

As from
this hour
You use your
power,
The World
must follow
you

THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER

Official Organ of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO
MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE: 9TH ST. AND 12TH AVE. S.

Stand all as
one
Till right
is done!
Believe and
dare and do!

VOL. 1, NO. 22

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1941

FIVE CENTS

18 Defendants Get Sentences Totaling 22 Years

All Freed on Bail; Case Appealed to Circuit Court

Blair's Ruling Against 544-CIO Being Reviewed

As we go to press, the District Court in Ramsey County has begun the long-awaited probe into the dishonest ruling of former State Labor Conciliator Blair against the Minneapolis drivers. The Stassen-Blair ruling has thus far prevented the drivers from choosing through democratic elections their union bargaining agent.

Union attorneys Gilbert Carlson and D. F. Shama, together with officials of 544-CIO, are presenting the evidence to the court against the shameful Blair decision which denied democracy to the drivers and violated Stassen's own Slave Labor Law.

The hearing is expected to last several days. Watch for a full report of the court hearing in next week's INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER.

Captive Miners Win Union Shop Demand

NEW YORK—The 53,000 captive coal miners have won their union shop in the coal mines owned by the Steel Trust. The three-man arbitration board, by a two to one vote, decided for the union shop. President Fairless of U. S. Steel Corporation voted against John L. Lewis and Dr. John Steelman.

The miners' victory was hard-won, coming after three strikes, the union's rejection of a decision of the boss-minded National Defense Mediation Board denying the union shop, and a sharp exchange of letters between miners' president John L. Lewis and President Roosevelt, the latter siding

with the steel corporation. Lewis pointed out the decision justified the position taken by the union throughout the controversy.

The decision of the arbitration board, in the union's favor, was the opposite of that taken by the National Defense Mediation Board.

The captive-mine dispute has been used by the national administration as a springboard from which to launch a series of vicious anti-labor bills against the union movement.

Is Victory for All Labor

Throughout the dispute, it has been generally understood that a miners' victory would have important consequences for the rest of the

union movement, especially the steel workers who are also seeking the union shop from the same bosses who fought the miners.

As the N. Y. TIMES said Monday, the victory of the coal miners "is expected to give impetus to drives by two other CIO unions for similar recognition in steel company properties. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee is negotiating for a union shop in the steel mills of the Bethlehem Steel company and other 'Little Steel' companies. A similar campaign is being carried on by the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers in the Bethlehem Steel shipyards."

Twelve Given 18 Months and Six Receive Year and a Day

The eighteen defendants convicted under the Smith Omnibus Gag Law were sentenced Monday by Federal Judge Mathew M. Joyce. Twelve were given 16-month sentences; six were sentenced to serve 12 months, "a year-and-a-day."

Chief Defense Counsel Albert Goldman announced formally to the court the case would be appealed to the higher courts.

The judge released all defendants on their original bail bonds until the appeal is decided. In doing so, Judge Joyce stated he believed "a substantial question of law is to be determined by the appellate court in this case." The reference was taken to indicate the question of the constitutionality of the Smith Gag Law under which the eighteen were convicted.

Friday defense counsel filed its appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

The first twelve defendants called to the bench received the longer sentences of 16 months. They are V. R. Dunne, Carl Skoglund, Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, Max Geldman, Oscar Coover, Grace Carlson, Jake Cooper, Carlos Hudson and Emil Hansen.

Those given a year-and-a-day are Oscar Schoenfeld, Karl Kuehn, Harry DeBoer, Clarence Hamel, Edward Palmquist and Alfred Russell.

The original bail bonds under which all defendants were released amount to \$3,500 each for the Local 544-CIO members and \$2,500 for the other defendants. The 544-CIO bail was furnished by the national CIO.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee in conjunction with labor and the American Civil Liberties Union is backing the appeal.

Constitutionality of the Smith Act, which makes the mere expression of opinion a crime, has been widely questioned by legal authorities.

Is Same Smith

Author of the act under which the 18 are the first to be convicted is the same poll-tax Congressman, Howard Smith (Democrat) of Virginia, who sponsored the vicious slave-labor bill passed last week by the House of Representatives, and labeled by the CIO as "one of the worst blows ever struck against American labor . . . a horrible combination of blind spite, slaveholders' bigotry, crafty treason, reckless union-busting, utter confusion and sheer stupidity."

Answer Is Launched

Immediately after sentence had been filed Monday morning, defendants and their friends met in the defense commissary at 919 Marquette avenue and laid plans for the appeal.

In the notice of appeal, filed Friday in District Court, twenty-one grounds for the appeal are listed, the first three of which read that:

"1. The statute, Section II, Title 18, United States Code, for violation of which appellant was convicted, is in violation of Articles I and V of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. (These Amendments embody freedom of speech, press and assembly, and that no person shall be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy.—Ed.)

"2. The application of said statute . . . to the appellant in this case is in violation of the rights guaranteed him by said Articles I and V of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

"3. The Court erred in overruling the motion made by the defendants before the commencement of the trial asking that the Court determine or in the alternative that the Court order the jury to determine the issue as to whether or not at the time the statements, writings, or utterances were made or issued there was a clear and present danger of the existence of the evils sought to be prevented by the statute, or that said statements, writings or utterances were made, issued or published, under circumstances, in which there was a clear and present danger of the accomplishment of those evils; or whether there was a clear and present danger of the accomplishment of those evils at the time of the enactment of said statute or at any time thereafter."

While the appeal must be first directed to the Circuit Court of Appeals, the question of the constitutionality of the Smith Gag Law is so important that the government may permit the appeal to go directly to the United States Supreme Court.

Marine Cooks Wire Protest To Biddle

Below is the text of a letter sent Attorney General Francis Biddle by the Marine Cooks & Stewards association, CIO:

"Honorable Sir:
"Enclosed is a resolution endorsed by the Marine Cooks & Stewards association of the Pacific Coast urging the dismissal of the indictments against the twenty-eight defendants in the case against the Motor Transport Workers Union at Minneapolis. Our organization protests this apparent attempt to deprive the Minneapolis workers of their democratic rights, and we very strongly urge that you use your good offices toward securing dismissal of these charges."
Respectfully yours,
E. F. Burke, Secretary.

CIO Head Calls for Mass Meetings to Protest Smith Bill

President Philip Murray Criticizes Stassen-Ball Bill — Poll-Taxers Lead Fight Against Labor

As the United States this week became formally a participant in the Second World War, the CIO movement continued its mobilization to defeat the various anti-labor bills under consideration by Congress. Worst of the boss bills, that sponsored by poll-taxer Howard Smith, has passed the House, 225 to 136, on the combined votes

of New Dealers and Republicans.

Moving to halt the bill in the Senate, CIO President Murray urged every affiliated CIO body to deluge the Senate with wires and letters of protest against the anti-labor bills.

He summoned the CIO to hold mass meetings throughout the land to protest Wall Street's program to strangle the American union movement.

The Smith Bill would force compulsory arbitration on a union through a 90-day "cooling-off" period, would freeze the Open Shop, would virtually force unions to incorporate, would permit the bosses to stick their noses in all affairs of the union and thus prepare black lists against the best union men, would prohibit labor solidarity.

Hits Stassen-Ball Bill

In a letter sent all CIO affiliates urging them to action, President Philip Murray also sharply condemned the Ball Bill, introduced by Stassen's senator Joseph Ball.

"The Ball Bill would make illegal any new union shop agreements," Murray said. "The legislative proposals would undermine and eliminate the basic rights and privileges of the American people. Nothing more subversive of American democracy has ever been proposed. . . . The basic constitutional rights guaranteed under our Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are being threatened. It is your task to protect American democracy, which can be assured only through the defeat of the pending anti-labor legislation before the Senate."

Only Minnesota congressman to vote against the Smith Bill was Pittenger. All others voted in Wall Street's interests, and against organized labor.

Decisive support for the Smith Bill came from the poll-tax South, where 108 of 116 congressmen voted in favor of the measure which would smash the union movement.

**Robert Ellis, 17,
Son of Cecil, Dies**
Labor extends its warm sympathy to Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Ellis, whose son, Robert, 17, passed away at 2 a. m. Friday morning. Funeral services will be held at the Kneable Undertaking parlor, 513 Plymouth avenue north.

Chicago to Hear Dunne Next Sunday

Vincent R. Dunne, one of the eighteen convicted in the "sedition" trial, will speak in Chicago next Sunday, December 21st, at a public protest meeting sponsored by the Civil Rights Defense Committee of Chicago.

Brother Dunne will speak on the recent trial. The meeting will be held at 3:30 p. m. in the Roosevelt Room of the Morrison hotel. The public is invited.

Gum Workers Contribute To Defense

CHICAGO — The CIO United Rubber Workers Local 120 has adopted a resolution protesting the Department of Justice persecution of the leaders of 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party, and endorsing the work of the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

Local 120 voted a financial contribution to the CRDC and sent a copy of its protest resolution to Attorney General Francis Biddle.

Mrs. Minnie Brett, Mother of Ray and Wilbur, Passes On

The many union friends of the Brett family extend their deepest sympathy at the death of Mrs. Minnie Brett, 71, who passed on Friday night. Mrs. Brett is survived by her husband and eight children, of whom Ray and Wilbur Brett are particularly well known in labor circles.

