

THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER

Official Organ of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union Local 544-CIO
MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE: 1328 SECOND STREET NORTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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

1, NO. 14

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1941

FIVE CENTS

Stassen's Tool Blair Sells Out to Gamble-Robinson As Unpurchasable 544-CIO Leaders Go on Trial

Crooked Conciliator Rewarded by Labor-Hating Bosses For Denying Drivers the Right to Choose Own Union

'Sedition' Trial Opens Monday in Federal Building Here

One of the greatest labor trials in history will begin Monday morning at ten o'clock in the courtroom on the fourth floor of the federal building in Minneapolis.

Twenty-eight defendants—including among them fifteen leaders and members of Local 544-CIO, and the national leaders of the Socialist Workers Party—will be defending themselves against the first peacetime "sedition" prosecution since 1798.

Whatever the immediate outcome of this trial, it is clearly destined to play a significant role in the struggle of the labor movement against the reactionary consequences of the Roosevelt administration war program. All honest observers agree that the defendants are being prosecuted for their anti-war beliefs and their militant defense of labor's rights.

Gigantic forces are being arrayed against the 28 defendants. They are feeling the whole weight of the federal government, which instigated prosecution to aid warmongers against the anti-war forces of the CIO. The boss press of Minneapolis is calling for a conviction of the defendants, voicing the desires of the capitalist class. Abandoning all the elementary principles of labor solidarity, the top AFL leadership is openly backing the prosecution.

Such are the forces arrayed against the defendants. But the defendants do not stand alone. The Minneapolis working class, which the defendants best, stands with the 28 against their persecutors. Likewise the militant members of the CIO have shown by their financial and moral support of the 544-CIO against the onslaught of the CIO workers throughout the country are awakening to full realization of what this trial means, despite the Tobins, every real union loyal worker in the AFL, and that it is his class which is being persecuted in that Minneapolis courtroom.

The forces arrayed against the defendants are great. But before the repercussions of this trial are over, the prosecution will know to its disadvantage that the great masses of the American working class are in complete solidarity with the 28 defendants.

Already the prosecution has been sharply denounced as a serious threat to civil liberties and workers' rights by the national Labor's Non-Partisan League, United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union, and such liberal publications as *Nation*, *The New Republic*, *But This is Only the Beginning*, and the *Civil Rights* Committee which in every part of the nation is mobilizing for the defendants.

Attorney Victor Anderson is an adequate symbol of the reactionary nature of the prosecution. Minneapolis workers will remember him as the prosecutor of WPA strikers. Indicating direct interest of official direction in pushing this case, U. S. Attorney General Schweinhart has been sent to handle the case with Anderson.

The attorneys for the defendants include Gilbert Carlson, Shama and Arthur LeSueur; Minneapolis; Meyer Myers of St. Paul; and Albert Goldman of New York, who is himself one of the defendants.

Let every worker understand the historic significance of the working class in this trial in the Minneapolis courtroom. Let every worker follow it—and mobilize for support of the defendants.

See other stories on trial, pages 2 and 5

Who Are the Defendants

Next Monday morning on the fourth floor of the Federal building in Minneapolis, twenty-eight men and women will be brought to trial by the federal government on charges of "sedition."

Each of the twenty-eight is distinguished by unshakable devotion to the interests of all workmen and women.

The HONOR ROLL of the defendants follows:

JAMES P. CANNON (New York)—In his thirty years of active service in the workers' movement he has become nationally known as a labor and strike leader. One of labor's great orators. National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and today anti-war candidate for mayor of New York City.

GRACE CARLSON (St. Paul)—Dr. Carlson received 8,000 votes last fall when she ran for United States Senator from Minnesota, on the Trotskyist Anti-War Party ticket. Minnesota organizer for the Socialist Workers Party.

JAKE COOPER (Minneapolis)—Militant driver, member of Local 544-CIO.

OSCAR COOPER (Minneapolis)—For thirty years a member of the CIO, Minneapolis secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

HARRY DEBOER (Minneapolis)—One of the leaders of the Strike Committee of 100 in the great 1934 drivers' strike. Active in organizing over-road drivers throughout the Middle West. Organizer for Local 544-CIO.

FARRELL DOBBS (Minneapolis)—A leader of the Strike Committee of 100 in 1934. Former secretary-treasurer of Local 544. Former international representative of the IFT. Chief negotiator of the Area Committee which organized and improved the wages and conditions of over a hundred thousand over-road drivers. National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

MILES B. DUNNIE (Minneapolis)—Veteran of the First World War. Editor of Local 574's first paper. Pioneer organizer of Local 574. Imprisoned by the national guards in the 1934 strike. Former secretary-treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council. President of Local 544-CIO.

VINCENT R. DUNNIE (Minneapolis)—Nationally recognized for his thirty years of active service in the labor movement. One of the best known and most respected militants of the Middle West. Pioneer organizer of Minneapolis drivers. Strike leader in the May and July-August, 1934, drivers' strikes. Has won the gratitude of workers in every industry by his aid in their strikes: the machinists' strike, the Struett strike, the ornamental iron workers' strike, etc. Led WPA Defense Committee in WPA strike trial. Led defense of Local 544 against the fink suit. Organizer of Local 544-CIO.

GEORGE FROSKG (Minneapolis)—Has played an active and leading role in the Minneapolis drivers' movement for twenty years. Vice-president of Local 544-CIO.

MAX GOLDMAN (Minneapolis)—Active in the leadership of the Federal Workers Section unemployed movement. WPA strike trial defendant in 1939; he served eight months in prison for that strike.

ALBERT GOLDMAN (Chicago)—Attorney for Local 574 in the 1934 strike. Active for years in labor defense work. Was attorney for Leon Trotsky. Attorney for SWP.

WALTER HAGSWORTH (Minneapolis)—Active for twenty years in the Minneapolis union movement, Machinists Union, Cab Drivers Union, Local 544. Representative of 544 to the Federal Workers Section. Organizer for Local 544-CIO.

CLARENCE HAMEL (Minneapolis)—For years a leading steward for Local 544. Organizer for Local 544-CIO.

EMEL HANSEN (Minneapolis)—One of the builders of Local 544. Trustee and organizer for Local 544-CIO.

CARLOS HUBSON (Minneapolis)—Labor writer and speaker. Author of "Dere Emily" column in 1934 daily strike bulletin, of pamphlet "Behind the 544 Pink Suit." Managing Editor of the *Industrial Organizer*.

CARL KUEHN (Minneapolis)—Active for ten years on behalf of unemployed. Secretary, Federal Workers Section, Local 544-CIO.

FELIX MORROW (New York)—Assistant editor of Northwest Organizer, 1937-'38. Editor, *The Militant* and *The Fourth International*, publications of the SWP. Author of "The Civil War in Spain," etc.

