the Commissioner had a talk with Ujich: "We got along fine and I gave him some cigars," said the humanitarian executive.

Commissioner Reimer was equally evasive on every point: he contradicted himself several times in discussing the failure to permit the men to attend a Christmas concert on December 24th. First he said he didn't know why they were not invited or from whom the orders came; then he changed his tack and said the men *had* been invited but had refused to come to the concert because it was described to them as in celebration of "the birthday of Christ." The Commissioner shook his head over this: "it was bad judgment; I never would have asked them in that way."

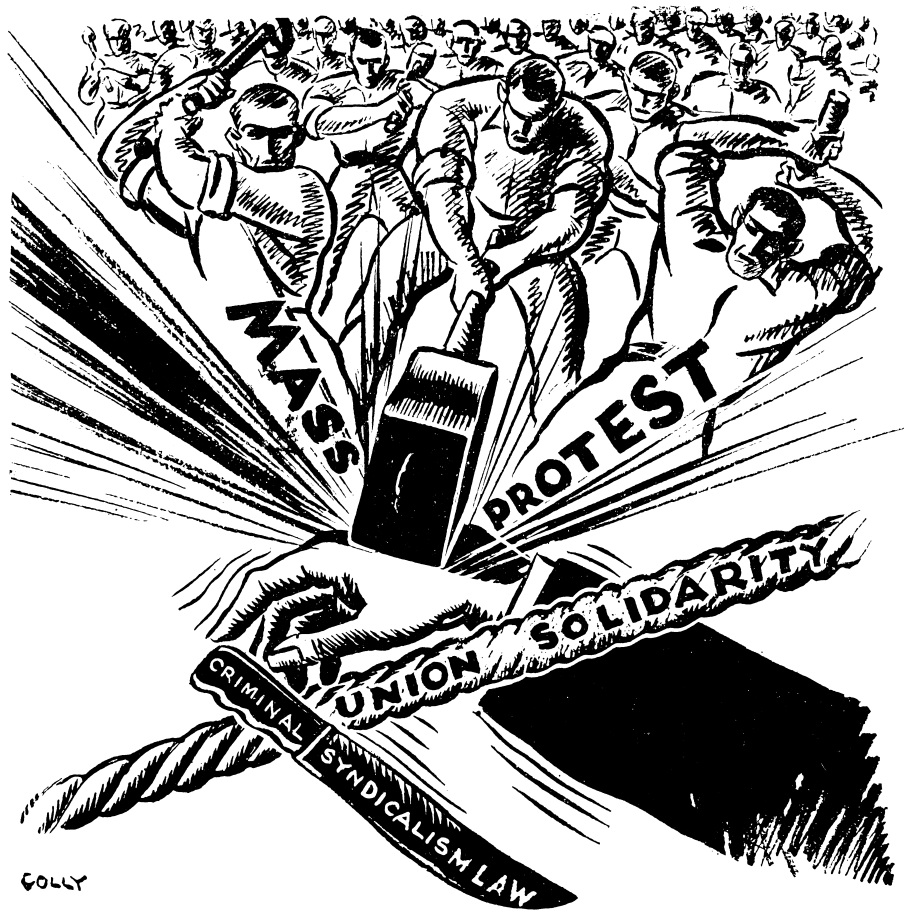
It is needless to say that the four workers exposed this yarn; no one mentioned the birthday of Christ; the guards taunted them with not being permitted to attend the concert; a social worker who made inquiries was told that the orders came from higher up.

Reimer expanded on every question in such a way as to befog the issue. For instance, in regard to the Christmas concert, having given two contradictory explanations, he proceeded to point out that "my friends sometimes give parties and fail to invite me; and I tell you I feel mighty hurt about it." Then he brought up a new angle: he admitted he had been a little doubtful about permitting the five "agitators" to attend because they might "make speeches and break up the party."

The truth of the matter is that the Ellis Island authorities are trying to break these men, to subject them to every cruelty and indignity. This is in line with the Department of Labor's policy of terrorizing and deporting militant foreign-born workers. The Department is making every effort to prevent their release on bail, and the same attitude dictates the special ill-treatment to which they are subjected on Ellis Island. Popoff, who has been torn away from his wife and three children in Syracuse, told me that the food given them "is not fit for a dog." Oscar Mannisto, of Astoria, Oregon, a member of an A. F. of L. Typographical Union, stated that a Finnish newspaper to which he subscribes has been repeatedly confiscated by the guards. All the men said they were frequently deprived of papers and magazines, and that even a copy of the *New York Times* was taken away from them when brought by a visitor. (Commissioner Reimer denied this, saying, with mock amazement, "I can't imagine why anybody would want to deprive those poor fellows of reading matter.")

Mass pressure will prevent the continuance of this discrimination. There should be a mass demand for the dismissal of Inspector Dwyre, who has been particularly brutal in his acts of persecution, as well as for an end to the whole program of persecution against them. The segregation of "reds," the inaccurate and improper branding of militant workers as "agitators" and "anarchists" is part of the Department's deliberate anti-labor policy. When this point was brought to the Commissioner's attention, he was ready with another wise-crack: "I agree entirely," he said, "I wouldn't offend anybody by calling him names. I'm going to refer to these cases in a radio talk on Sunday, and do you know what I'll call them?" We waited and the Commissioner beamed from behind his wide desk: "I'll call them comrades! Does any of you people object to the use of the word, comrade?"

I cannot imagine any greater insult than being called a comrade by Commissioner Reimer.



GOLLY

—From *The Western Worker*.