The funeral was held Monday afternoon at the National Funeral home, with burial at the Brooklyn Center cemetery.

Resist Tobin Raids Here

Brewery Workers Defend Democracy

Brewery Workers Union Files Charges Against Dictator Tobin with NLRB; Will Also Move Through Courts

The Tobin officials who have launched their reactionary raiding campaign against the Brewery Workers International Union in Minneapolis and St. Paul are due for a real struggle. Officers of the Minneapolis Brewery Workers Union Local 205 announced Thursday they would file charges against the Tobin forces with the National Labor Relations Board.

The brewery workers have obtained restraining orders against Tobin in both Minneapolis and St. Paul. They will also move through the district courts to protect their democratic rights. Charges against Tobin may also be filed with Stassen's state labor conciliator, though little is hoped for from

this source in the way of respect for workers' democracy.

In their efforts to force members of the Brewery Workers International Union into the Tobin outfit, AFL Teamsters appointees in the Twin Cities are acting on direct orders from Dictator Tobin. Tobin officials admitted in the December 4th issue of the St. Paul UNION ADVOCATE that in its raid against the brewery workers,

Pull in Your Horns, Dictator Tobin

(Below we reprint an editorial dealing with Dictator Tobin's raid on the Brewery Workers Union, from the December 9th issue of the St. Paul PIONEER PRESS. In St. Paul, as in Minneapolis, Tobin is carrying out his hoodlum tactics against the brewery drivers.)

A jurisdictional fight in the AFL has resulted in the picketing of a number of local taverns and in tavern and brewery owners being penalized by the greed and undemocratic action of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The independent Brewery Workers Union has been suspended from the AFL for its refusal to compel beer drivers to join the Teamsters Union. Obviously the brewery workers are satisfied with their present status and should have the right to determine to which union they care to belong. Daniel Tobin, Teamster boss, however, has decided that they must come under his supervision and pay tribute to him.

To accomplish this purpose he has threatened to cut off milk, bread and other deliveries to taverns that are served by the Brewery Workers Union drivers. The tavern owners as a rule have union employees and have complied with the usual union regulations but even so they now are being made the goat in an inter-union fight for power.

The American people are getting tired of this type of high-handed unionism. Certainly no union group should be forced to join and pay tribute to some outside boss against its will. MR. TOBIN SHOULD PULL IN HIS HORNS for the people may not only decide that they do not want his pickets around taverns but they may also decide that if a man has no more important job than picketing a union institution at this time they will furnish him one by resorting to the World War I "work or fight" program.

"We are acting under direction of the International Union."

Men Want Own Union

The unprincipled raiding campaign has the typical Tobin hallmark. It is carried out against the expressed democratic sentiments of the brewery drivers themselves. In Minneapolis the drivers voted overwhelmingly—447 to 35 — to remain with their own union, one of the oldest industrial unions in the nation.

"We have held collective bargaining agreements with all Minneapolis and St. Paul breweries for more than 49 years," William Delwaide, business representative of Local 205, said. "The AFL Teamsters Union is attempting to disrupt these long-established conditions by raiding our membership, denying the wage earner the inherent right of the Constitution and of the Wagner Labor Act to select the organization of his choosing."

Tobin's officials charge Local 205 and St. Paul Locals 97 and 343, "are attempting to confuse the issue by claiming they are launching an organizing campaign. This is not an organizing campaign of the Teamsters, but purely a 'raiding campaign.' Every man in the brewing industry is organized. . . . The raiding tactics of the AFL Teamsters are well known to organized workers, as they have reached into many trades, attempting to grab off the membership of other unions."

Why Tobin Raids Here?

In other cities, where the union rank-and-file has some measure of democratic control over its officials, labor has not permitted Tobin to unleash his brazen raids against the Brewery Workers Union, which he recently forced out of the AFL.

Typical of the situation elsewhere is that in St. Louis, where the Central Trades refused to suspend the Brewery Workers and wrote a letter of protest to William Green. When Green refused to reply, the Brewery Workers voluntarily withdrew their delegates from the central body. As their delegates left the assembly "they received a thunderous round of applause," the St. Louis LABOR TRIBUNE said.

A delegate from the AFL Teamsters introduced a motion, which was adopted by unanimous vote, "That delegates of the Brewery" (Continued on page 4)

Labor Records Of the 18

JAMES P. CANNON:

National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Born in Rosedale, Kansas, 1890. Thirty years of active service in the working class political movement. Indicted for "conspiracy" in 1913 in Peoria, Ill., for organizing the farm equipment workers of the Avery Manufacturing Co. Indicted by the federal government in 1919 in Kansas, under the wartime anti-strike laws for participating in the strike of the coal miners. Those two times he was in jail before bail was raised, but never was tried on the indictments. Nationally known for his leadership in historic strikes and labor trials (Sacco-Vanzetti, etc.) One of labor's greatest orators.

FARRELL DOBBS:

Born 1907, Queen City, Missouri. A planning engineer for Western Electric, he quit a promising technical career when he saw how workers were fired wholesale during the depression. Then sought to enter a university to study the nature of a society which made crises possible. Unable to go through with this plan he became a laborer in Minneapolis coal yards, joined 544, was an organizer and strike leader. As International Organizer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, he was the central figure in the brilliant organization of the over-the-road truck drivers in 11 states in the Mid-West, one of the outstanding labor victories of this period. Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Married, three children.

ALBERT GOLDMAN:

Brilliant labor lawyer who has defended hundreds of workers and unemployed. Graduate of Chicago public schools and University of Cincinnati. Joined I.W.W. in 1919 at age of 22. Pocket-maker in clothing factories and member of Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Studied law at Northwestern University. Since 1927, specialist in labor defense. Attacked by vigilante mob in Danville, Ill., for defending unemployed in 1932. Defended Norman Mini in famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial in 1934-35. Outstanding writer on socialism and the working class political movement.

V. R. DUNNE:

One of the foremost union leaders in the Northwest. He was born in Kansas City in 1889 and entered the labor movement in 1906, in the Western Federation of Miners, I.W.W. He has been a farm laborer, lumberjack, and truck driver. He was a guiding spirit in the famous 1934 and strikes of Local 544. Minneapolis workers in all industries credit Vincent Dunne as a great leader who helped change Minneapolis from an open shop city to a stronghold of union labor. He is married, has two children.

FELIX MORROW:

Born New York, 1906. Graduate of New York University. Newspaperman, author, historian. Prominent in the working class political movement since 1928. Indicted in 1932, but never tried, in South River, N. J., needle trades strike. As secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 1934-1936, he defended numerous labor prisoners. Associate editor, Northwest Organizer, in Minneapolis. (Continued on page 3)

Labor Greet Verdict With Protest Resolutions

Union Support for Defendants Grows

Quakertown CIO Council One of Many Labor Bodies to Protest Trial; Other Union Actions on This Page

QUAKERTOWN, PA. — Accompanying its action with a substantial contribution to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the Quakertown CIO Industrial Union Council has adopted a resolution protesting the Department of Justice frame-up against leaders of 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party. The financial contribution, writes Secretary Howard Stump, to Local 544-CIO was "voted to help defray the expenses of the trial, of your leaders and those of the Socialist Workers Party."

Text of the Quakertown union resolution follows:

"WHEREAS, Minneapolis Local 544-CIO Motor Transport Workers Union, which is the spearhead of the motor transport workers movement of the Northwest, transferred its affiliation by almost unanimous vote from the AFL Teamsters International into the CIO to free itself from the dictatorial racketeering craft-union set up of Daniel J. Tobin; and

WHEREAS, CIO President Philip Murray and other national officers have welcomed this militant progressive union into the CIO as the start of a nation-wide drive to bring democratic industrial unionism to the American motor transport drivers; and

WHEREAS, Daniel J. Tobin in his campaign of terror against the Minneapolis motor transport workers has been aided by the Department of Justice, which has secured the indictment on "seditious conspiracy" charges of 28 individuals including the entire leadership of Local 544-CIO as well as members of the Socialist Workers Party; and

WHEREAS, the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union and other labor and liberal organizations have condemned the government

prosecution as a serious threat to civil liberties and labor's rights; and

WHEREAS, ignoring these protests, the Department of Justice has put these men on trial in Minneapolis; and

WHEREAS, the frame-up character of this prosecution is evidenced by the court dismissal of the charges against five of the defendants; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED THAT, Our organization protest against this attempt to deprive the Minneapolis motor transport workers of their democratic rights to join the union of their choice, and we condemn the use of Government agencies to oppress and harass any labor or political organization in the pursuit of their activities; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we call upon the Department of Justice to dismiss the indictments against the 23 remaining defendants in the Minnesota case; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we endorse the work of the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, the authorized representative of the 28 defendants; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the local union, the newspapers and the labor press, the national office of the CIO, Local 544-CIO and Attorney-General Francis Biddle, QUAKERTOWN INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL.

Marine Cooks and Stewards Calls for Aid to Defendants

SAN FRANCISCO — The CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards' Association of the Pacific Coast has adopted a resolution calling upon the U. S. Department of Justice to dismiss the indictments against the 28 defendants in the Minnesota case, and requesting affiliated CIO locals "to give their full moral and financial aid to these 28 defendants."