ROY ORGON (Minneapolis)—Long-time member of Local 544. A leader of the Federal Workers Section of Local 544-CIO.

EDWARD PALMQUIST (Minneapolis)—Chairman, Federal

Tobin Pays Off Stassen



Governor Harold (Slave Law) Stassen being presented to the AFL convention in Seattle by AFL President William Green. Stassen's appearance at the AFL convention was arranged by AFL Teamsters Dictator Tobin, as part payment for the services rendered by the governor and his labor conciliator against the CIO and the Minneapolis motor transport workers.

Workers Section, Local 544-CIO. A WPA strike trial defendant in 1939. He served eight months in prison for that strike.

KELLY POSTAL (Minneapolis)—World war veteran, leading member of Strike Committee of 100 in 1934. Secretary-treasurer of Local 544-CIO.

RAY RAINBOLT (Minneapolis)—War veteran. Leading member of Strike Committee of 100 in 1934. Farmer head of Cab Drivers Union, Ice Drivers Union. Recording secretary, Local 544-CIO.

ALFRED RUSSELL (Minneapolis)—Former organizer, Teamsters Local 554, Omaha. Active in organizing over-road drivers. Served prison term for aiding the Steutewear strikers.

OSCAR SCHOENFELD (New York)—WPA strike trial defendant in Minneapolis, 1939. Active in union movement.

DOROTHY SCHULTZ (St. Paul)—Twin City secretary, Workers Defense League. Active for years in labor defense work.

ROSE JELER (Minneapolis)—Former business agent, Minneapolis Office Workers Union. Active in Federal Workers Section, Local 544-CIO.

CARL SKOGLUND (Minneapolis)—Thirty years' activity in the labor movement. The pioneer organizer of Local 574. Former president of Local 544. Organizer, Local 544-CIO.

HAROLD SWANSON (Minneapolis)—Active in Federal Workers Section, in union movement.

NICK WAGNER (Minneapolis)—Active for many years as union organizer in drivers' movement in Illinois and Minneapolis. Organizer, Local 544-CIO.

Who Got the Cash?

One million and five hundred thousand dollars were spent by the AFL, Tobin machine to "take care of" all angles in the Tobin fight against Local 544-CIO.

\$1,500,000. That was the staggering figure handed by a prominent figure in the AFL as the price Tobin paid as far as this fight.

The question immediately presents itself: WHO GOT THE MONEY? Some of it went for the hundreds of boxheads, address-slingers and name-attachers that Tobin sent on here. Some of it undoubtedly went to keeping these things out of jail when they broke their way in. Some of it went to the Lew Quilting that Tobin bought locally with fat salaries. But not all of the money went that way.

Who got the money?

Next week we shall deal further with this question. We shall not rest until every single politician and agent of the bosses who got Tobin money is publicly exposed.

Blair Now Openly Represents Worst Anti-Union Employers

As Judas got his thirty pieces of silver from the Roman overlords, so was State Labor Conciliator Alfred P. Blair rewarded for treachery this week by the labor-hating bosses.

Blair has been appointed to a high-paid post in the managerial staff of the Pacific Fruit Company of Seattle and its sister corporation, the Gamble-Robinson Company of Minneapolis.

The post he was appointed to is characteristic of this betrayer. He is the "labor relations expert" of the two labor-hating corporations—a high-sounding title which means, in plain English, that his job is to protect the profits of these two corporations against the demands of the workers and their unions. Blair's duties consist mainly of representing these corporations in all negotiations with the unions.

A Traitor's Post

Every trade unionist understands what a corporation "labor relations expert" is and that only a traitor to the labor movement would hold such a post. But Blair's treachery to the labor movement did not begin when he took this corporation post. This new job is simply one of the rewards he is getting from the bosses for his crooked and anti-labor role as State Labor Conciliator, when he denied the Minneapolis motor transport workers the right to elections and certified without elections Tobin's Local 544-CIO as the union in the industry.

Blair showed himself to be a Judas to the labor movement, not this week, or last month when he ruled against Local 544-CIO, but on February 1, 1941—the day he became a tool of reactionary Republican Governor Stassen when he accepted appointment as State Labor Conciliator. That position could only be accepted by a fink. By accepting it Blair became the administrator of the notorious Stassen Slave Labor Act, which attempts to hamstring unions by forcing them to file strike notices and observe "cooling off" periods in which the bosses get a chance to undermine the union.

Blair became State Conciliator despite the fact that he did so when the entire labor movement of Minnesota, both AFL and CIO, was on record against the Stassen Slave Labor Act, and despite the fact that, as an official of the Brewery Workers Union, Blair was expressly bound to adhere to labor's opposition to that Act.

Has Been Rewarded

The treachery Blair committed against the labor movement in taking the post of Conciliator was rewarded by his frozen act, as the tool of the Stassen-Blair-bosses conspiracy, in refusing elections to the Minneapolis drivers.

For this treason he has now been rewarded. This corporation post is part—but only part—of the payment he is receiving for having betrayed the labor movement.

Blair's abandonment, Wednesday, of his post as Conciliator, was rewarded by the bosses with the same kind of job that Blair now has. Haney became labor relations expert for the Spicer Manufacturing Company of Toledo and the Hillside Steel Company of Michigan. He is now fighting against the trade union in those plants, the United Auto Workers (UAW), which was forced out on strike in the last few days.

A Crude Boss

In his usual crude way, Tobin boasted of what he was doing for Stassen—and why. Tobin said: "It is a very unusual proceeding to have the governor of any single state address an AFL convention. There must have been a reason for it. We just wanted to show our appreciation of his support." (Minneapolis Star Journal, Oct. 8, 1941.)

Yes, there must have been a reason, in the case of rewarding Stassen with the limelight of the AFL convention, as there was a reason for rewarding Blair with a big corporation job. The reason is known to every worker in Minneapolis. Stassen and Blair were thus receiving part-payment for their dirty work in refusing to list the Minneapolis motor transport workers vote for the union of their own choice.

Boss politicians and traitors to labor are thus rewarded by the bosses—while the most devoted labor militants, the 28 defendants in the "sedition" trial, are ordered into the federal courtroom in Minneapolis to begin trial this coming Monday morning. This is the kind of "justice" handed out by the capitalist class—bribery of all kinds to those who do the bosses' bidding, and frameups against those who loyally serve the workers.

Blair's headquarters for his new job is Seattle. Unquestionably the job was arranged for Blair by Tobin and Stassen last week when the two attended the AFL national convention in Seattle. The city is

BOUGHT!