# I.L.D. AROUND THE WORLD

## CUBA

When Domingo Ferrer, militant young Cuban worker, fell under the machine gun fire of the Mendieta government during a Scottsboro demonstration in Havana, he left behind him a family of 8—aged parents and 6 brothers and sisters. This family, which sacrificed a son and brother, their sole support, to the cause of international solidarity, is left to face starvation. The Cuban I.L.D., of course, is collecting relief for the Ferrer family in the normal course of its relief activities. But we in America owe a debt of international solidarity to Ferrer which must be expressed concretely in the form of funds for his family.

The "zafra" (sugar grinding season) opened in Cuba on Jan. 15. The next day, the Mendieta government issued a decree suspending constitutional guarantees for the ninety days of the zafra and fixing the death penalty for "sabotage" (strikes) of the sugar grinding.

Thousands of protests must be poured in to President Mendieta, Havana, Cuba, to foil his plan to massacre the sugar workers.

## POLAND

Kartus Bereza is the name of Poland's first concentration camp. 30 prisoners are crowded into each of its stone floored cells. Some of them have straw sack mattresses. Most of them haven't. Even in the so-called dispensary sick prisoners have to lie on the floor. On Sundays and holidays the prisoners are allowed to sit on benches for ONE HOUR. The day begins at 4 a. m. with the singing of Poland's "Horst Wessel" song. The day is spent on forced labor building roads in marshy country for 12 long hours. Punishment for the slightest "offense" consists of long hours of military drill. Food means three meals a day consisting of dish water called "soup". If a prisoner gets a parcel from the outside he is forced to return it asking that it be destroyed "because he doesn't need it." When a prisoner is finally released he is told, "You are free. You must never participate in any political activities and if you let drop a single word about how you were treated here, you will find yourself here again." Polish white terror is second to none. Its fascist perpetrators must be made to feel the pressure of world protest against their rule of torture.

## SPAIN

The Spanish I.L.D. has not been destroyed by fascist terror. Thousands of leaflets calling for protest action and solidarity with the victims are being handed out. Collection lists are circulated, so successfully that reactionary newspapers write "the toilers do not remain indifferent to the I.L.D. call for support of the prisoners and their families; many individuals signed for even 2 and 3 pesetas on these lists." Since the beginning of November an official magazine has been appearing regularly. It is called COMBATE. Its small pages are filled with revolutionary enthusiasm, faith and militant spirit.

## CHINA

"Long live the struggle of the Chinese masses," shouted 44 Chinese volunteers active in the armed defense of Manchuria against Japan, captured by the Japanese army and publicly executed. The murderous collaboration of Chiang Kai-shek with the imperialists in China has resulted in the murder of General Chi Hung-chang who led the defense of Jehol against the attacks of the Japanese imperialists. General Chi was found in the French quarters of Tientsin by Japanese spies and turned over by the French police to Chiang Kai-shek who promptly murdered him.

The growing brutality of Chiang Kai-shek and the imperialists must be answered with wide support of the International Delegation of investigation being organized by the I.R.A., parent body of the I.L.D., to investigate conditions in China.

## BULGARIA

ADDRESS MYSELF THROUGH YOU TO WORLD PUBLIC OPINION TO RAISE STORM OF PROTEST AGAINST RAGING BULGARIAN FASCISM—STOP—RALLY YOUR TRIED FORCES IN ORDER TO FORCE BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE HOLD OF VICTIMS (SIGNED) GEORGE DIMITROFF.

This cable was received by Anna Damon, acting national secretary of the I.L.D. informing us of the trials against 520 soldiers and anti-fascists. The state prosecutor demanded 17 death penalties in a recent trial of 38 soldiers in Haskovo. Worker's Deputy Traikov, 4 soldiers and 2 workers were murdered in their cells before they were even brought to trial. The Supreme Court has already ratified more than 80 death sentences against anti-fascist soldiers and sailors. The I.L.D. in Bulgaria is illegal. It needs the utmost support from the rest of the world. Bulgarian consulates and embassy in the U. S. A. must be flooded with protests against this wave of terror. Answer the call of George Dimitroff.

*The Saar Police voting in the plebiscite. . . . Probably for Hitler, judging by their looks. The anti-fascists of the Saar must be supported in their bitter fight against Nazi terror. Demand their safety from Hitler's ambassador in Washington, all his consuls and from Hitler himself in Berlin.*



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# YOUNG DEFENDERS CORNER



## A GOOD REPORT OF GOOD WORK From Minnesota

We have organized a club called the Young Defenders and have 35 members. Not long ago we had a Russian cabaret with the I.L.D. on a Saturday night. The girls were the waitresses and the boys the waiters. The girls wore Russian costumes. We also sold candy which we made and the girls raffled their embroidery. We Young Defenders also put on a play entitled, "A Day in Court." It was written by our leader. We are enclosing the play so that you may give it to other children in these groups.

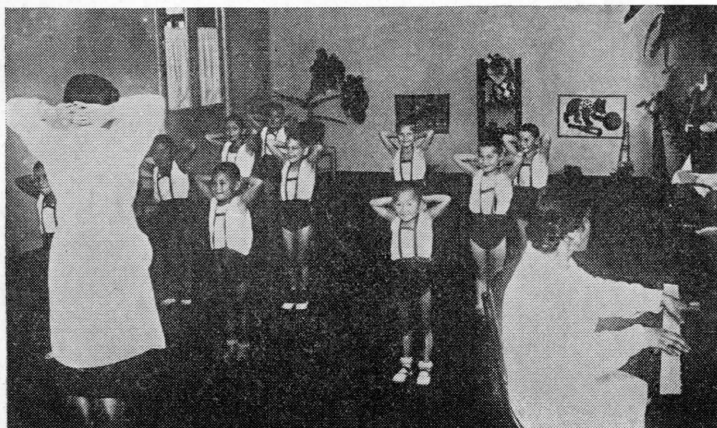
Our leader tells us about class war prisoners and we are anxious to fight for justice. . . . With sincere greetings from our group to all the children of the working class.