The Marine Cooks' resolution, after condemning Daniel J. Tobin for his "campaign of terror against the Minneapolis motor transport workers," in which he was "aided by the Department of Justice," concludes:

"... RESOLVED, Our organizations protest against this attempt to deprive the Minneapolis motor transport workers of their democratic rights to join the union of their choice, and we condemn the use of government agencies to oppress and harass any labor or political organization in the pursuit of their activities; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That we call upon the Department of Justice to dismiss the indictments against the 28 defendants in the Minnesota case; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That we request our affiliated locals to give their full moral and financial aid to these 28 defendants; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be given the widest publicity in the labor press and that they be sent to the National Office of the CIO, Local 544-CIO, Local 544-CIO, and Attorney General Francis Biddle.

"Adopted by: Marine Cooks & Stewards' Association of the Pacific Coast, CIO, at the Headquarters Regular Meeting, Thursday, November 27, 1941."

Card of Thanks

To Local 544-CIO: Gratefully acknowledging and thanking you for your kind expression of sympathy.

—Charles H. Brett and family.

For him who fain would teach the world The world holds hate in fee— For Socrates the hemlock cup; For Christ, Getsemane.

—DON MARQUIS, WAGES

Students in Chicago Back Appeal

CHICAGO — Maynard Kreuger, Socialist Party vice-presidential candidate, last week made a stirring appeal for active aid in behalf of the 18 recently convicted defendants in the Minneapolis "conspiracy" case, at a students' meeting on the University of Chicago campus.

Pointing out the dire threat to free speech implied in the convictions, Mr. Kreuger posed to both "interventionists" and "non-interventionists" the problem of reconciling their respective positions on the war with non-support of the case.

"Why do you favor participation in the war," Kreuger asked the interventionists, "if not because you think it necessary in order to preserve democratic processes and civil liberties?"

He demanded of non-interventionists "What, if not the preservation of those same democratic processes?" could be the basis of their opposition to entrance into the war.

Professor Malcolm Sharp analyzed the legal aspects of the case, stating that the Smith Act of 1940 was so loosely worded as to lend itself to grave abuses.

Contribute to Appeal

A collection of \$10 was turned over to the Chicago CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE by the Committee to Fight Domestic Fascism, under whose auspices the meeting was held. The Committee to Fight Domestic Fascism, a campus organization, has expressed its determination to work toward the liberation of the defendants and the invalidation or amendment of the Smith Act under which they were convicted.

ON WAR AND PEACE

"It is always best on these occasions to do as the mob does." "But suppose there are two mobs," suggested Mr. Snodgrass. "Shout with the largest," replied Mr. Pickwick.

—CHARLES DICKENS.

Appeal of Verdict Here Backed by Labor Press

See Labor's Rights, Civil Liberties Threatened

Denunciation of the verdict in the Minneapolis "sedition" case as a blow to civil liberties and labor's rights appears throughout the American labor press this week. Below we re-print editorial comment on the case from several labor papers:

Freedom of Speech

(From the December 6, 1941, issue of INDUSTRIAL WORKER, organ of the I.W.W.)

A late news bulletin informs us that 18 of the 23 defendants in the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial have been found guilty. This verdict is worth more editorial attention than we are able to give it now.

These 18 persons, members of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, were convicted on account of their opinions expressed in speech and writing. Moreover, a good deal of the "evidence" against them consisted of loosely reported alleged conversations held in private. And so, pop goes free speech again.

The verdict doesn't mean we have fascism already in the United States. Curbing free speech now and then is an old American custom. It breaks out whenever the ruling class gets worried about something or other.

Our interest in this case doesn't mean we agree with the victims of this particular miscarriage of capitalist justice in their views of the struggle between capital and labor. We stick to industrial unionism, while they promote one of the many brands of so-called communist politics. BUT WE SEE EYE TO EYE WITH THEM AND WITH OTHER LIBERTY - LOVING PEOPLE ON THE QUESTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS, THE RIGHT TO HAVE OPINIONS AND TO EXPRESS THEM, WHETHER THOSE OPINIONS PLEASE THE BIG SHOTS OF FINANCE AND INDUSTRY OR NOT.

As we go to press, sentence has not as yet been pronounced. Naturally, there will be an appeal to a higher court.

The Minneapolis Trial

(From the December 6, 1941, issue of THE NEW LEADER, organ of the Social Democratic Federation)

In the Minneapolis trial of the Trotskyites, Attorney General Biddle has stumbled into one of the worst blunders which a democratic administration could commit at a time like this. The whole thing is so out of proportion that in ordinary times the nation would simply hoot at it. We have had here the mighty legal guns of the federal Department of Justice trained on one of the smallest, the most conventional, the most harmless of "revolutionary" splinter groups. . . .

An especially dangerous aspect of the conviction of the Minneapolis defendants is their being indicted and convicted under the provisions of the Smith Act, passed in 1940. Most of the alleged conspiracy was created, according to government charges, before 1940. It is a

In Great Britain

Laborites Support Defendants Here

Independent Labour Party Says Defense of Minnesota Victims Is Linked with Fight Against Hitlerism

The Minneapolis prosecution against the leaders of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party has not passed unnoticed in the working-class press of England, as is shown by the article on the Minneapolis "sedition" trial appearing in the October 25th issue of the London NEW LEADER, just arrived.

Entitled "Class Struggle in America," the article points out that "In America the war situation has been used as a pretext" by the employers and the Roosevelt administration to suppress the working class.

The NEW LEADER is the paper of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, a socialist group following principles similar to those of the Norman Thomas organization in the United States.

Below are reprinted excerpts from the NEW LEADER story on the Minneapolis trial:

"Unnoticed to date in the Press of this country, the indictment by a federal grand jury of 29 CIO leaders and Socialist Workers Party members on a charge of 'seditious conspiracy' has aroused a storm of protest throughout the U. S. Labour Movement. This is the first case on record under the anti-labour Smith Act of 1940, and if successful, presages a general assault upon workers' democratic rights in America. . . .

AFL Loses Ground

"The battle between the AFL and the CIO is not a mere union dispute, as some people claim. It is essentially a conflict of two absolutely opposed tendencies: the AFL for class-collaboration, the CIO for class-struggle.

The workers' disgust at the policy of the AFL recently expressed itself very plainly in Minneapolis, where by a vote of 4,000 members, the Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union-Local 544 decided

fateful move when persons are convicted on a virtual ex-post facto basis.

Eighteen out of twenty-three under indictment were convicted of conspiracy to create insubordination in the armed forces of this country. The fact that the jury debated for forty hours before taking the first ballot is sufficient to show that the minds of those who heard all the evidence were beset by doubts. The jurymen probably felt under compulsion to return a verdict of guilty as a proof of their loyalty.

The Communist Party played a thoroughly disreputable part in the whole affair, and demonstrated once again how thin is its pretense of interest in civil liberties. Robert Minor, the present leader of the party, took the trouble to visit Minneapolis and do what he could to put the members of the dissident Communist group behind bars.

Such an application of the Smith Act and of the 1861 Sedition Act turns them into a threat to civil liberties. Such stretching of legal language as was indulged in at Minneapolis could put any critic of the government in jail. Fortunately, the case will be appealed, and the Supreme Court may be called upon to give the final verdict. In the meantime, all Americans who love liberty—and this does not, apparently, include the Communists—must be vividly aware of what is happening.

The Minneapolis Case

(From the December 13, 1941, issue of THE CALL, organ of the Socialist Party)

The conviction of 18 Trotskyists on charges of conspiracy to create insubordination in the armed forces of the government is a reflection of the hysteria of our time and a rank case of stupid and unjust persecution by the government of the United States.

When the Smith Alien and Sedition Law was passed, we foresaw such persecution and warned against it. It is significant that the prosecution did not obtain conviction under the old sedition laws, but under this more sweeping and loosely worded act stemming from this new crusade "to make the world safe for democracy" apparently by denying it to our citizens at home.

Whatever Trotskyist theory may have been in relation to U. S. armed forces, their only so-called overt act had nothing to do with the charge under which they were convicted. As usual in these cases, the prosecution relied on flag waving and on scaring the jury half to death with passages from general Leninist literature torn from their context and dating back for decades. That a handful of Trotskyists constituted any real threat to the armed forces of the U. S. so outrages common sense that it would be waste of space to argue the question. . . . Our condemnation of the fantastic proceedings at Minneapolis is unqualified, and we support to the full the move to appeal the decision.

to break with the AFL and join the CIO. This was a heavy blow to the careerists of the former organization as well as to the Roosevelt Government, which seeks Labour support through the AFL.

"This breakaway threatened to give added impetus to the growing class-consciousness of the American workers. Every effort was therefore made to crush Local 544. These efforts, however, were a dismal failure. The workers stood firm behind their leaders. As a last resort the Federal Bureau of Investigation took action, and the U. S. Department of Justice drew up an indictment against 29 CIO leaders and Socialist Workers Party members.