Alfred P. Blair, Stassen's state labor conciliator, who has received his price for doing the bosses' bidding in denying elections to the Minneapolis drivers. Part payment was his appointment Wednesday as "labor relations expert" for the union-hating Gamble-Robinson corporation and its affiliate of the West Coast.

a stronghold of the Tobin machine, which is on good terms with the Seattle businessmen and capable of "arranging" for such jobs.

In Seattle, too, Stassen was receiving part-payment for the dirty work he and his tool, Blair, had done for Tobin. Tobin had arranged for Stassen to deliver speeches to the AFL national convention and the West Coast Teamsters' Conference, both meetings in Seattle. Having appeared under such auspices, Stassen will now lay claim to being a "friend of labor." But he is only a friend of Dictator Tobin.

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We Made Minneapolis a Union Town - - - Let's KEEP IT That Way

A Noted Author Tells . . .

Why This Case is So Important

By James T. Farrell

Author of "Suds Lonigan," "A World I Never Made," etc.

(Mr. Farrell wrote the following article as a foreword to the pamphlet "WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA," which has just been published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Copies of the 24-page pamphlet may be obtained for 5c at the INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZER, 1328 Second St. North, Minneapolis.)

I once heard free speech cynically described as a right which the citizen possesses as long as he doesn't exercise it. Do we want this statement to be more than mere cynicism? Do we want it to be a description of the status of free speech, of civil liberties, in the United States—in the year 1941? These questions, in essence, point to the vital issue involved in the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" case.

This case is the most important involving civil liberties since the trials of the I. W. W. members during the First World War. And it is similar to the I. W. W. cases in its fundamental point. Both constituted attacks on the labor movement. It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free. The basis of our liberties rests, formally, on the unconditional guarantees given us in the Bill of Rights. It rests actually on the freedom of labor. In Italy, when Benito Mussolini rose to power, he undertook an immediate attack on all work inglass organizations and he crushed them; in Germany this was also the first step of Adolph Hitler after he became Chancellor. The major step in the restriction, the abridgment and the abolition of civil liberties is always the same—it is an attack on the political and economic rights of labor. This is why the Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" case is of such crucial importance.

In the United States today there are relatively few human beings who will openly declare that they desire to see the abolition of civil liberties. But the statements of men must be tested in practice. Because people declare that they want civil liberties guaranteed, that does not mean that these liberties will be guaranteed. They must be defended day by day against every encroachment. Those tendencies which threaten the civil liberties of the American people must be opposed, no matter what their origin. No danger, no emergency is so menacing that it can justify us in abandoning our rights. Once these are abandoned, we are slaves, no matter what language be used to describe our slavery.

Since the First World War democratic rights have declined and been lost in one nation after another. The curve has been downward. Today, there are few places on this globe where a man is permitted honestly and openly to express his ideas and to defend his convictions. The American people do not want this to happen in the United States. The way to prevent this is to implement and strengthen our civil rights. And we can and must do this by defending them. Freedom of speech is meaningless if

it is freedom to agree with those who are in power. No real social advance is ever attained in that manner.

The Minnesota "Seditious Conspiracy" case is a major civil liberties issue. Unless this attack on our basic rights is checked, it will establish a precedent for subsequent ones. This is precisely the manner in which liberty dies. Inch by inch it is eaten away. One precedent after another is established. Repressive and reactionary tendencies are built up until they can, in time, resemble a tidal wave. When that has happened—it is too late.

Today, in the United States, it is not too late. We can still preserve our civil rights. It is our highest duty to remain free in a world of the most brutal oppression and tyranny. And we remain free men by defending the liberty of others, as well as of ourselves, whether or not we agree with them.

28 Are Charged Under Two Laws

The Department of Justice has drawn up the indictment against the 28 defendants under the provisions of two laws.

The first is a new law, the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act, introduced by a poll-tax Congressman, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, and passed in 1940. The Smith Act is the most reactionary piece of anti-labor legislation ever enacted in the United States, and was so characterized during the debates in Congress.

"This bill is an attempt to put an end to this trend toward real democracy," said Congressman Geyer of California. "It is an attempt to break the labor movement . . . It is an attack on a minority group."

"It is enough to make Thomas Jefferson turn over in his grave," said Congressman Martin of Colorado. "It is without precedent in the history of labor legislation. It is an invention of intolerance contrary to every principle of democracy."

ACLU Fought It

The American Civil Liberties Union pleaded with President Roosevelt to veto the Smith Bill on the ground that it was unconstitutional and "would become an instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor." President Roosevelt nevertheless signed it.

According to THE NATION magazine, the Department of Justice itself has no confidence in the constitutionality of the Smith Act. "Of the record, at least one official engaged in the prosecution is prepared to admit that the Supreme Court may find the seditious provisions of the Smith Act unconstitutional. For the first time in peace, since the Alien & Sedition Laws of John Adams, a mere expression of opinion is made a Federal crime. Under these provisions, a man might be sent to jail for ten years because

AFL Doesn't Dare Debate Ray Dunne At "U" Forum

Vincent Ray Dunne, one of the indicted leaders of Local 544-CIO, will speak on "The Fight of the Minneapolis Drivers for Democratic Unionism" this Friday, October 17, 12:30 p. m. before the University of Minnesota Forum in the Men's Union building. For days the University Forum Committee has sought to obtain a representative of the AFL who would face Dunne in debate before the student body, on the question of the Local 544 struggle. Though many AFL officials were invited, not a single one would dare agree to face in public debate the leader of Local 544-CIO.

Failing to obtain an AFL debater, the Forum Committee will present Dunne as guest speaker at the October 17th Forum. The public is invited. Admission is free.

he circulated such un-American documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural, for both 'advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government' by force." THE NATION wrote.

The second law used against the 28 defendants is Section 6 of Title 18 of the U. S. Code governing "seditious." This law was passed in July, 1861, during the Civil War, for use against the Confederacy.