Sincerely yours,  
**JIMMIE GREEN,**  
*Substitute Sec'y.*

P.S.: Our regular secretary, Stanley Neskin, has the measles.

Yes sir, we are going to do just that. We are already at work making very elegant copies of this very, very fine play which any one of you can have by sending three cents and your name and address to the Young Defender Corner, Labor Defender, 80 East 11th St., N. Y. C. You'd better write quickly because there won't be too many copies and first come, first served.

*Two drawings by young Defenders were received—but too late. They'll appear in the next issue. Let's have more.*



*Children from all over the world—whose parents were killed or imprisoned—living in the Stassova Children's Home in the Soviet Union*

*The McNamara Young Defenders of Los Angeles on their Scottsboro Parade*



## THE STORY OF FRANKIE NORMAN

Frankie Norman is six years old. He lives in Florida. Almost every day on his way to and from school, he is stopped by policemen and sheriffs who ask him all kinds of questions. Mostly they are about his mother and his father.

But Frankie never answers them. He just keeps quiet and stares them right in the eye. He knows they are only trying to trap him. Just like they trapped his father.

Frankie's father was a CWA worker and just like the other people on these relief jobs he wasn't able to feed Frankie and his mother on the measly wages he got. So he started to talk to the men about organizing and they did. And Frankie's father whose name was Frank too, soon became the leader of the workers in that little town.

Now we all know that bosses and the policemen they hire to protect their riches don't like leaders of the workers. And so one night two men walked into the Norman's house and asked Frankie's father to come outside with them to

identify the body of a dead Negro worker they said they had found out in the road.

Frankie's father went with them and he has never come back since. There is no doubt that he was murdered. No trace of him has been found. Frankie's mother wrote to the President and to Mrs. Roosevelt and to the governor of Florida asking for help. She reminded them about all the federal agents that were roaming the country hunting kidnapers of rich children and rich people. But they never even answered her.

Frankie's mother works in fruit canneries, when there is any work and takes care of Frankie. The Normans are one of the families the Prisoners Relief Department of the I.L.D. helps. Don't you think it would be a nice thing for Frankie and his mother to get letters from our Young Defenders from different parts of the country. They'd like to know that they have many friends and that's one way of showing them they have. Write the letters to us here and we'll send them on.

## POET'S CORNER

I am enclosing a poem for the Young Defender Corner. Reading this child's page I got inspired to write this poem.

MARIA H. N. Y. 8 years old.

### FIGHT!

My daddy works for the C.W.A.  
 And gets a very little pay.  
 While bankers with lots of money,  
 Eat their bread with butter and honey.  
 We will fight and will not fail,  
 And the bankers, they will wail.

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# SPAIN'S OCTOBER

By Robert Blache



Published by the International Labor Defense—1935

## BEFORE OCTOBER

The Republic was beautiful—  
under the Kingdom.

Events in Spain raced like wildfire in a dry forest.

The Samper cabinet fell on October 1, over the Catalan question. Lerroux returned to power on the second. On the third he called in the fascists Gil Robles and de Valesco to share it with him. The general strike broke out on the fourth. On the fifth, Catalonia declared itself an independent republic.

A republic! Forty months before the fascist dictator and his King had been driven out by the toiling majority of Spain's millions. Primo de Rivera took his fat jowls and Alphonse XIII his hungry vulture's beak, for permanent display to the fashionable beaches of France.

A republic! The word became a synonym of liberty in Catalan and Basque. It would mean the end of poverty. It would surely dispossess those 50,000 rapacious landowners who held more than half the soil of the peninsula. The republic would restore the land to its millions of sons and daughters who tilled the domains of the Grandees, the priests, and the big landlords.

Republic would mean land to the peasants, jobs for the unemployed. Long before the crisis, only the most fortunate of the workers of Spain worked as much as two days out of four, or ate in the same proportion. If you had asked ten men: "Are you working?" six would have answered: "Not at all", and four: "A little." A republic would mean bread, land, freedom!

### REALITY

But what actually happened? The actions of the Spanish republic—and by its actions the true identity of any government is revealed—took quite a different pattern. Beneath its new political clothing moved the unchanged body of capitalism, with its handful of rich parasites on top, and teeming misery of the toilers beneath.

The monarchy fell on April 14, 1931. In 1934, not one of all the great results assigned by the toilers of Spain to the "*republic of the workers of all classes*" (as it styled itself)—not one had been accomplished.

There are one hundred million acres of land in Spain. The big landowners still own fifty-seven and a half million acres. By the end of 1933, only one-sixth of one percent, or one hundred thousand acres, had been expropriated and turned over to the landless peasants.

The multimillionaire Catholic church received 131,000,000 pesetas in the space of three years as indemnities for confiscated land from the republican and "non-clerical" state. In spite of the dissolution of the order of Jesuits, and the limitations placed on the church in matters of education, it remains the same formidable power of exploitation and corruption that it was under the Kingdom.

The national question is no nearer solution. Madrid conceded a shred of autonomy to Catalonia, but kept all finances, customs, and the army in its own hands.

### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

On January 1, 1934, the government officially admitted that there were 619,000 unemployed. But in reality a million and a half men suffered in forced idleness. Unemployment relief and insurance were as absent as they had been under Primo de Rivera's hated dictatorship, and those who had jobs were scarcely less miserable than the totally unemployed. An agricultural worker in Salamanca, for example, earned two pesetas and a half (20 cents in American money) per day!