Two-Prong Attack

"The CIO leaders have been indicted not as trade unionists, but as members of a political party, the Socialist Workers Party. This Party . . . has taken the lead in Minneapolis in trade union organization of the workers, and has also attempted to give this industrial struggle a political direction. That their efforts have not been without a measure of success was shown in the recent Senate election, where the SWP candidate polled more than the combined vote of the Communist Party and the Norman Thomas Socialist Party. The prosecution of the SWP has therefore a two-fold purpose: to deprive the workers of revolutionary political leadership and to check the growth of militant trade unionism.

"The National CIO fully recognizes this threat to the trade union movement. . . . That this case has aroused nation-wide indignation and agitation is indicated also by the attitude of the American Civil Liberties Union, and such well-known journals as THE NATION and the NEW REPUBLIC.

"It is the bounden duty of every

Socialist, of every trade unionist, to make the American Government aware of the fact that its attack upon our class comrades has not passed unnoticed. The workers of this country, pledged as they are to resist Nazi tyranny, have also the elementary duty to perform of assisting their American brother workers in the fight for freedom of speech. Let the international working-class solidarity manifested in the case of Big Bill Haywood and Vincent St. John, in the frame-ups against Sacco and Vanzetti and Tom Mooney, be shown again. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

We live now on the eve of great revolutions. I cannot doubt that the proletariat, increasingly conscious of its rights, will eventually seize power in one country after another, and I never cease of marvel that the governing classes of today, rather than continue a vain struggle against these overwhelming forces, do not use every effort to train the masses for their future tasks so that when they are dispossessed their fate may be less cruel than that which befell them in Russia.—Somerset Maugham, Summing Up.

Though louder fame attends the martial rage, 'Tis greater glory to reform the age.—VIRGIL.

DR. BANKS
Dr. G. A. Fellows
Dr. E. E. Johnson
Dr. G. M. Hanz
252 N. C. DENISTERS
OPEN EVENINGS
MA. 2631
Corner
3rd & Nicollet

Equipped for Efficiency
Organized for Speed
Argus Publishing
Company
Printers - Publishers
Stationers
Emmett L. Duesmke, Pres.
Union Printers for 40 Years
2335 Central Ave.
GR. 3531

Be Wise!
Skelly's Liquor Store
Has Quality Buys
1200 W. Broadway
HY. 5-2-3
100% UNION-HOUSE

Chrysler Local 230 Supports Defendants, Condemns Prosecution

"We assure you of our Local's support," John Allard, recording secretary of Chrysler Local 230 of the United Auto Workers, wrote Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Local 544-CIO, last week.

Allard enclosed a resolution adopted by the Chrysler Local protesting the Department of Justice intervention on behalf of Tobin in his fight on the Minneapolis drivers.

The text of Local 230's resolution follows:
WHEREAS: Minneapolis Local 544-CIO Motor Transport Workers Union, which is the spear head of the transport workers movement of the Northwest, transferred its affiliation by almost unanimous vote from the AFL Teamsters International into the CIO to free itself from the dictatorial, racketeer, craft-union set-up of Daniel Tobin, and

WHEREAS: CIO president Phillip Murray and other national officers have welcomed this militant, progressive union into the CIO as the start of a nation-wide drive to bring democratic industrial unionism to the American motor transport workers, and

WHEREAS: Daniel Tobin in his campaign of terror against the Minneapolis motor transport workers has been aided by the Department of Justice, which has secured the indictment on "seditious conspiracy" charges of 28 individuals including the entire leadership of 544-CIO as well as members of the Socialist Workers Party, and

WHEREAS: The CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union and other labor and liberal organizations have condemned the government prosecution as a serious threat to civil liberties and labor's rights, and

WHEREAS: Ignoring these protests, the Department of Justice is putting these men on trial in Minneapolis on October 20th, be it

RESOLVED: That our organization protest against this attempt to deprive the Minneapolis motor transport workers of their democratic rights to join the union of their choice, and we condemn the use of Government agencies to oppress and harass any labor or political organization in the pursuit of their activities, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we call upon the Department of Justice to dismiss the indictments against the 28 defendants in the Minnesota case, and be it finally

RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to the newspapers and labor press, the National CIO office, Local 544-CIO and Attorney-General Francis Biddle.

CONCURRED IN: Chrysler Local 230.

Longshoremen Give \$50 to Defense Fund

SAN PEDRO, CALIF.—"We endorse the work of the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, the authorized representative of the Minneapolis defendants, and donate \$50.00 to its Defense Fund," Local 1-13 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union voted at its meeting November 27th.

The meeting adopted a resolution criticizing the Department of Justice for ignoring the protests of the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers and the American Civil Liberties Union, and putting the leadership of 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party on trial.

"Our organization protests against this attempt to deprive the Minneapolis motor transport workers of their democratic rights to join the union of their choice, and we condemn the use of government agencies to oppress and harass any labor or political organization in the pursuit of their activities," Local 1-13's resolution read.

Tobin Men Picked Up In Bombing

DETROIT—Three AFL union officials whom Patrick J. Currier, lumber company executive, asserted had "publicly expressed their sympathy for me and bitterly attacked me as recently as last Thursday" were questioned by police last week in the bombing of Currier's home December 3rd.

Workers at the Currier plant recently voted CIO in an NLRB election, joining the United Construction Workers.

Those questioned by police were Roe and Mitchell, past president and president of Tobin's Teamsters Union Local 247, and Secretary Thal of the Detroit AFL Building Trades Council.

Fidelity State Bank
Place your Federal Housing Loans and Auto Finance with us. The only bank controlled by Labor and business men INDEPENDENT

ENJOY
Gluek's BEER

IMPROVED
GRAIN BELT BEER
A BETTER BEER, MADE THE OLD-FASHIONED WAY
THE Friendly BEER

Goldman Analyzes Tobin's Committee of 99 for the Jury

Defense Attorney Explains Union Struggle Between Minneapolis Drivers and Tobin That Underlies Trial

In his concluding remarks to the jury, Chief Defense Counsel Albert Goldman analyzed at length the testimony of the members of Tobin's "Committee of 99," and the role of the FBI in aiding the work of the "Committee of 99." Below we publish excerpts from Goldman's summary to the jury.

Mr. Goldman's 10-hour speech for the defense will shortly be available in pamphlet form. Copies can be obtained through branches of the Civil Rights Defense Committee in all principal cities, or through the national office of the Defense Committee, Room 809, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City:

Ladies and gentlemen, by this time you know enough about our trial to understand that it is difficult for me to speak with bitterness against any individual. By and large we hold that social conditions are responsible for the character of an individual and for me as a Marxist, it is almost impossible to be bitter towards a government witness regardless of the depths of perjury which he reaches. That does not, of course, prevent me from pointing out the false testimony which the government witnesses gave.

Yesterday I think I mentioned that society, as at present constituted, is characterized by struggle, from the struggle between imperialist cliques for colonies and spheres of influence, to the struggle of poor people for bread and butter. Most of the important government witnesses—I am speaking now about those witnesses whose names I enumerated and who are directly or indirectly connected with the present administration in 544—are helpless people who were motivated by a desire to get jobs in the local and they could only do so if the defendants, who were connected with the local, were pushed out of their positions.

Most of these people knew nothing about the program, with the exception, of course, that they knew that we advocated the armed overthrow of the Government. I mentioned before that these people never remembered the subject of a single pamphlet or discussion, never remembered the contents of a single pamphlet but always remembered that the defendants advocated the violent overthrow of the Government. Mr. Eugene Williams, for instance, on direct examination remembered that Farrell Dobbs advocated the armed overthrow of the Government. On cross-examination he forgot that it was Farrell Dobbs and said that it was Felix Morrow, but still he remembered that no matter who it was, the speaker advocated the armed overthrow of the Government. Here I want to mention a very significant factor about the testimony of the Government witnesses. The first witness who testified after Bartlett, had made out an affidavit which was published in the Minnesota Teamster, the organ of 544-AFL. On cross-examination it was evident that he had forgotten everything he had written in the affidavit. He testified that he read the affidavit when he signed it and that he knew at that time that it was true. The contradictions between his testimony on the witness stand and his statements in the affidavit were indeed glaring.

Did you note that all the witnesses who came after did not contradict themselves so badly? They were all in court listening to the first witness. Mr. Bartlett was also in court and I believe I am safe in saying that Mr. Bartlett had charge of coaching the witnesses. After the first witness tangled himself up badly, the other witnesses took the trouble of reading their affidavits and it was more difficult for me to tangle them up on this point.

Another significant point. A great many of the witnesses claimed that Vincent Ray Dunne, who is more or less of a chief devil in this picture, discussed with them the question of what our party wanted to do after the passing of the Selective Service Act. All of them, with the exception of one, testified that they had conversations with Dunne about this matter long after they were out of the party, even after, according to their claim, they had fought with some party members.

It looked peculiar, did it not, that Dunne, who you will all agree is a highly intelligent person, should talk to people who were no longer members of the party and who were enemies of the party, about such delicate questions as inciting insurrection in the army. I think the jury must have seen the absurdity of that testimony.