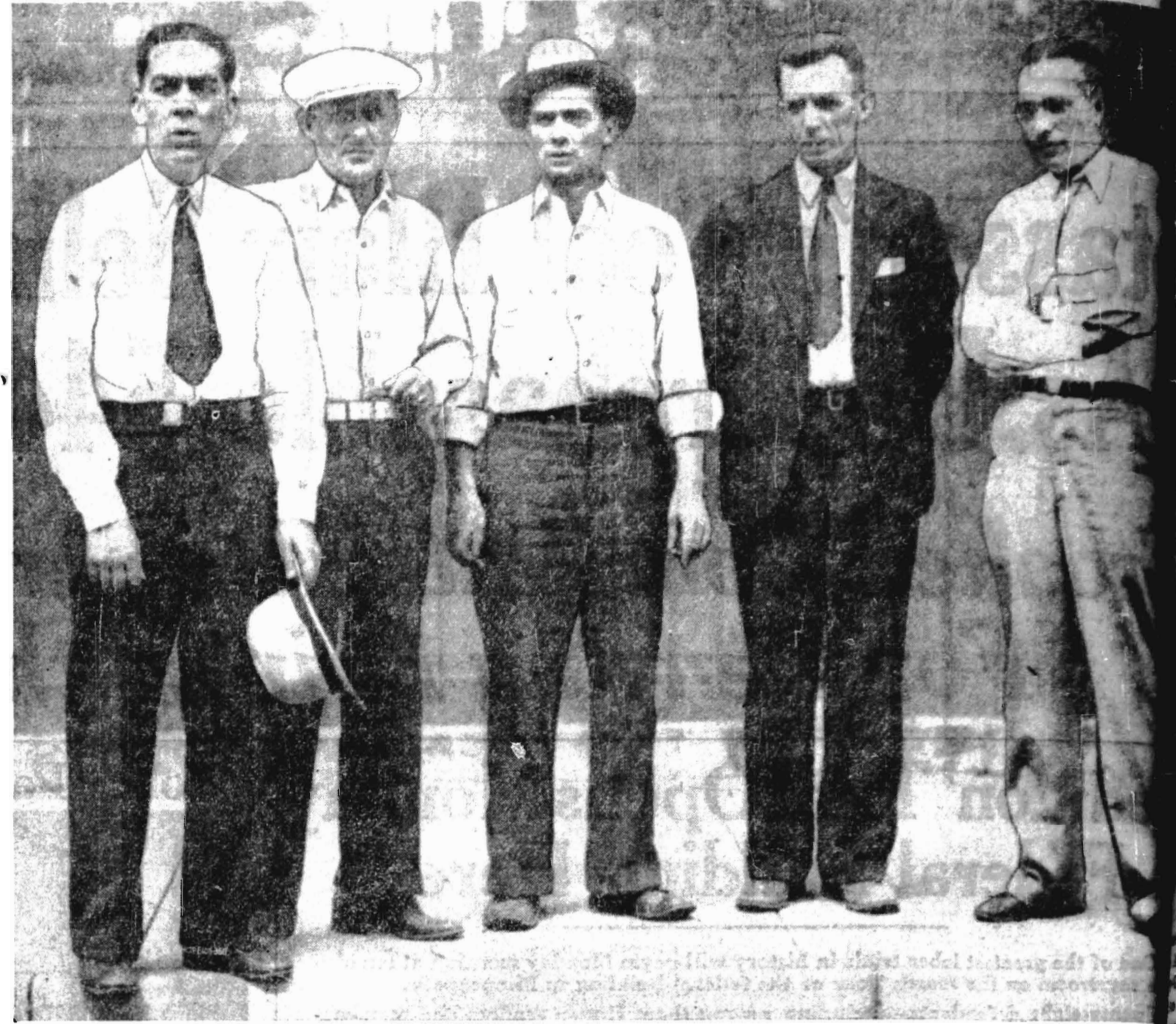
A law passed against slaveholders is now being used by the government against 28 working-class defendants who are opposed to ALL FORMS OF SAVERY, not only chattel slavery but wage slavery!

Since no evidence can be presented in this case of any open armed rebellion against the government, this law obviously cannot apply.

As THE NATION so pointedly observed: "The rebellion of which the Trotskyist leaders of Local 544 are guilty was leaving the AFL for the CIO."

It is not just a penal offense for American workers to quit one labor organization for another. But if the government succeeds in this case, the civil liberties and rights of every man and woman in America will be endangered.

Leaders Tested in 1934 Strikes Again Face Boss 'Justice'



This picture taken outside the national guard stockade in the summer of 1934 will bring back a flood of memories to thousands of Minneapolis drivers. It shows Attorney Albert Goldman and Grant Dunne welcoming the release of Bill Brown, Miles Dunne and Vincent Dunne who were imprisoned by Governor Olson's national guardsmen in the course of the strike.

From left to right: Grant Dunne, Bill Brown, Miles Dunne, Vincent Dunne and the union attorney, Albert Goldman.

Bill Brown died in 1938. Grant Dunne was buried last week. Both these working-class warriors gave the best that was in them to the labor movement. The many remaining leaders of the 1934 strikes, pioneers of unionism in Minneapolis and the Northwest, go on trial tomorrow in Federal Court for "sedition."

Cannon to Address Sunday Forum on Indictment of 28

James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the 28 indicted by the government in the Minneapolis case, is a candidate for mayor in New York City in the coming elections. Cannon is running on the Trotskyist Anti-War ticket.

Over fifteen thousand New York workers signed nominating petitions to place Cannon's name on the ballot. The Campaign Committee for Cannon has announced that the anti-war candidate will conduct his campaign from the federal courtroom in Minneapolis.

Mr. Cannon is internationally known as a co-worker of Leon Trotsky. He has been in the labor movement since 1911.

Cannon is widely held to be the finest orator in the working-class movement. Minneapolis workers will have a chance to hear him next Sunday afternoon, 2 p. m. at 819 Marquette avenue, where he will speak on "Why We Are on Trial," before

the Sunday Forum. Admission is 10c and refreshments will be served following the lecture. The public is invited.

There are thousands of unorganized people who would appreciate our side of the story . . . if they KNEW it. Pass your Industrial Organizer along to them.

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YOU Can Help The Defendants

The twenty-eight men and women who go on trial next Monday morning in the federal courtroom in Minneapolis are front-line fighters in the cause of union rights and civil liberties in this nation.

They merit the whole-hearted and generous moral and material support of every progressive organization and individual genuinely concerned with maintaining our democratic and constitutional rights.

Their fight against the prosecution must be won. That is why the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE has been organized. Chairman of the Committee is James T. Farrell. Vice chairman is John Dos Passos. Secretary is George Novack. Scores of outstanding laborites, educators, civil liberty defenders, liberals have joined the national board of the CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

The government prosecution has been denounced by the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, the United Auto Workers, the American Civil Liberties Union, THE NATION, THE NEW REPUBLIC, etc.

The CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE needs \$7,500 immediately to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. Aid the 28 defendants by contributing promptly and generously to their Defense Fund. Mail all donations to the

Civil Rights Defense Committee c-o Industrial Organizer, 1328 Second St. N. Minneapolis, Minnesota

A receipt will be mailed you from the Industrial Organizer and from the national office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

NEW TIME! 7 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME Every Monday Night "THE TELEPHONE HOUR" JAMES MELTON FRANCIA WHITE DONALD VOGRHEES and Bell Symphonic Orchestra and Chorus KSTP and other stations on the N.B.C. Red network NORTHWESTERN BELL TELEPHONE CO.

Analysis of Indictment Against the Twenty-eight

Civil Rights Committee Issues Pamphlet Analyzing Prosecution Here of 28

Where on this page we publish the complete text of the federal indictment under which leaders of Local 544 and of the Socialist Workers Party will go on trial Monday.