A law, outlawing all strikes was passed under the slogan of "*defense of the Republic*." Another, passed on April 8, 1933, delivered all working-class organizations into the merciless hands of the authorities. Long before the October insurrection, the prisons were choked with close to ten thousand revolutionary workers and peasants.

The criminal deception practiced on the Spanish people under the "republic" was all the greater inasmuch as since 1931, the power had been in the hands of the "*left republicans*": socialists, radical-socialists, republicans, right Catalans, and Galician republicans—all "*radical*" parties.

Elections, in the year 1933, strengthened the reactionaries. They became bolder in their attacks. In April they drove the Socialists out of power, replacing them with "*Lerroux radicals*."

The parliamentary elections at the end of the year confirmed the triumph of the reactionary right, which rose from 42 to 212 seats. The loss of the "*left*" parties was heavy. Victims of an anti-democratic system of elections which they had themselves worked out, they saved only 98 seats out of 291.\*

Yet, what a poor political prophet a ballot-box can be under a capitalist system! Having achieved this success, the fine feudal, clerical, and fascist flower of Spain, grouped together in the famous C.E.D.A., felt that its moment of final triumph was approaching. Lerroux, in power, began to march openly down the fascist road. Plans were laid to restore to the nobility the bits of land that had been taken from them; to give its property back to the church, and with it all its rights in the educational system. Monarchist ministers and generals were amnestied. The price of bread went up. Potatoes suddenly retailed at double their former price. In February, 1934, the last "*left*" radicals were eliminated from the government.

### THE OFFENSIVE BEGINS

But even while the financiers, priests, and landowners were celebrating these gains, the toiling population on the land went over to

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\*The Communist Party, on the other hand, increased its votes from 60,000 in 1931, to 400,000 in 1933.



the offensive. With hunger generating energy, they attacked 225 great estates in the month of January, and succeeded in occupying 164. Twenty-four villages officially distributed the harvests of the Grand Seignors among the toilers. Poor peasants and agricultural workers cut wood in the forests (a "crime" against the feudal lords of Spain), took over the distribution of the harvests and formed peasants' defense militia which battled with scythes and pistols against the Civil Guards.

Three hundred thousand agricultural workers went on strike in the month of June. In April a strike in Madrid succeeded in reducing a fascist demonstration before the Escorial (royal palace), planned for 100,000 to 50,000.

Daily, everywhere, the destitute people of Spain, those who cultivated the land and built industry, went into battle against those who starved and oppressed them. Eight hundred and sixty strikes in 1931, 700 the following year, and more than 1,000 in 1933. In September, 70,000 Madrid workers marched militantly behind the bier of Joaquin De Grado Escalona, young Communist murdered by a fascist. It was the surge of revolution, inexorable as the floods of spring.

The workers and peasants counted their dead at 100, their comrades in the jails at 10,000, their wounded by the thousands. The Spanish International Labor Defense was pressed with tasks on every hand. Such matters as suppression of publications, raids on workers' centers and closing of their headquarters were matters of daily occurrence.

Then Lerroux came to power again. The shadow of fascism had enveloped him more completely than ever before. Restlessness, consternation, anger, stirred the toilers of city and field. The revolutionary movement surged. . . .

## II. SPAIN'S OCTOBER

On October 7, three days after the proclamation of the Catalan republic, its president, Companys, capitulated. For three days he resisted the demand of the Catalan Youth and the Workers Alliance (Socialist and Communist), that he arm the people. But he held out only a few hours against General Batet, before yielding to him—and receiving his congratulations.

### ITS HEROES

The history of Spain's October is not yet written, and could not in any case be contained in this pamphlet, which is dedicated solely to a plea for international solidarity. Full of political lessons, rich with proletarian heroism, this movement will stimulate avid, admiring study in the workers of other countries. But this much can be stated confidently—that for 10 consecutive days and nights, it brought insomnia and anguish to those who exploit and profit.

On October 9, while the cabinet deliberated, Lerroix could hear the rattle of insurgents' bullets against the walls of the Escorial. The merchants of Madrid were ordered by the authorities, on pain of severe penalties, to keep their shops open. The concierges (door-keepers) were held responsible for shots fired on civil guards by elusive inhabitants of their houses—fired by sons of the classic country of guerilla warfare. News came of the mutiny of the Gerone regiment, which executed five officers and the general staff commandant, Dominguez. Neither the telephone, telegraph, or railways were in operation. At Trubia, a battery of artillery fell into the hands of the insurgents, and Oviedo was taken by storm after street battles that lasted five days and displayed the rarest heroism. Workers scaled walls, their pockets full of dynamite, exposed themselves to machine-gun fire, lit short cartridge fuses with their cigarettes, and were blown up with them if the objective was too close, or their movements too slow.

At Barcelona, the stupidity—or treachery—of Companys, who broadcast his call to arms over the radio only after the armies of the state were already within the walls, crippled but did not crush the revolutionary population. When the Spanish regiment from Monjuich marched into Remblas, store and factory employes shot from the windows, and kept up a withering fire on the troops of General Batet until artillery-fire crumbled the buildings into dust, burying them beneath the debris.

At Sabadell, the textile workers are all members of the anarchist union. They were expelled by the leaders two years ago. They were too much inclined, it was stated, to form united fronts with Communists and Socialists. On the 5th, they prepared for strike—and battle. On the 7th, at four in the morning, they sent out columns of trucks to the relief of Barcelona. On the road they learned of Companys' capitulation, and the people, rage in their hearts but hopes undermined, carefully hid their arms for future use.