TOBIN WITNESSES ARE PERJURERS

Then something occurred which gave the whole show away. Sidney Brennan got on the stand and testified of course that he also had a conversation with V. R. Dunne, subsequent to the passing of the Selective Service Act, in which conversation Dunne told him that the party was trying to stir up trouble in the army. By that time the witnesses knew that the Selective Service Act of 1940 was passed in 1940—you remember the difficulties that Bartlett got into about that little point? Mr. Schweinhaut asked Brennan the following question: "Were you on good terms with Mr. Dunne at the time of the conversation?" and Mr. Brennan obediently answered in the affirmative. It was so glaringly obvious that Bartlett or someone else realized the absurdity of the claim that Dunne spoke to these people after they had ceased to be members and after they had ceased to be on good terms with him. It was therefore necessary to show that Brennan was still on good terms with V. R. Dunne. A minor point but very significant!

Another piece of testimony that shows how much perjury the Government witnesses really committed, dealt with the question of the payment by the Executive Board of the union of Emil Hansen's weekly salary at the time he was acting as a guard for Leon Trotsky. This evidence, of course, could not possibly help the jury arrive at a decision as to whether or not the Socialist Workers Party conspired to overthrow the Government by force and violence but I presume it was necessary for Mr. Anderson to show that Mr. Hansen received his weekly wages from the Executive Board at the time he was a guard for Leon Trotsky. That might have some effect on the jury but somebody had forgotten to coach Miss Hanifan, the bookkeeper of Local 544-AFL, and when I asked her: "Did you issue checks at the time Mr. Hansen was in Mexico?" she answered, "No." This, of course, came from a government witness and now I suppose the Government will be forced to contend that Mr. Hansen was paid out of the cash box.

In and by itself a minor point like this is not worth much but when you take all the little and big falsehoods testified to by the government witnesses, you have before you a case based on witnesses whose testimony indicated one thing, and one thing only—they were not afraid of a possible prosecution for perjury.

REAL MOTIVES OF TOBIN MEN

Yesterday I argued that even if you would consider the witnesses for the Government as absolutely honest, having the best intentions in the world to tell the truth as they saw it, you should disregard their testimony concerning statements allegedly made by the defendants two or three years ago because you have far more reliable—that is documentary evidence—to base your decision on. But you are not confronted with honest witnesses. On the contrary, you are confronted by witnesses who are now officially connected with Local 544-AFL—some of them paid organizers, most of them having taken the positions of the men who are now on the prisoners' dock—who were opposed to and

fought the leadership of the defendants in 544 and whose testimony is shot through with falsehoods and perjury. There is nothing else for you to do but to give no credence whatever to this testimony. You should disregard it completely.

Mr. Anderson made much of the fact that most of the testimony of these witnesses stood uncontradicted and undenied. This is a common trick used by lawyers. If a witness for one side makes 500 statements and the witness for the other side denies only 450 of them; then the other 50, undenied, prove the case. Suppose even I had put all the defendants on the stand and all the defendants had denied all the statements which the Government witnesses claimed they had made, wherein would that be of any help to you?

In this case, ladies and gentlemen, we are confronted with this situation: Either our program and our documents advocate the armed overthrow of the Government by force and violence, in which case we are guilty; or else they do not advocate such a doctrine, in which case we are not guilty. The individual statements alleged to have been made by defendants a year or two or three years ago, have no meaning whatever. The question of what statements were made by the defendants should play no role. I do not try cases simply by denying statements attributed to defendants. I prefer to get to the very heart of the issue.

The charge in his case is conspiracy to overthrow the Gov-

FBI ACTIVE IN COMMITTEE OF 99 WHICH FOUGHT DEFENDANTS

With great difficulty I succeeded in presenting the true motives of the Government witnesses. It was the situation in the Minneapolis Brewery that gave the jury a clue as to their real motives. I do not intend to examine the evidence on that point in detail. You remember what the situation was there, the struggle between the Executive Board of the Local composed largely of the defendants on one hand, and Holstein, Eugene Williams, Al Williams and Buckingham, Government witnesses, on the other hand. You realized from the testimony of the Government witnesses themselves that these people were participating in a racket. The Government witness, Blixt, who worked in the market, was in the same boat. When I asked him whether, contrary to the orders of the Executive Board, he stopped farmers' trucks from coming into the market, he tried to excuse himself by saying that he stopped only the "wildcat" operators. It was a great racket for these witnesses until the Executive Board of Local 544 stepped in and compelled them to give up their racket of charging several small distributors,

UNION MEMBERSHIP WOULD NEVER ELECT TOBIN MEN TO OFFICE

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: That is absolutely not true, if your Honor please.

THE COURT: I don't think that is appropriate argument, Mr. Goldman; I don't think it is appropriate argument in the face of the state of this record, and I don't think you should pursue it.

MR. GOLDMAN: The Committee of 99 could not convince the members of Local 544 through argument. Is that in the record? Witness after witness testified that they had a chance to run opposition candidates. That is in the record. Members of the Committee of 99 testified here one after another to this effect.

"Under whose leadership was Local 544 organized?" I asked some of the Government witnesses. The perjurers could not get away from the truth. They had to admit that the Dunes, Dobbs, Carl Skoglund, Harry DeBoer and everyone else who is a defendant and connected with Local 544 and now under threat of being deprived of their liberties built the union. From a membership of 200, the defendants raised the Local to 5,500 or 6,000. Do you think any of the Government witnesses were capable of creating this powerful union that exerted tremendous influence throughout the Northwest area? Who built the Over-the-Road Committee? Farrell Dobbs. And these Government witnesses, members of the Committee of 99, some of them unfortunate half-wits, are now in the offices that the defendants had prior to the appointment of the Receiver.

"Were you elected to office?" I asked Sidney Brennan, who testified that he is now Secretary-Treasurer of 544-AFL. "No," he answered.

"Who appointed you?" "Neal," was the answer. "You mean the Receiver for Tobin?" "Yes," was the answer. . . .

It is in evidence that the Executive Board did not permit

WHY WAS PROSECUTION STARTED IN MINNEAPOLIS?

Since January, 1938, when the party was organized, we have been issuing a weekly paper, a monthly magazine and many pamphlets. I am sure that our all-powerful Federal Bureau of Investigation must have been aware of facts known to many thousands of people. It was not, however, until July, 1941, that the Federal Government caught up with the conspirators. On June 9, 1941, the members of 544 decided to disaffiliate from the American Federation of Labor and join the CIO. A little over a month after that the indictment in this case was voted. Is it a mere coincidence—that is what the Government claims, but it is certainly a very peculiar coincidence—and why, pray, was the prosecution started in Minneapolis? The headquarters are in New York. The real conspirators are there but the indictment was voted in Minneapolis and the Government brought four of us from New York in order to cover up its real motives.

Can it be because a Union Defense Guard was organized in Minneapolis? In New York the party organized a Workers Defense Guard which actually fought with the fascists and bundists on the streets. The conclusion is inevitable: That the indictment was brought in Minneapolis where the activities of the leadership of Local 544 incurred the enmity of powerful persons with influence in Washington, especially the enmity of one person whose name I am not permitted to mention.

Grace Carlson was a candidate for senator in the fall of 1940. She spoke on the same platform with candidates from other parties. She spoke over the radio. Everyone heard her and not a single complaint was registered. Could it be presumed that the FBI and the whole Government were asleep? No, that is not the explanation. The indictment came after the decision of 544 to secede from the Intrnational Teamsters Union.

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Are you willing to have me tell why it was brought up, Mr. Goldman?

MR. GOLDMAN: Sure, try to explain it. Get up on the witness stand and testify if you want to, or explain it without testimony, for all I care. You cannot convince reasonable people, or fair-minded people, who know that for 3½ years the party carried on its activities openly and with its headquarters in New York, that there is any other explanation for bringing the prosecution in Minneapolis and at this time, except as a result of the fight in Local 544.

Some evidence was introduced here which I will not analyze in detail but which I want to mention only because they were introduced for the obvious purpose of prejudicing the jury. Take, for instance, the testimony that the party instructed members to deny membership when on the witness stand. The

ernment by force and violence. Was there or was there not such a conspiracy? The Government has introduced more than 150 exhibits consisting of articles, pamphlets and official declarations. Let the jurors determine their decision by those and not by isolated statements alleged to have been made by some of the defendants two or three years ago. If my case depended upon denying the testimony of the Government witnesses, I would be in a precarious situation, indeed! I must state frankly that in my opinion it would be impossible to get a fair trial from jurors who paid any attention to the testimony of the Government witnesses concerning statements alleged to have been made by the defendants long ago.