The analysis of the indictment has just been published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, in the form of a pamphlet "Witch Hunt in Minnesota." In order to enable our readers to understand the full nature of the indictment, we publish below excerpts from this excellent pamphlet.

The opinions expressed in the pamphlet "Witch Hunt in Minnesota" are not just the opinions of the defendants, but of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, that of distinguished labor and liberal personalities who, on behalf of all the defendants, to proffer counsel, to give moral and material support to the defendants, to publicize the case nationally, and to arouse the conscience of the country against the abuse of liberties and workers' rights symbolized by the prosecution of the defendants in the Minneapolis case.

Following are excerpts from the Civil Rights Defense Committee pamphlet, "Witch Hunt in Minnesota":

This case is essentially a political prosecution. This was pointed out by the American Civil Liberties Union in its letter of protest to Attorney-General Biddle on August 20, 1941: "It seems more than probable to conclude that the government injected itself into an internal controversy in order to promote the interests of the one (Tobin) which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies."

Tobin is a 100% supporter of Roosevelt's policies. He is also the most prominent member of Fight for Freedom, Inc., the most pro-war organization in the United States. In many public statements, Tobin has declared that opposition to the government's war policies is "un-American" and incompatible with citizenship in his Teamsters International.

Local 544's weekly, Northwest Organizer (now The Industrial Organizer) on the other hand, has been a severe critic of Roosevelt's war actions and a resolute opponent of his war policies. For example, in an editorial on May 29, 1941 against Roosevelt's use of strike-breakers, The Northwest Organizer said: "The forces deliberately determined to put this nation into the 'war for democracy' are the very forces who imitate Hitler by taking away from us the very things we possess, and would beat down and crush the American labor doesn't want any part of this war. American labor is determined to defend its unions and its rights, including the right to strike."

Tobin moved to expel the 544 leaders at this particular time, among other things, they refused to recant their avowed stand. This was affirmed in a statement issued on June 1, 1941, by Frank Barnhart, Regional Director of the U.C.W.O.C.: "Not only did Tobin issue an ultimatum to the officers and members of

the AFL Teamsters Union ordering them to give unequivocal support to Roosevelt's war policy under threat of reprisals against them by Tobin if they failed to comply. . . . A great majority of the membership of the AFL Teamsters Union is opposed to Tobin's high-handed methods and moth-eaten organizational policies. There are also many who are opposed to the war, especially in the northwest area. This is not Hitler Germany. The U. S. is still a democracy. The people of this country still have a right to express their opinions about the policies of both Tobin and Roosevelt."

Party Opposes War

The political basis of the prosecution is unmistakable in the proceedings against the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party has consistently and uncompromisingly opposed Roosevelt's policies as "imperialist war policies." That the government acted against the Socialist Workers Party because of its anti-war position was explicitly acknowledged by Acting Attorney-General Biddle, who was quoted in the Minneapolis Tribune of June 28th, 1941 as saying: "The principal basis for the prosecution is found in the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in December, 1938." The pertinent phrases mentioned by Biddle include the following: "In spite of the revolutionists and the militant workers, the U. S. Government enters a new war, the Socialist Workers Party will not, under any circumstances support that war but will, on the contrary, fight against it." According to Biddle, "the 1938 Declaration says the Party would use a war crisis to overthrow capitalism in this country and substitute for it socialism."

The administration's inclination to stamp even the mildest critics of its war course as "seditious" is exemplified in Secretary of War Stimson's charge of treason against Senator Wheeler. If one member of the Cabinet can stigmatize an isolationist Senator as a traitor for sending to a few conscripts postcards expressing opposition to entering the war, surely Roosevelt's Attorney-General would not hesitate to treat the revolutionary anti-war position of the Socialist Workers Party as "seditious activity."

Rights of Free Speech Violated

The Socialist Workers Party has the same legal and constitutional rights as any other political party to advocate its ideas and propagate them. This position fully accords with our best democratic traditions and with the Bill of Rights. The right to express one's own ideas by speech or in writing or through assembly is an elementary democratic right. Rights of opinion are specifically protected against Federal violation by the First Amendment to the Constitution which states that Congress "shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

This right of free speech is unrestricted and unconditional. It cannot be denied on the ground that the doctrines advocated are revolutionary or displeasing to the administration in power. The Government's attempt to deprive the Socialist Workers Party of its right of free opinion and expression clearly encroaches upon this provision of the Constitution.

The prosecution has already been condemned and will be fought on this ground by the American Civil Liberties Union. The violation of law in this instance is not on the part of the Socialist Workers Party but on the part of the Federal prosecutors.

Real Ideas of the Socialist Workers Party

Nor is the Socialist Workers Party a secret, conspiratorial organization as the Government attempts to depict it. It is a legal political organization which has for years openly conducted political activities and participated in the labor movement. Its program has been published in numerous books and pamphlets, its views are currently expressed and discussed in various publications, its indicted leaders have long been active as prominent personalities in working class circles.

The accusation that the Socialist Workers Party is guilty of "advising, counselling and urging insubordination, disloyalty and mutiny" in the armed forces of the U. S. is based entirely upon the political ideas propagated by the party. No overt acts are specified in the indictment to back up this charge. In fact, the avowed military policy of the Socialist Workers Party provides no basis for such activities or allegations. For example, the Socialist Workers Party does not seek to gain control of the naval and military forces of the U. S., as alleged in the indictment. The Party's program calls for "military training of workers financed by the government and under control of the trade unions." There is nothing illegal in this proposal to place trade unions in charge of military training. The Plattsburg training camps, which the U. S. Government approved and subsidized, were organized and controlled by private agencies and individuals for the purpose of training business and professional men in military service. The Socialist Workers Party proposes that this same right be extended by the Government to the trade unions.

What Was the Union Defense Guard?

The only overt act allegedly committed by the defendants, which is specified in the indictment, is the formation of the Union Defense Guard, organized three years ago by members of Local 544. According to the prosecution, this Union Defense Guard was the instrument the Socialist Workers Party plotted to use for overthrowing the Government by force and violence. A brief account of the formation and functions of the Union Defense Guard will suffice to dispose of this absurd accusation.

The Minneapolis Union Defense Guard was organized as an outgrowth and answer to a series of threats of violence against Local 544 and of actual vigilante attacks upon unions in other parts of the nation during the summer of 1938.

On June 22, 1938, Ralph H. Pierce, one of the leaders of the "Associated Independent Unions," launched by Minneapolis employers to fight organized labor, told officials of Local 544 and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union that George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, had raised \$35,000 to import gunmen to assassinate three leaders of Local 544. Eight months earlier Patrick Corcoran, Secretary-Treasurer of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, had been assassinated by unknown gunmen. The day after Pierce said the murders were to be committed, Minneapolis police found a car containing two high-powered rifles with telescopic sights near the Central Labor Union headquarters. This lent credence to Pierce's story.