Even when it became clear that the treachery of the anarchists and the unpreparedness of the movement, were going to bring defeat, and that the struggle was confined to Asturias, the government troops, equipped with the most modern weapons, preceded by bombing planes and followed up by artillery regiments, found no signs of weakening among the revolutionaries.

The labored dispatches of General Lopez, assigned to the subjugation of Asturias, recall the daily bulletins of the general staff during the war, when things went badly. On October 17, Lopez blamed geographical difficulties for slowing up his advance. On the 20th it was "*snow and rain.*" It took him another week to overcome the resistance of the miners of Pennaroya, and on the 28th he admitted he was still bombarding the entrenchments of the Asturian revolutionaries who had taken refuge in the mountains.

## ITS ALLIES, THE SOLDIERS

International revolutionary experience is a valuable thing. Because they had studied the history of the Paris Commune and of the 1905 revolution in Russia, and learned its lessons, the strategists of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 spared the Russian soldiers, peasants, and workers the agony of defeat and the white terror.

Other organizations of the international proletariat will make a meticulous examination of the events and preparations for Spain's October of 1934. They will no doubt give special emphasis to the absence, at the side of the insurgents, of the decisive masses of peasants, soldiers, and oppressed colonials; they will establish the responsibility for this fatal underestimation of anti-war work.

One thing is clear, that in spite of this failure, the bourgeoisie was able to use its own armies only at great risk.

Interpreting the spirit of his troops, Lieutenant-Colonel Lopez Bravo, commanding an "African" battalion, told his friends that: "My men will never shoot their brothers." He was immediately withdrawn from the command.

It is highly significant that the criticisms against Lerrox and Gil Robles in the Cortes (parliament) by the monarchists, nearly all deal with the fraternization between the army and the insurgents. They complain of the revolt of the Gerone regiment, the solidarity demonstration of the flyers at Leon, the mutiny of the sailors of the fleet at Santander, and many other similar actions.

Reports have filtered through indicating how widespread fraternization was. In Asturias, a soldier shouted: "*I cannot kill these men!*" and was promptly shot down by his lieutenant. At Carthagena, a quartermaster and 14 sailors refused to serve the counter-revolution. They were tried by court-martial and nearly all of them sentenced to death.

To make up for the numerous defections, and to complete its victory over the insurgents, the government was forced to draw troops in from Africa, the Foreign Legion, Moroccan rifle regiments composed entirely of natives.

Luis de Sirvel, a newspaperman employed by the "Voz de Guipuzcoa", a bourgeois paper, and a member of the "radical Socialist" party, was in Oviedo late in October. He witnessed unspeakable cruelties practiced by the imported troops, and collected certain documents. Among these were: 1) a secret order to officers to shoot down on the spot all persons found bearing arms, and 2) a photograph showing a Moroccan soldier wearing two freshly-severed heads hanging from his belt. A White Russian Lieutenant in the Foreign Legion, named Ivanof, heard that Sirvel had these things in his possession. He had him arrested.

On October 26, just as he was being arrested, Sirval managed to

scribble a note to an official in Madrid, which reached him next day.  
... "Prisoner Oviedo Please Intercede Ochoa, Sirval."

The official telephoned to General Ochoa on the 27th. It was too late. The White Russian officer had gone into Sirval's cell, murdered him, and taken the documents.

### III. THE INQUISITION LIVES AGAIN

The vengeance of the landowners and priests, the industrialists and bankers, of Spain was measured by their fear.

The Jesuits of the inquisition, and the corsairs of the Atlantic may be proud of their descendants. Torquemada burned and tortured 8,000 prisoners in the 18 years, between 1480 and 1498. The lords and merchants, the great adventurers, of Spain, swarmed like a plague over the rich lands of Central and South America in the XVIth Century. They hunted men and gold, annihilated whole peoples. Their cruelty, the instinctive hatred of a bandit for his victim, of the parasite against the slave who feeds him, have survived. 1934 can rival 1530 in the history of the Spanish bourgeoisie. The executioners of old slew one at a time. Their modern descendants conduct massacres with autogyros and artillery for weapons. In 1530 they called it a "purification." Today, they call it a "clean-up."

*"The legionnaires have made a real clean-up of the enemy at Oviedo, with efficient and effective methods, when they were being shot from behind. They were able to settle accounts with all those found with arms in their hands, or surprised in aggressive positions! (1) They dealt exemplary punishment, in accord at all times with the severest laws of war."* (From *El Debate*, Madrid.)

#### HOW MUCH BLOOD?

Figures? Statistics? They are not yet available. The blood still flows, the flesh still screams. When the legionnaires captured a group of Asturians, they forced them to dig their own common grave, and shot them into it. Commandant Doval gave orders to the shepherds not to take their flocks out any more, for fear that the refugees on the mountain peaks and in the snow-filled ravines might find means to keep from starving, which would prevent them from surrendering.

The legionnaires took the wounded out of the hospital at Oviedo, in groups of six and eight. As they walked off they were killed on the pretense that they had tried to escape. This is what is called the "ley de fuga" (law of flight.)

A poor woman whose husband had "disappeared", went out to look for him. She found an open grave into which 26 bodies had been thrown, some heads down and some heads up. Among them were two municipal guards from a Socialist commune, killed by blows from a rifle-butt. At Sotroñdio, a Socialist town, all the municipal guards were massacred.



Admission of the Oviedo massacres is contained in the proclamation of the military authorities there, which was scattered from air-planes:

*"All the damage that has been done by aerial bombardment, and by the troops, are but a glimpse of what you will infallibly suffer if you do not cease your rebellion and lay down your arms before sunrise. After that time, we will march against you until you are completely destroyed, without quarter or pardon."*

Every act of the armed forces proves clearly that the objective of the Spanish bourgeoisie, especially in regard to Asturias, was the extermination of the miners. Oviedo, capital of Asturias, was practically destroyed by aerial bombardment. The men, women, and children who perished in this bombardment are not counted among the 3,000 officially reported killed. In three days, in Oviedo alone, 1,000 persons were buried.