The witnesses on behalf of the Government organized a Committee of 99 to fight Socialism in Local 544. That is what they claim. There was quite a famous man in England several centuries ago by the name of Sam Johnson and he coined a phrase which has become quite current: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" and if ever this phrase applied, it does so in the case of the witnesses for the Government. These perjurers wrapped themselves in the American flag, not because they cared a tinker's damn about patriotism, but because in this way they think they can succeed in gaining a victory over the defendants. Their real motive was not to fight socialism but to earn a few more dollars and get positions to which they could not be elected.

who wanted a load from the Minneapolis Brewery, a minimum of four hours pay regardless of the time that it actually took to load the truck—whether it was 15 minutes or 20 minutes. You noticed that it was after the Executive Board compelled these witnesses to give up the racket that the Committee of 99 was organized to oppose the leadership of the Local. And this Committee of 99 could not convince the membership of 544, so what did it do, the leading members of the Committee invited the FBI to participate in the meetings of the Committee. The FBI, in fact, became part of the Committee of 99. This testimony comes from the Government's own witness and is uncontradicted. Do not misunderstand me, ladies and gentlemen, I do not claim that the Committee of 99 was powerful enough to initiate and set into motion this prosecution—not Bartlett, not Tommy Williams, not these witnesses, oh no, men higher up, men who appointed a Receiver to take the defendants out of their jobs—these are the people who had the power to initiate and set into motion—

racketeering. It is in evidence that all these Government witnesses who testified that they joined the party in order to get jobs in the union, didn't get jobs; that all the Government witnesses who testified that they joined the party to hold their jobs, didn't hold their jobs. The Government witnesses finally succeeded in getting jobs in the union, when the defendants, who built the union by their blood and their sacrifices in the course of many strike struggles, were pushed out and are now threatened with deprivation of their liberties. Take the testimony of all the members of the Committee of 99 and everything that I say will be borne out.

The Government witnesses told the truth in some things. Mr. Novack didn't lie when he said he was a member of a "negotiating" squad. This is what is called a euphemism—it hides the real character of his activities which consisted of being a member of a goon squad. Mr. Bartlett didn't lie when he claimed that he had a conversation with Mr. Dunne on December 23, 1940. Fairly clever liars always build up a mountain of falsehoods on a grain of truth.

The Government witnesses, I think, told the truth when they testified that they joined the Socialist Workers Party in order to get jobs. They probably thought that the Socialist Workers Party was like the Republican or Democratic parties. They saw the defendants in charge of a union and they thought they could get jobs by joining the party of which the defendants were members. How quickly, however, they were disillusioned. They didn't get any jobs because men like the defendants don't put people into jobs in a union unless these people are capable people.

The Committee of 99 covered up its real motives in the fight against the leadership of 544 by claiming to fight socialism. The prosecution, which bases itself upon witnesses who were members of the Committee of 99, also claims to fight socialism and also conceals its real motives.

inference would be that Ray Rainbolt and Miles Dunne and Roy Orgon, who testified that they had dropped out of the party before July, 1938, did so because that was a policy of the party to have them testify in that way. But did Mr. Cannon or Mr. Dobbs or Mr. Dunne deny membership? And did you notice, ladies and gentlemen, how anxious Roy Orgon was to have the Court and everybody else understand that even though he dropped out of the party he was still sympathetic to the party? And the same was true of Ray Rainbolt, who admitted giving contributions to the party. Do you think a man like Miles Dunne would deny membership in the party if he were a member? The idea that people like Rainbolt and Orgon and Miles Dunne would testify falsely about membership in the party is nothing but preposterous.

Another piece of evidence that was introduced by the Government and could serve only the purpose of prejudicing the jury, was my article on the federal courts. Perhaps the Government will contend that because I do not think the courts have as their purpose the protection of working class interests, I am therefore to be considered as one who would want to overthrow the Government by force and violence. What possible relationship can my opinion on the courts have to the charge in this case?

If I remember correctly, I think I said that under the present system the courts could not possibly give as fair a trial to a poor man as to a wealthy man. I didn't blame the situation on the individual judge; I placed the blame upon the system. A judge may be as fair as any human being can possibly be and yet when he fines a wealthy man \$200 and a poor man \$200, there can in reality be no equality between these two fines. It is not a question of the intention of a judge but of the operation of a system. I think that in the article introduced in evidence I gave an example of a case where some oil companies indicted under the Anti-Trust Laws were fined \$5,000 and some workers participating in a strike fined \$500. It was no difficulty for an oil company to pay \$5,000 but imagine how difficult it was for a worker to raise \$500. The injustice lies in the social system which the courts mirror. Real justice cannot exist in a world that permits such vast differences between human beings.

We proclaim that men are born equal but can it be said that the child born in a wealthy family, with all advantages assured him, is equal to the child born in poverty, deprived of the possibility of getting proper food and a decent education?

I do not intend to consider in detail the evidence against the individual defendants. You already know that I did not try the case on the basis that some defendants may be more guilty than

Labor Records Of the 18

(Continued from page 1)

1938-1939 National Committeeman, Socialist Workers Party. Editor of *The Militant*. Married, one child.

CARL SKOGLUND:

President and trustee of Local 544 for several years. Born in 1884. A leader in the 1922 railroad strikes, as chairman of the Burlington R. R. Shopmen's Strike Committee. Lost his railroad job because of strike activity. Became truck driver in Minneapolis and helped build 544. He has been fighting in the cause of labor for 35 years.

ED PALMQUIST:

Born in Minnesota, 1897. Fifteen years a machinist and shop foreman. Became convinced of the workers' need for strong rank and file unions. Known throughout Minneapolis for his work in behalf of the unemployed, as Chairman of the Local 544's Federal Workers Section. Convicted in 1939 trial of Minneapolis WPA strikers and served eight months' sentence at Federal Penitentiary.

GRACE HOLMES CARLSON:

Born in St. Paul, 1906. Graduate, St. Catherine's College. Doctor of Philosophy, University of Minnesota. Taught psychology at the U. of M. and served in the State Department of Education. Charter member, Minnesota State Employees, Local 10. Received over 8,000 votes as candidate for U. S. Senate in Minnesota in 1940. State organizer of Socialist Workers Party. Married.

JAKE COOPER:

Born St. Paul, 1916. Truck driver, member of 544-CIO. Long record of strike service. Beaten up by goons in Tobin's war on 544-CIO.

OSCAR COOVER:

Railroad electrician. Born Republic, Missouri, 1887. Thirty-five years a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In the historic 1922 railroad shopmen's strikes, he was secretary of the Pullman and Great Western R. R. Employees' Strike Committee in Minneapolis. Widely known in the Minnesota working class movement. Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party for Minneapolis. Married, three children.

HARRY DeBOER:

Born 1905, Crookston, Minnesota. Truck driver and 544 Organizer. Chairman of negotiating committee in 52-day strike of over-the-road drivers in five states, 1938. Shot by police in 1934 Minneapolis strike, five months in hospital. Married.

MAX GELDMAN:

Born in Poland, 1905. Leader in work for Minneapolis unemployed. Served eight months' sentence in Federal penitentiary for his activity in 1939 WPA strike. Former teacher and factory worker. Married, one child.

CLARENCE HAMEL:

Born in Hamel, Minnesota, 1909. A stalwart of the 544 ranks since 1934. Truck driver, union steward, 544 organizer. Figured in the great strikes of 1934 that ended the open-shop regime in Minneapolis and made it a union town. Married.

EMIL HANSEN:

Born in Denmark, 1906. Plasterer, bus driver, truckman. Joined drivers' union in 1928. Remained faithful member during the years when Minneapolis unions were weak. With the rise of 544 from 1934 to 1941, he has been one of the most active fighters in the struggle. Union organizer and trustee. Married, two children.

CARLOS HUDSON:

Born in Minneapolis, 1908. Graduate of the University of Minnesota. Paid his way through college working summers as a freight laborer. Editor of the *Northwest Organizer* and the *Industrial Organizer*, 544 official newspaper, and well-known contributor to the national labor press. Married, two children.

KARL KUEHN:

Born St. Paul, 1894. Mechanical engineer and mechanic. Leader and organizer of Minneapolis unemployed. Officer of Local 544's Federal Workers Section. Delegate to national unemployment and relief conferences. Indicted but not tried in 1939 WPA strike. Married, seven children.

ALFRED RUSSEL:

Born Brooklyn, N. Y., 1911. Helped organize Local 554, IBT, Omaha, Neb., drivers' union, and became Recording Secretary. Served six months' sentence for strike activity in Minneapolis, 1939. Upholstery worker, truck driver, factory worker.

OSCAR SHOENFELD:

Born New York, 1916. Machine shop worker. Active in work of Minneapolis unemployed movement. Convicted in trial of WPA strikers, 1939. Married, one child.

others. Still, as a lawyer not only for myself but for all the defendants, I wish to point out that the evidence against some of the defendants could not possibly justify a verdict of guilty, even if you should consider that the party is guilty of conspiring to overthrow or to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. The Government is obligated to prove, beyond a reasonable doubt, that each one of the defendants not only joined the so-called conspiracy but knew the nature and object of the conspiracy. As far as I am concerned, as far as Jim Cannon and Farrell Dobbs and others who rightly can be considered as leaders of the party, we stand on the proposition that there could not possibly have been any conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence or to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. We stand

(Continued on page 4)

The Bill of Rights-Who Won It And Who Defends It?

The Civil Liberties Listed in the Constitution Were Demanded by the Masses and Won Over the Opposition of the Wealthy Who Drafted the Constitution—The Bill of Rights Has Been Violated Many Times by the Employers and the Courts in Their Fight Against Labor — Our Rights Are Safe Only When We Are Organized to Defend Them

President Roosevelt has proclaimed Monday, December 15th, as Bill of Rights Day. The Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States, is that section of the Constitution dedicated to human rights, as distinguished from the rest of the Constitution which was designed to protect property rights.