During 1938 the Fascist Silver Shirts were extremely active in the Twin Cities. Roy Zachary, National Organizer, openly called at Silver Shirt meetings for gangster bands to raid the General Drivers Hall. The Minneapolis papers disclosed the fact that Belden, head of the Associated Industries, had attended these Silver Shirt meetings. This tie-up between the Silver Shirts and the Associated Industries, which included the leading anti-union employers in Minneapolis, convinced the members of Local 544 that measures should be taken to protect the Union hall and leaders from attack.

Numerous acts of anti-labor violence by fascist and vigilante gangs at that time in other parts of Minnesota and in New Orleans, Westwood, California, Steubenville, Ohio, New York City and Jersey City, crystallized this conviction.

Activities of the Defense Guard

The formation of the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard was announced in the September 8, 1938 issue of the Northwest Organizer, the official organ of the Teamsters Joint Council. The functions of the Union Defense Guard were described in this story as "defense of the Union's picket lines, Union headquarters and members against anti-labor violence."

The activities of the Union Defense Guard demonstrate that such

was its sole function. At meetings held in the basement of the Drivers Hall general discussions took place on methods of repelling attacks by fascist gangs. None of the guard members carried or possessed arms.

One of the two allegations of overt acts in the indictment charges the defendants with collecting arms and ammunition to overthrow the Government. The Union Defense Guard purchased two 22-A caliber single shot target rifles, two 22-caliber single shot target pistols, and some ammunition for target practice in the basement of the General Drivers Headquarters. These four practice rifles and ammunition were purchased from funds raised through the sale of tickets to dances and public entertainments held at the Drivers Hall.

I. F. Stone wrote in The Nation of July 26, 1941 that the Government was especially alarmed by a test mobilization of Guard members held one evening during September, 1938 in downtown Minneapolis: "What did they do when they got there?" Mr. Schweinhaut, the Department of Justice prosecutor, was asked. Schweinhaut said they went to the Gaiety, a local burlesque house. He said that each admission cost 75 cents and "the Government wants to know who paid for the tickets." "This was told me in all seriousness," was the caustic comment of The Nation reporter. "I have heard of the Gunpowder Plot. Maybe this will go down in history as the G-String Conspiracy!"

The show of strength of the Union Defense Guard drove the Silver Shirts into hiding and inactivity. With the disappearance of the Silver Shirts the Union Defense Guard discontinued its target practice and drills and its sole functions thereafter were dances, and acting as ushers at union picnics and affairs. It last functioned in December 1940 when Guard members acted as ushers at the Christmas party for children sponsored by the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council!

Such is the record of the "armed forces" which were supposedly planning to march on Washington and take over the government. Who does the prosecution expect to believe that story? Indeed, this accusation had already been dismissed as baseless in the 544 "Fink Suit," when Judge Paul S. Carroll stated in his findings: "According to the Union's position, these so-called 'defense guards' were organized to meet the threat of Silver Shirt leaders and other anti-labor gangsters and to defend armed raids against union halls. It was not shown that these men were ever armed or did other than general policing at their picnics and things of that sort."

The Real Facts in This Case

Our review of the facts in this case has irrefutably established the following points.

1. After Local 544 had voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO, Roosevelt responded to Tobin's plea for assistance by setting in motion the machinery of the Department of Justice which resulted in the raids and indictments. This intervention of the Federal authorities on behalf of one labor organization in its controversy with another constitutes a rank abuse of the legal functions of the Government.

2. The Socialist Workers Party does not conspire to overthrow the government by force and violence. Its object is to educate the majority of the people to accept the idea that a change in the social system is necessary to solve their economic and social problems.

3. There was no conspiracy whatsoever on the part of the defendants to overthrow the government by force and violence. The attempt to depict the Minneapolis Union Defense Guard as an armed band organized for this purpose is fantastic.

4. The Government is violating the free-speech provisions of the Constitution by instituting this repressive criminal action against the Socialist Workers Party.

5. Through this prosecution the Government is attempting to crush militant and independent unionism and to stifle the anti-war forces in the ranks of labor.

Roosevelt seeks to incriminate the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party because of their anti-war views, as Woodrow Wilson jailed Eugene V. Debs and other socialists for opposing the last war. Attorney General Biddle is today prosecuting the militant unionists of Local 544-CIO as Attorney General Palmer prosecuted the members of the I.W.W.

The Complete Text of the Federal Indictment

The complete text of the federal indictment drawn by the Department of Justice against the 28 defendants is:

1. The defendants, who were officers, leaders, active members, and in control of a certain political party or organization known as the Socialist Workers Party, which said party or organization was composed of a large number of persons, the exact number being to the Grand Jurors unknown, would procure, induce, influence, incite, and encourage the members of the Socialist Workers Party, and divers other persons, whose names are to the Grand Jurors unknown, to join with them to bring about the overthrow by force of the Government of the United States, and the destruction thereof by force, and the opposition by force to the authority thereof.

2. The defendants would seek to bring about, whenever the time seemed to them propitious, an armed revolution against the Government of the United States, and the authority thereof.

3. Said armed revolution would be brought about and joined in by the workers and laborers and farmers of the United States, or as many of them as said defendants and their co-conspirators could procure and induce to engage therein.

4. Said workers, laborers and farmers would be by the defendants and their co-conspirators urged, counseled, and persuaded that the Government of the United States was imperialistic capitalistic and organized and constituted for the purpose of subjecting workers and laborers to various and sundry deprivations and for the purpose of denying to them an alleged right to own, control and manage all property and industry in the United States, all to the end that said workers and laborers would be willing to take part in the armed revolution envisaged and projected by said defendants.

5. Members of the Socialist Workers Party would be placed in key positions in all major industries, among others the transportation, mining, lumbering, farming, shipping, and manufacturing industries, so that said party members could and would induce, persuade, and procure the workers and laborers in said industries to join said party, embrace its principles and objectives and obey the commands of its leaders, thereby

enabling the defendants and other leaders of said Socialist Workers Party to obtain and exercise absolute control of all industries in the United States to the end that by paralyzing the same, said projected armed revolution could be more easily and successfully accomplished.

6. Members of the Socialist Workers Party would be placed in key positions in all trade unions and said party members would especially endeavor to obtain absolute control over such trade unions, so that the members thereof, comprising a vast number of workers and laborers in the United States, would be subject to the will and commands of said party leaders, thus enabling the defendants and their co-conspirators to bring about a complete stoppage of work in the major industries of the United States at any given time, and preventing thereby the duly constituted Government of the United States from adequately defending itself against the armed revolution the defendants conspired to bring about.