### THE TERROR SPREADS

Immediately after the city of Oviedo was taken, 700 workers were shot in the infantry garrison by the government troops. Others were shot by firing squads on warships, in the streets, and on the public squares. Immediately after the recapture of the Asturian cities, revolutionary miners were shot down wherever they were found. Eight days after the suspension of hostilities, firing-squads were busy executing wounded revolutionaries in one of the hospitals in the Asturias. Blood literally ran in the streets of Oviedo after the city had been taken by the government forces.

Sixty thousand prisoners, eighty thousand prisoners; six thousand killed; ten thousand wounded—these are provisional figures. In the little town of Figueras alone, 600 bodies were found piled up in the chateau.

### THE VICTIMS SPEAK

A Basque revolutionary describes two nights spent in the prison at Bilbao as follows:

"Some of the workers are tied to a bench at the hips, their bodies dangling on either side. They dare not let their heads touch the floor; a watchful guard forces them, with brutal kicks, to stay in an absolutely horizontal position. At the same time, they are so tied that it is impossible for them to sit up. Their hands are tied behind their backs, and they are forced to stay in the position I have described from dusk to dawn."

Another witness, from the Asturias, told a newspaperman:

"Just before I left, I heard a Civil Guardsman say: 'If the government says we must not execute them, we manage to deal out justice just the same.' They did it, and they still do it. The Guards and the legionnaires arrest suspects in their homes, take them into the mountains, and shoot them. That is, when they shoot them. Often, they kill them by beating them with rifle-butts."

The reactionary Spanish press eagerly publishes full descriptions of scenes of cruelty. The reactionary "Ahora" said on October 18:

*"General Ochoa's troops found one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement, near Aviles. He was a Socialist mayor, travelling in a car with a young man who is supposed to be his son. General Ochoa arrested them and made them march at the head of the troops during the offensive."*

On the 17th, the same paper reported: *"After the bombardment of the fishing village of Cimadevilla by the cruiser 'Libertad', 300 persons,—men, women and children—were found, shelterless, and driven half-mad. They were arrested. Some of them were tied together and held in the square, in order to protect the troops."*

The "Stampa" of October 20 confirmed the report of the arrest of 40 in Gijon of these, mostly between the ages of 18 and 25. They were used by one of the brigades as cover against the revolutionaries. Every one was killed, saluting with raised fist.

## COURT MARTIAL

The workers taken alive, and not killed on the spot by the civil guards, are still in danger. They must face the Court Martial which have already caused Jose Laredo Corrales, of Gijon, and Guerra Pardo, of Leon, to be executed, and who have at the time this is written sentenced additional scores to death.

A bitter campaign, into which the International Labor Defense of Spain, in spite of the terror, is throwing all its forces, is being fought around the execution of the brave insurgents. The fascists and the Jesuits are stamping with impatience, demanding their toll of corpses. Gil Robles has made the following cruel and crafty statement to the press:

"Examples must be made at all costs, to avoid the return of those painful days. In the case of serious punishment, delay in its execution is in itself a cruelty."

Those found "guilty" who have not been condemned to the gallows have been condemned to punishment almost as terrible. Here are a few of the more "kindly" of the sentences:

Manuel Sierra Martinez, 19, condemned to 12 years imprisonment for distribution of "subversive leaflets".

Luis Alacio, student, sentenced to three years and a day for "insulting a Civil Guard". Garcia del Moral, peasant, sentenced to 20 years for being caught with a weapon in his hand. Mendieta Lopez, 24, 12 years for trying to persuade a street-car conductor to strike. A worker in Coruna, 15 years for possession of forbidden arms. These examples, only a few of hundreds, are taken from "El Debate", agrarian catholic newspaper of Madrid.

The press also provided many details on the execution of Jose Corrales: -

He knew of his execution 24 hours in advance. When his wife came to pay him a last visit, he wanted to be photographed with his baby in his arms, so when his son grew up he would know his father's face. The Jesuits forced him to remain in the condemned cell, and turned his last night into a wake. In the morning, he was taken to the execution grounds. The firing-squad was several hours late, and Corrales lived his last hours marching up and down to fight back the intense cold.

#### IV. THE ASTURIAN SOVIETS

Cruelty is always prudish. It loves to justify itself by besmirching its victims. While the judges and the Civil Guards did their jobs, the newspapermen were not idle. While the first wiped out the lives of the militant fighters, the others dishonored their memory.

The Communards of Paris in 1871 were called "fire-bugs"; the colonial peoples, robbed and massacred during the last few centuries, have been dubbed "barbarians" by the imperialist murderers; and the Russian workers, who were killed and whose wives were violated by the troops of Wrangel and Denikin, in the pay of Clemenceau and Curzon, were called "red bandits" and even "cannibals".

Spanish newspapermen, eating out of the hands of the big trusts and the lords of the land, have added nothing new. They have not advanced the science of lies by a single step. Their lies were coarse and unimaginative. For example, here is how one Maurice Prax, describes the Oviedo insurrection:

"For ten days, the revolutionaries were in power. Unspeakable atrocities were committed. Civil Guards were slaughtered and carved up like cows in a butcher-shop. Neither women nor children were spared. Priests were burned alive. Houses, railways, bridges, and roads were blown up with dynamite. The devastation of the land was carried out with a fury of bitterness and despair."