In his proclamation, Roosevelt names December 15th "as a day of remembrance of the democratic and peaceful action by which these rights were gained."

A study of the origin and history of the Bill of Rights shows that these rights were by no means won or defended by "peaceful action."

The very possibility of winning the Bill of Rights was unthinkable without the progressive war of liberation fought by the American colonists against England. Thanks to the research of such historians as Charles A. Beard, it is now known that the Constitution was most undemocratically drafted by the wealthy interests of the country, that only a fraction of the American people were permitted to vote on the Constitution, and that the Constitution would never have been accepted had not the common people insisted on in-

clusion of the Bill of Rights. **Constitution Drafted by Rich** The historian, Beard, summarizes his work on "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States," as follows: "The movement for the Constitution was originated and carried through principally by four groups of personality interests which had been adversely affected under the Articles of Confederation: money, public securities, manufactures and trade and shipping. "The first firm steps toward the

formation of the Constitution were taken by a small and active group of men... interested through their personal possessions in the outcome of their labors. "No popular vote was taken directly or indirectly on the proposition to call the Convention which drafted the Constitution. "The propertyless masses under the prevailing suffrage qualifications were excluded at the outset from participation (through representation) in the work of framing the Constitution. "The members of the Philadelphia Convention which drafted the Constitution were, with a few exceptions, immediately, directly, and personally interested in, and derived economic advantages from, the establishment of the new system. **Rights of Property Placed First** "The Constitution was essentially an economic document based upon the concept that the fundamental private rights of property are anterior to government and morally beyond reach of popular majorities. "The major portion of the members of the Convention are on record as recognizing the claim of property to a special and defensive position in the Constitution. "In the ratification of the Constitution, about three-fourths of the adult males failed to vote on the question. "The Constitution was ratified by a vote of probably not more than one-sixth of the adult males. "It is questionable whether a majority of the voters participating in the elections for the state conventions in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia and South Carolina, actually approved the ratification of the Constitution. "In the ratification, it became manifest that the line of cleavage for and against the Constitution was between substantial personal interest on the one hand and the small farming and debtor interests on the other. "By force and fraud the Federalists (the reactionaries of their day) drafted the Constitution and got several states to ratify it. The propertyless masses of the country, however, bitterly opposed the Constitution. Only by promising to include a Bill of Rights in the document did the Federalists make progress. Finally eleven of the thirteen states had adopted it. The Federalists sought to renege on the Bill of Rights but provoked a storm of disapproval. Rhode Island and North Carolina refused to subscribe to the Constitution until it included a Bill of Rights. The Federalists continue to postpone action. Popular feeling ran high. In Carlisle, Pennsylvania, an army officer was mobbed almost to death. Federalist printshops were broken into by a populace demanding that civil liberties be included in the Constitution. State conventions met and proposed no less than 131 amendments to the Constitution. Madison studied these amendments, sifted them down to 17. The Senate pared them to 12. They were submitted to the states and the first ten were ratified as the Bill of Rights. **The Price of Liberty** Because the Bill of Rights is written in the Constitution is of course no sign that the people automatically are assured of those rights. Time after time, in thousands of cases and most particularly in labor cases, the Bill of Rights has been violated by the courts, the employers and the government. Free speech and free press for unionists and socialists have often been denied, especially in times of war. The freedom of workers to assemble has often been violently denied. Homes of strikers have often been broken into unlawfully. Union leaders have been twice tried for the same offense. Property of unions has been taken without due process of law by vigilantes. Impartial juries have been denied unionists and Negroes. Excessive bail (such as the \$25,000 originally asked of Carl

The Bill of Rights Here It Is

The BILL OF RIGHTS, consisting of the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States, was demanded by the people to protect the civil liberties and rights of the people. The BILL became effective December 15, 1791.

Though the BILL OF RIGHTS has often been violated, especially against the labor movement, the rights the BILL would uphold and defend are rights which are precious to all labor.

Here is the BILL OF RIGHTS:

Article I: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or shall the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Article II: A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III: No soldier, shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V: No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article VI: In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Article VII: In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

Article VIII: Excessive bail should not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX: The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X: The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Industrial Organizer
Published every Thursday under the auspices of Local 544, CIO
Office of Publication, 9th St. and 12th Ave. S.
One year in advance \$2.00
Six months in advance \$1.00
Bundle copies (10 copy minimum) 92¢
Entered as second-class matter July 17, 1941, at the post office at Minneapolis, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, 1879.
Business Manager DANIEL BURKE Editor MILES B. DUNN

FLASHES from the Courtroom

Highlights in the Minneapolis "Sedition" Trial

For the last time, the defendants in the Minneapolis "sedition" case filed into the courtroom Monday, to receive sentences from Federal Judge Mathew M. Joyce.

Though only 18 of the original 29 defendants were found guilty, those defendants freed earlier by the court and jury were on hand to demonstrate their solidarity with the convicted. The 18 occupied the same seats in the prisoners' dock in which they had sat during the long five weeks of the trial.

The actual sentencing took but three minutes. One by one, led by V. R. Dunne, the defendants stood, walked up to the judge, heard their sentence, and resumed their seats.

"I sentence you, Vincent R.

Dunne, to a term of 16 months in a place of confinement to be determined by the Attorney General of the United States," Judge Joyce told the first defendant to be sentenced.

It was immediately apparent that 16 months was to be the maximum sentence given any defendant.

The first twelve defendants received 16 months. The remaining six received sentences of one year and one day.

Chief Defense Counsel Albert Goldman notified the court that an appeal will be taken in all cases.

In granting a stay of sentence until such time as a higher court passes on the verdict, the judge announced that "The court believes there is a substantial question of law to be determined by the

appellate court in this case." The reference is to the dubious constitutionality of the Smith Omnibus Gag Law.

The defendants then filed out and went directly to their commissary at 919 Marquette avenue for a meeting with attorneys to complete arrangements for the appeal.

Monday night, at their last meal together in the defense commissary maintained throughout the trial by the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, defendants were tendered a real banquet. Toastmaster Farrell Dobbs, on behalf of the defendants, gave deep thanks to the kitchen crew who throughout the trial served up such splendid meals to those on trial. Mrs. Downie Skoglund, Mrs. Inez Hansen, Mrs. Goldie Goldman, Mrs. Evelyn Rainbolt and other wives, daughters and friends of the defendants did a wonderful job in preparing tasty meals, day after day, for those in court. All told, no less than 4,620 meals were served. Much of the food was donated by friendly local restaurants and merchants, and by farmers in nearby counties.

Within eight hours of the sentencing, legal documents for the appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals were ready and signed. Friday they were filed in federal court by defense attorneys. Pending the appeal, all defendants will be free on bail bonds previously posted.

All told, the 18 defendants received a total sentence of 22 years.

News of the verdict brought a flood of resolutions from unions throughout the country, protesting the verdict and pledging support to the defendants in their fight to appeal the verdict. A few of these union resolutions are published on page two of this issue.

To indicate how strongly union men feel about the affront to workers' rights represented by the verdict in the Minneapolis case, we quote from a letter written to Kelly Postal, 544-CIO secretary-treasurer, by a union member active in the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE in San Diego, California: "... a few words about the donation toward the trial made by the San Diego local of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local No. 1-29. They donated \$17.25. When this is compared to the small membership of only 69 men, I believe this amounts to one of the finest examples of working-class solidarity shown. But this is only part of the story. Not only is it a small local but work has fallen off terribly since several several months back. Many ships that formerly hit San Diego have been re-routed to

hit San Francisco instead. And in the face of very little work and an extremely low treasury, they still find the Minneapolis case worthy of a 25 cent assessment per member. Also, they passed unanimously the same resolution that was passed by the CIO Council in San Francisco, supporting the defendants."

The stalwart unionists of Local 1-29 of the Longshoremen certainly merit honorable mention for their heart-warming demonstration of union solidarity. We will remember.

Throughout the trial the Civil Rights Defense Committee sent out regular Information Bulletins from Minneapolis to labor and liberal organizations and individuals throughout the nation. Following the sentencing Monday, the 24th and last Bulletin was mailed from Minneapolis. Henceforth Information Bulletins on the case will be mailed from the New York office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has issued a new leaflet on the case, "Workers on Trial," telling the life stories of the 28 defendants. Among the 28 are eleven truck drivers, three electricians, four machinists, five factory workers, two educators, two newspapermen and a lawyer.

Brewery Men Fight Tobin Raid Here

Workers Union continue to attend future Central Trades meetings as guests.

Here, however, where Raw Deal Neal is dictator-receiver for Tobin, and where the ranks of the drivers have no voice in union policy, the AFL Teamsters pursue their shameless raiding game against the 60-year-old Brewery Workers International. Though it is known that some AFL Teamsters officials are disgusted with Tobin's spiteful and dictatorial game, they don't raise their voices for fear Raw Deal Neal will swing the ax.

More Tobin Lies

In an effort to gain some semblance of support from the brewery drivers, Tobin officials claim they will establish a democratic union for the brewery drivers and actually permit the ranks to elect their own officers and decide union policy.