7. The defendants and their co-conspirators would endeavor by any means at their disposal to procure members of the military and naval forces of the United States to become undisciplined, to complain about food, living conditions, and missions to which they would be assigned, to create dissension, dissatisfaction and insubordination among the armed forces, to impugn the loyalty and morale thereof, and finally to seek to gain control of said naval and military forces so that the enlisted personnel thereof would revolt against its officers, thereby enabling said defendants to overcome and put down by force and arms the constitutional Government of the United States.

8. When the Selective Service Act was passed, the members of said Socialist Workers Party would be urged to willingly accept service, but after being inducted into the army of the United States, to do everything in their power to disrupt, hinder, and impair the efficient functioning thereof, and when the appropriate time came to turn their weapons against their officers.

9. The defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to

be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

10. Workers and laborers would be, and they were, organized into military units which would be armed and drilled and taught how skillfully to use pistols and rifles, which said units would be, and were, called "Union Defense Guards"; said units would ostensibly be used for protection against violent attempts to destroy trade unions, but were in truth and fact, designed and intended to be used ultimately to overthrow, destroy, and put down by force the duly constituted, constitutional Government of the United States.

11. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence, and the principles, teachings, writings, counsel and advice of the leaders of that revolution, chiefly of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, would be, and they were, looked to, relied on, followed and held out to others as catechisms and textbooks directing the manner and means by which the aforesaid aim of the defendants could, and would be, accomplished; and accordingly, certain of the defendants would, and they did, go from the City of Minneapolis, State and District of Minnesota, and from other cities in the United States to Mexico City, Mexico, there to advise with and to receive the advice, counsel, guidance, and directions of the said Leon Trotsky.

12. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, accept as the ideal formula for the carrying out of their said objectives the Russian Revolution of 1917, whereby the then existing Government of Russia was overthrown by force and violence, and the principles, teachings, writings, counsel and advice of the leaders of that revolution, chiefly of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, would be, and they were, looked to, relied on, followed and held out to others as catechisms and textbooks directing the manner and means by which the aforesaid aim of the defendants could, and would be, accomplished; and accordingly, certain of the defendants would, and they did, go from the City of Minneapolis, State and District of Minnesota, and from other cities in the United States to Mexico City, Mexico, there to advise with and to receive the advice, counsel, guidance, and directions of the said Leon Trotsky.

13. The said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to

be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

14. The defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

15. The defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

16. The defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

17. The defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

18. The defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, endeavor to procure and persuade as many other persons as possible to join with them in their undertaking by printing, publishing, selling, distributing and publicly displaying and by causing to be printed, published, sold, distributed, and publicly displayed, written and printed matter, including leaflets, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines and books which advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity, desirability, and propriety of overthrowing and destroying by force and violence all governments in the world said by the defendants, their mentors and leaders, to be imperialistic and capitalistic, and of the government of the United States of America was said to be the foremost. Contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 6 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States.

SECOND COUNT

And the Grand Jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present that heretofore, to-wit: beginning the 28th day of June, 1940, and continuously thereafter until the day of the filing of this indictment, at the Cities of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, in the State and District of Minnesota, and within the jurisdiction of this Court, and in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, and in the City and State of New York, and elsewhere, one Vincent Ray Dunne, Carl Skoplund, James P. Cannon, Farrell Debs, Miles B. Dunne, Felix Morrow, Grace Carlson, Oscar Coover, Harry De Boer, Jake Cooper, Max Gelsman, Cazlos Hudson, Alfred Russell, Edward Palmquist, Reese Seifer, Albert Goldmann, Oscar Schenfeld, George Frosig, Emil Kanson, Dorothy Schultz, Kelly Postal, Clarence Hamel, Carl Kuehn, Roy Orson, Ray Rainbolt, Grant Dunne, Harold Swanson, Walter Hagstrom, and Nick Wagner, hereinafter referred to as "defendants," then and there being, did unlawfully, willfully, knowingly and feloniously conspire, plan, combine, confederate and agree together and with each other, and with divers other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown, hereinafter referred to as "co-conspirators" to commit certain acts prohibited by certain statutes of the United States, namely, Section 9 and 10 of Title 18 of the United States Code, in that they in the City of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, State and District of Minnesota, and elsewhere, and during the period of time alleged in this count:

1. With the intent to interfere with, impair and influence the loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States, and

2. Knowingly and willfully would and they did, advocate, abet, advise and teach the duty, necessity, desirability and propriety of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

3. With the intent to cause the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States would, and they did, print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute and publicly display written and printed matter advocating, advising, and teaching the duty, necessity, desirability and propriety of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

4. Would, and they did, organize and help to organize societies, groups and assemblies of persons to teach, advocate and encourage the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and

5. Would be, and did, become members of and affiliated with such societies, groups and assemblies knowing the purpose thereof.

And the Grand Jurors do present that the said defendants and their co-conspirators would, and they did, attempt to carry out and accomplish said conspiracy in the manner set out in numbered paragraphs 1 to 13, inclusive, in the first count of this indictment; contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided, and especially contrary to Section 11 of Title 18 of the United States Code, and against the peace and dignity of the United States. Dated July 15, 1941.

WENDELL BERGE, Assistant Attorney General HENRY A. SCHWEINHAUT, Attorney General VICTOR E. ANDERSON, United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota

"Witch Hunt in Minnesota"

Read the new 24-page pamphlet just published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, setting forth the true story behind this unprecedented Federal prosecution of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party.

George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, wrote the pamphlet "WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA." The foreword is by James T. Farrell, national chairman of the Committee and author of "Studs Lonigan," etc.

- HOW DOES THE ADMINISTRATION FIGHT THE CIO?
- HAS THE BILL OF RIGHTS BEEN ABOLISHED?
- HOW DOES THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SERVE DANIEL J. TOBIN?
- HAVE WORKERS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN UNION?
- WHAT WAS THE UNION DEFENSE GUARD?
- IS IT TREASONABLE TO OPPOSE THE WAR?

You'll find the answer to these and many other questions in "WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA." Copies of the pamphlet sell for 5c each, or 25 pamphlets for one dollar (\$1). Send for your pamphlet today. Order copies for your friends.

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Dear Friends:
I enclose (one dollar for twenty-five copies) (five cents for one copy) of the pamphlet "WITCH HUNT IN MINNESOTA," published by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. I want to get the background of the Minneapolis trial. You pay the postage. Mail immediately to

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On Guard Against Frame-Up

A distinct possibility that the Roosevelt administration may resort to "framed" evidence in the case against the 28 members of Local 544-CIO and the Socialist Workers Party was indicated last Wednesday in a press interview given by Attorney General Francis Biddle.