The quotation is from the "Petit Parisien," published at Paris, France, October 30. However, on the same day the "Heraldo de Madrid" said:

"It is not true that revolutionaries at Sama slaughtered and ate a priest. It is not true that at Giano they cut open the belly of the wife of a Civil Guard and forced a three-cornered hat into the opening. It is not true that the body of a captain of Civil Guards was shown in a butcher-shop window with a sign 'Pork Sold Here.' It is not true, either, that the revolutionaries pierced the eyes of the children of Civil Guards."

Captain Fernandez Castillejo of the general staff, himself stated: "The cruelties attributed to the revolutionaries of Asturia are part of a perfidious campaign of exaggeration." He went further: "Around the events in Asturia, which I wholeheartedly condemn, there has been constructed a perfidious campaign of exaggeration. Cruelties, of which

I disapprove as much as anyone, have been the exception, and by no means the rule. This impression of mine has been categorically confirmed by General Lopez Ochoa. I say that these stories of crucified sons of officers, these children whose eyes have been torn out, are pure and simple lies. The revolutionaries killed those who resisted them by force of arms, but in general they respected their prisoners."

### RED ORDER

In spite of the fever of revolution, the tense atmosphere of combat, and the shadow of death that attended the birth of the Asturian Soviets, order reigned.

This proclamation by the Oviedo Soviet, inspired by deep concern for the interests of the population speaks for itself.

### NOTICE

*We have decided:*

- 1) *All pillaging must cease immediately, and we warn that all individuals who may be caught in any act of this sort will be shot;*
- 2) *Every person having arms in his possession must immediately report to the Committee. Anyone found bearing arms, without having previously reported to the Committee, will be severely dealt with;*
- 3) *All persons in whose houses pillaged objects are stored must return them immediately. Those who fail to obey this order will suffer the punishment reserved for enemies of the Revolution;*
- 4) *All members of administrative committees of workers' organizations of Oviedo must report to the Committee immediately. This order is made in connection with the distribution of food and clothing;*
- 5) *The members of the Parties and Youth organizations of Oviedo must report immediately with their membership books, to form a red guard which will maintain order and guard the welfare of the revolution.*

Oviedo, October 9, 1934.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

### TWO VICTIMS OF "RED" ATROCITIES"

One of the editors of "Stampa", an equally reactionary paper, also published in Madrid, interviewed an official of the "Locksmiths' Employers' Union," who was held prisoner by the revolutionaries. He asked him to describe his sufferings.

"No," he said. "We were not ill-treated. Whenever they spoke to us, it was to offer us some ham and some coffee. We did not accept, because we did not have any appetite."

Another ex-prisoner of the insurgents, Judain, a municipal official, told the same journalist:

"We were treated very well. We got bread and ham three times a day."



"Is it true that the revolutionaries despise money?" the reporter asked.

"It is absolutely true. They had the Economic Bank in their hands, and did not even touch it. The leaders, especially, tried to avoid difficulties. I witnessed a picturesque scene. Some miners went into a tavern, and began to drink wine. All at once, one of the leaders appeared at the door and shouted: 'Do you live to drink, or to make the revolution?' They all left the tavern at once."

The quotations give an idea how completely the "atrocities campaign" failed and why the government so furiously ordered the arrest of all foreign investigators: Lord Listowell and Ellen Wilkinson, English members of the World Relief Committee, Miss Tery of the French bourgeois newspaper "l'Oeuvre," the lawyer Oppmann, a delegate of the International Juridical Association who offered to assist the victims of the court martial, Rabate, correspondent of the French weekly "Monde", and others. The last-mentioned was threatened with twelve years imprisonment because he dared to include two copies of anti-fascist leaflets in his correspondence.

### RIGHT OF ASYLUM

The right of asylum, freely granted by the French government to counter-revolutionists, from the White Guards who arm and drill for intervention in the Soviet Union, to Primo de Rivera and King Alphonse XIII of Spain, has been violated almost daily by this same country in regard to Spanish revolutionary refugees. The French police summarily returned all refugees from the white terror to the Spanish Civil Guards.

The mayor Aluisellas, his secretary, and three small merchants from the same town, were arrested almost the moment they arrived in France, and turned over at Portillon to Spanish police, who had been summoned by telephone. Five anti-fascist refugees, among them a Spanish soldier were turned back in the same way to the Spanish police at Marchandeu, on October 25. The same thing happened to four others at Canfranc. The secretary of the Taxi-Drivers Union of Pamplona, Eucario Redin d'Anneguy, who took refuge in Pau, was also returned.

It is impossible to estimate the total number of refugees sent back to prison and death in this manner. Only in a few cases were official reports made public. Similar actions took place along the Spanish-Portuguese border. Among those delivered by the Portuguese government to the Spanish government was Simon Diaz, secretary of the Asturian regional committee of the Communist Party.

### SPANISH INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

With scores of thousands in jail, scores of thousands of women and children left destitute by imprisonment and murder, the tasks of the Spanish International Labor Defense have been tremendous.

In spite of the illegality of the work, it was undertaken from the very first with energy commensurate with its magnitude.

While the artillery still roared, and the streets ran with blood, the Spanish International Labor Defense succeeded in bringing the equivalent of twenty cents in American money, *daily* to every prisoner.

### THE I. R. A. ACTS

The prisons and prison-ships of Spain are gorged with prisoners, equivalent to the population of a city like Schenectady. Wracked in soul and body, chained to stone walls and in the dark holds of freighters, they think of their homes—destroyed, of their families—murdered or dispersed. The roads of France are covered with refugees, constantly being pressed northward, driven about, waiting for a word of friendship, for the material help of proletarian solidarity. Some of them are orphans who have seen their parents massacred, and who have survived them only to starve. There are thousands of young bodies to clothe, frozen, swollen feet to shoe, wounds to be dressed.