This is eye-wash. Tobin told the Minneapolis drivers the same lie. Since June, Raw Deal Neal has appointed no less than five different presidents for AFL-544, but Tobin, if he can help it, will never permit the drivers to choose their own union or elect their own officials. On the contrary, Tobin becomes increasingly hostile democratic unionism.

Carborundum Men Vote CIO, 2 1/2-1

NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.—A strike threat finally obtained an NLRB election last week at the Carborundum company plant here, the workers choosing District 50 of the United Mine Workers by a large majority.

Carbo workers gave 1,825 votes to District 50, only 731 to the AFL, and 273 for neither union. The AFL union which District 50 defeated was a new version of the Carborundum Employees Union, outlawed early this month by the NLRB as a company union.

The District 50 victory at Carborundum is the fourth in recent months at Niagara Falls. Over four thousand workers are now working under District 50 contracts in this town.

"Profs" Prove Girls Happy On Low Wage

Trust the universities to come across for the bosses.

The bureau of business research at the University of Southern California has just completed a survey proving that if employers pay a girl more than \$18 a week it makes her unhappy.

The "proof" lay in the discovery that girls receiving more than \$18 a week wanted more, while those getting less seemed more content with their pay—that is, they were so beaten down they had lost all hope of a decent life.

Skoglund in the recent deportation matter in Minneapolis has been asked, and cruel punishments inflicted upon those who challenged the dictates of Big Business.

Despite such wholesale violations of workers' right and civil liberties, the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution is a great landmark in history.

The workers and all the oppressed have every interest in preserving the Bill of Rights, not only against Hitler but against those in this country who would scrap the Bill of Rights for a native fascist dictatorship of Big Business.

Big Business and the boss politicians can't be depended upon to defend the Bill of Rights. These rights will be safe only when the working class is strongly and determinedly organized to defend them.

V. R. Dunne Talks Sunday On Verdict

Vincent R. Dunne, one of the defendants convicted in the "sedition" trial, will discuss "The Meaning of the Verdict" at the regular Sunday Forum December 14th, 3 p. m., at 919 Marquette.

Discussion and refreshments will follow the talk. The meeting is open to the public.

Jury Learns Tobin's Role

(Continued from page 3) on the proposition that our program, if rightly interpreted and correctly construed, does not and cannot mean that we are guilty of this kind of a conspiracy.

WE STAND FOR UNION DEMOCRACY

You heard Sidney Brennan testify that he is Secretary-Treasurer of Local 544. He admitted that he was not elected to that office, that he was appointed by Neal, the Receiver. He admitted that some of the defendants were elected to office in 544 in the elections of January of this year. There was a fair election, a secret ballot and no one contested that election.

Who, ladies and gentlemen, practiced democracy in 544? Who used the ballot in order to get power in 544? The defendants.

Who are now in office in 544, ladies and gentlemen? The defendants who were elected? No, Sid Brennan, Bartlett and the other witnesses who could never get elected to office but who were appointed by Tobin's Receiver.

Who practiced violence, ladies and gentlemen? The goon squads. Who took Roy Orton and Jake Cooper off their jobs and beat up Jake Cooper? The minority who couldn't and didn't get elected to office in 544 organized their forces and exercised violence against the defendants who were elected to office and against the rank and file who elected the defendants to office.

And we make the same prediction with reference to the change of the social order. The defendants will get a majority to accept their ideas and the minority, determined to retain their power and their privileges, will be the ones to use violence.

In the case of Local 544 there was no possibility of answering violence with violence. Against the state government, against the federal government, against the goon squads, the defendants were helpless. We had to submit, but if there is anything that proves our contention that violence will come from a minority, it is this very example of what occurred in Local 544.

Where is this democracy that some people are willing to fight for in Germany? Why didn't the Government give the truck drivers of 544 a little democracy? Why didn't the Government suppress the violence of the minority? Why didn't the Government see to it that the truck drivers obtained the right of having the union of their choice? Hypocrisy and nothing else characterizes the case for the Government! Frame-up and nothing else! The Government is part of the Committee of 99 and belongs to the faction led by one whom I am not permitted to mention.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the heart and the essence of this case.

THE COURT: I think, Mr. Goldman, that we will have a short recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION, Friday, November 28th, after recess. Before you, ladies and gentlemen, are people who are in this courtroom because they are dissatisfied. Dissatisfied not with their personal fortunes, but with the social system, with the evils that exist under the present social order. I presume that by and large the defendants could, if they wanted to, solve their own problems in a very satisfactory manner. And perhaps we ought to be in jail because we have spent our lives defending what we thought to be ideas that could solve the problems of mankind. As for myself, who knows, maybe I could be a district attorney, perhaps even a judge. Perhaps Jim Cannon would be far better off personally if he thought and acted the way most people think and act. But we represent that type of person who, for some reason, or other, does not think very much about his personal fortunes but thinks of mankind, of society in general.

The agony, the death of millions of human beings are not abstractions to us. We feel them keenly and we react to them and we try to create a world where destruction, and war and poverty and disease would not be the lot of man.

We have studied and our studies have led us to certain conclusions and we have banded together to propagate those conclusions. We proclaim to the world that a new social order guaranteeing every human being a decent livelihood and a chance to develop his individuality, free from economic worries, free from the dangers of war, is possible. We say that we have reached an epoch where mankind must go forward to socialism or else back to barbarism.

MANKIND SEEKS BETTER WORLD

With great effort and amidst tremendous suffering, man has traveled throughout the centuries in the direction of a better world. Men have laid down their lives by the millions in order to permit future generations to cross over their bodies to achieve a world of greater freedom and more happiness. And throughout all history there have been men and women a little ahead

of the procession telling the masses to proceed in a certain direction and to struggle for a larger share of the things that they create. And these men who have led the procession have had to pay for it—the prophets, Christ, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky—these are the men who fought for a new world and against them have always been arrayed the powers that be, the priests and Pharisees.

When Pilate said, "I found no fault in this man," the priests became more furious and said, "He stirreth up the people throughout all Judea."

"He stirreth up the people"—almost the exact words that Mr. Anderson used against us when he said we stir up the people. And we cannot deny, I presume, that we tried to stir up the people. We try to bring them a message of hope that a new world is possible and can easily be created if only they take their fate into their own hands, a new world where war and destruction will be unknown. But as I have indicated to you, all our stirrings, all our messages, will be in vain unless we are correct in our general analysis, unless we are correct in our theory that the social system has reached a point of decline where no road other than the road to socialism will lead mankind into a peaceful world. All our pamphlets, all our papers, all our speeches will be for naught unless we are correct in our fundamental theory, and if we are correct in our fundamental theory, all the efforts of the prosecution to silence our voice will not avail them.

The prosecutors, and those that give them orders, do not understand that to thwart our agitation it is only necessary for them to solve the problems of mankind. Do they think that by silencing the voices of a few agitators they can satisfy the people who will suffer the agonies of war and hunger that will come with economic dislocation after the war? In our place there will be thousands and tens of thousands who will follow our ideas.

Mr. Anderson, in his opening speech, referred to the attempts of the defendants to destroy organized society. I think I mentioned that fact before but I cannot help repeating it. It was such an odd characterization of the present social order. Imagine calling a society "organized" that permits millions of human beings to be slaughtered, that permits poverty in the midst of plenty, that permits the spiritual and physical violence that exists throughout the universe! Chaos and destruction and death are not characteristics of an "organized" society.

The strength of our ideas lies in the very fact that we are living in a thoroughly unorganized society. The strength of our ideas lies in the fact that our general predictions, based upon the laws operating in society, inevitably come true. At the beginning of the first World War we said that it would not solve any of the problems confronting the peoples. Who can deny that we were right? And now we say to the people of this country, "This war which your leaders claim is a war for democracy against fascism will not solve any of your problems because if the capitalist system is permitted to endure, the inevitable result will be fascism and more wars."

We base our activities upon a theory that has withstood the test of time and events. In the midst of a catastrophic war that will necessarily envelop the whole world, in the midst of the roar of cannons and the shrieking of shells, amidst the sobs and the wailing of mothers, amidst tears and blood, we still have hopes that the people will come to accept the ideas of socialism. The darkness that surrounds us can be destroyed only by the sun of socialism.

VERDICT WILL BE HISTORIC

No matter what your verdict will be, it will be an historic one. Should it be guilty, then it will be an aid to reaction. It will, to that extent, aid the powers that are interested in preventing a change in the social order. It will not bring to a stop the struggle that is going on in society because as I have indicated to you many times before, that struggle is a result of social conditions and not of our agitation. A verdict of not guilty will mean that to that extent you are unwilling to lend your aid to the forces of reaction, that you are determined to live up to the Bill of Rights guaranteeing every minority in this country the right to free speech and free press. We do not ask you to agree with our ideas. We have not asked you to do so once throughout this trial. We ask you only to understand these ideas and therefore to understand that we are not guilty of the charges leveled against us by the Government. By a verdict of not guilty you will not only guard the constitutional rights of all minorities but you will help transform this chaotic world in a peaceful way.

The more democracy that exists, the greater the chances for a peaceful transformation. Do away with all democracy and violence will surely accompany the social revolution. What more can I ask of you than by your verdict to guard the Bill of Rights and help prevent the plague which is threatening to destroy civilization, the plague of fascism, from contaminating our land.