There are, finally, thousands of insurgents to be supplied with legal aid, to be protected by a fearless campaign against summary sentences of imprisonment, torture, death.

The task of the I.L.D. in Spain, France, Portugal, even with the support of the millions who can be organized by I.L.D. sections in other parts of the world, is perhaps beyond its strength. But it is determined to succeed. And it is accomplishing it—so fast that by the time this pamphlet is read, the following paragraphs will probably have become the most out-of-date in this pamphlet. So we will only try to sketch the very first solidarity moves to meet the Spanish terror.

The struggle was still raging in Spain, the Foreign Legion had just been dispatched against the miners who had taken over control of the region, when the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid called on its sections in seventy countries of the world to organize assistance for the victims of the Spanish reaction.

But this call was superfluous. Internationalism is so deeply rooted in the sections of the I.R.A. throughout the world that they reacted immediately to the situation in Spain, both in the countries where the work of the I.L.D. is carried on legally, and in those countries where it has been driven completely underground.

While the battle was going on, appeals were sent out by all the sections for protest against the terror and actions of solidarity with its victims. They came from France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, and the countries of the Carribean and of South America.

The MOPR, (I.L.D. of the Soviet Union), was foremost in the ranks in the collection of funds for aid to the Spanish victims. Nearly \$400,000 was collected for relief and defense and sent to the I.L.D. of Spain for distribution.

Besides the collections which were immediately organized, several sections contributed funds directly from their relief treasuries, amounting to nearly \$30,000. The fighting members of the I.L.D. realized that the victims, the political prisoners, and their families in Spain could not wait for collections, but needed immediate aid.

The Belgian I.L.D. published a special number of its newspaper, devoted to the heroic struggles of the Spanish people and to the cause of solidarity with the victims of the terror.

The English section sent 50 pounds sterling to the Spanish comrades, and organized special collections of money, food, and clothing. A ship was chartered to take the food and clothing to Spain.

The Cuban I.L.D. held huge demonstrations in Havana and Camaguay. A special campaign of meetings and collections was organized throughout the country.

In Berlin itself, the Spanish ambassador had to complain to his government that during the whole morning of November 12, he was forced to contemplate a huge inscription, inscribed overnight with indelible red paint on the sidewalk under his window: "Down with Spanish fascism! The workers of Berlin express their solidarity with their Spanish brothers!"

The Shutzbunders of Austria, now in Moscow working on the construction of a hotel, decided to dedicate a whole day's wages for the Spanish revolutionists.

The American I.L.D. mobilized protest actions to the Spanish consulates and sent \$1,500 for relief.

## WHAT MUST STILL BE DONE

But here in America we have not given the full share of our international duty to our sister section of the I.L.D. in Spain. We who are faced with the colossal burdens of defending thousands in every corner of our country who have been taken prisoner in the class struggle, with national campaigns of the dimensions of Scottsboro, Herndon, Mooney, McNamara, can easily understand the problems of the Spanish I.L.D.

We still enjoy a measure of freedom in the United States. With the exception of the deep South our organization functions legally and openly. We are still permitted to hold meetings, to publish literature, to keep headquarters. But even with this comparative measure of freedom, we have tasted the difficulty of working under conditions of open terror. Our I.L.D. offices were smashed during the vigilante raids that followed the General and marine strikes on the West coast. Our organizers were thrown into jail. In the South, in Alabama and Georgia, office after office established by the I.L.D. has been raided and smashed by police and thugs, equipment has been confiscated and thousands of pieces of literature wantonly destroyed.

Multiplying this situation a hundred fold, we can easily appreciate

the terrific tasks facing the Spanish I.L.D. We understand our international duty. We realize the vital need for developing the greatest wave of international solidarity with the thousands of victims of Spain's October.

Every Spanish consulate in the country must be made to feel the might of mass protest. Delegations from trade unions and other workers' organizations demanding an end to the terror against the Spanish masses and freedom for the thousands imprisoned will mean much to the fighters in Spain.

Resolutions, passed at meetings, in trade union locals, in all workers' organizations addressed to the Spanish embassy in Washington and to President Zamora in Madrid, Spain, will show the fascists that their vicious deeds are known and condemned and that the workers whom they seek to crush by their brutality have thousands upon thousands of friends and comrades the world over.

This is not a campaign of a week. Martial law continues in Spain indefinitely. The jails are still filled with thousands who have never been tried or even indicted.

Funds to aid these victims are an absolute necessity. The Spanish I.L.D. is heroically collecting what it can despite all the terror of Lerroux and Robles. But the exploited workers of Spain cannot possibly raise enough to care for their comrades. Money must continue to come from all parts of the world to meet the tremendous needs.

Every cent represents another voice raised in international solidarity with the victims of Spanish fascism. Every coin is a blow against fascism, not only in Spain, but in Germany, Austria, Poland, and its ambitions here at home.

The heroes of Asturias, men, women and children, fought not only in their own interests. Their fight against fascism was our fight. The menace of fascism is slowly engulfing the whole of the capitalist world. Here in the United States it is advancing more and more rapidly. In Spain, it is established on a tottering foundation. Its rule is threatened by the organized might of millions. Seventy thousand in the jails will not crush the struggle of the Spanish masses. The Spanish workers are determined to continue their fight against fascism. We can help them. We must help them. Add your voice to the international protest and solidarity movement. Add your contribution to the fighting fund of material aid to the prisoners, widows, orphans—fighters in Spain's October.



Send your contribution through the national office of the I.L.D., 80 East 11th St., N. Y. C. We transmit it by cable direct to the Spanish I.L.D.

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