After informing reporters that he approved of wire-tapping even though he admitted it was "a dirty business," Biddle turned his attention to the coming trial in Minneapolis.

According to the N. Y. Times of the following day, Biddle stated that "Defendants in this case went armed, and signs were shown reading 'Labor should be armed against the coming day.'"

Biddle's grotesque charge sounds like a parody of all the labor-hating slanders against militant workers that have ever been written.

"The coming day!" No workers' organization talks like this, but the writers of musical comedies have for years depicted bearded and bomb-carrying conspirators drinking toasts to "the coming day."

Note that Biddle even puts quotation marks around the words, as though he were quoting from an actual slogan.

WHERE IS BIDDLE QUOTING FROM?

The slogan attributed to the defendants is a pure invention. The quotation marks are Biddle's own. We deny that any of the defendants, anywhere, anytime, ever used a slogan that by the most fantastic reach of the imagination could be interpreted as resembling Biddle's slogan.

That Biddle and the government may be preparing the ground for a frame-up against the defendants is certainly indicated by Biddle's claim at his press conference. Having no evidence against the defendants, acting only as tools for Dictator Dan Tobin and Roosevelt, the government may well seek to buttress its case by manufactured evidence of just the sort mentioned by Biddle.

On guard against manufactured evidence and attempts at frame-up.

Just Four Months Too Late

On the eve of June 30th, Dictator Tobin was already conferring by phone with Governor Stassen and Sam Levy, attorney for the Associated Industries, agreeing on the terms by which Tobin would sell out the Minneapolis drivers in return for the support of the Minnesota governor and the bosses. One of the primary sections of the sellout had to do with compulsory arbitration.

Even before Stassen and Blair had dared to issue their decision denying elections to the Minneapolis drivers, the state labor conciliator was already drawing up contracts for the AFL to sign. The key clause in these AFL contracts dealt with compulsory arbitration; everything—seniority, weeding out of the older men, wage violations, grievances on hours and overtime, charges for loss and damage, discharge—was thrown into the swamp of arbitration. Tobin's carpetbaggers agreed to the most monstrous arbitration terms, of a nature which would guarantee that no grievance would ever be settled in the lifetime of the aggrieved worker.

Hundreds of these Casey contracts were signed and forced down the throats of the men, before Casey himself fled town.

A typical Tobin compulsory arbitration clause is that in the market contract, which permits "either party" (the bosses) to throw EVERYTHING into arbitration. And what arbitration! Should the union and the employer not agree, they seek a fifth person. If they can't agree on the fifth member, then each party "shall submit a list of names of twenty-five individuals to the calendar judge of the Hennepin County District Court, who shall designate from such list the fifth arbitrator out of such names which appear on both lists. In the event there are no two identical names on such lists a further list of twenty-five names shall be submitted . . ." etc., etc.

Not only does the union lose its right to take whatever course of action will best assure the enforcement of the contract, but the workers are GUARANTEED that their grievances will never be adjusted under the Tobin arbitration clause.

Now, after hundreds of these phoney contracts have been foisted on the members, the Tobin carpetbaggers suddenly discover that compulsory arbitration is no good because "it would restrict its right to strike."

We are not fooling, that is exactly what Local "544"-AFL was quoted as saying in the October 14th Minneapolis Star-Journal. It seems a Stassen "fact-finding commission" has recommended a compulsory arbitration clause in a proposed contract covering the package delivery men.

After working hand-in-glove with the bosses and Stassen to tie up the Minneapolis drivers in compulsory arbitration, Tobin's hopheads now make a great show of resisting compulsory arbitration. They've done their best to sell out the rest of the membership; now they put up a shadow of a fight against compulsory arbitration for the package delivery men.

Even if these cynical swindlers permit the delivery drivers to escape compulsory arbitration, it will be meaningless; Tobin himself will insist that "544"-AFL arbitrate EVERYTHING, just as he did in Pittsburgh last month when he broke the drivers' strike there.

Under the Casey-Tobin contracts there will only be more and more grief for the Minneapolis drivers. Within the AFL there is no hope for the men of preserving the union conditions on the job which have been built up at such sacrifice through the years. THE ONLY ROAD FOR

CIO Rallies to UCWOC in Fight on AFL-OPM Plot

Demand Government Reverse Shameful Monopoly

WASHINGTON—Rallying to the side of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee, other CIO affiliates throughout the nation are flooding Washington with wires demanding the government reverse its shameful decision in the Currier case, the CIO NEWS states this week.

Whether American workers are to be forced to accept government dictation on which union they may join, is the issue squarely posed here in the wake of the OPM's refusal to award a defense housing job to a low bidder who uses CIO labor in constructing the lowest cost modern prefabricated houses.

"The controversy, which has stirred Washington more than any other labor issue since the defense program began, was started when the Federal Workers Agency was ordered by OPM not to award a 300-unit housing contract to the J. P. Currier Lumber Company, Detroit, although its bid was lowest by \$431,000," the CIO NEWS states.

"The firm employs UCWOC members and this was the sole cause for the refusal of the award, OPM even going so far as to admit the job would have gone to Currier if he had been non-union."

Is Forced Labor

UCWOC Chairman A. D. Lewis charged in a statement here that the OPM policy, dictated by Sidney Hillman, "brings vividly to mind" the systems of "forced labor" practiced by the Fascist-dominated nations of old Europe.

"When the government says to a man that he must join a certain type of union, or none at all, it definitely marks the most backward step ever taken in the history of labor relations in this nation."

"Freedom of choice as guaranteed by the Wagner Act and other pro-labor legislation for which labor has fought a half century struggle, is being discarded by the OPM. Here we have the spectacle of a set of bureaucrats, clothed with extra legal powers, undertaking to re-write the laws enacted by Congress and to impose free American labor a new form of slavery."

"Are American workers now to be subjects of a 'Labor Front' on the Hitler model?"

John L. Lewis, CIO leader, has likewise voiced stiff words of protest to Washington, protesting the granting of a monopoly to the AFL craft unions in the construction industry.

The Truman Defense Investigation Committee of the Senate is asking the whole affair. Mean-

THE MINNEAPOLIS DRIVERS IS THROUGH LOCAL 544-CIO. The court review November 29th in Ramsey County District Court of the Stassen-Blair ruling denying elections to the drivers is the first step in clearing the road for all drivers, helpers and warehousemen to re-establish their rights and their union, Local 544-CIO.

Tobin and Stassen Again

"It is a very unusual proceeding to have the governor of any single state address an AFL convention. There must have been a reason for it. WE JUST WANTED TO SHOW OUR APPRECIATION OF HIS SUPPORT."

The words are Dictator Tobin's. The governor referred to is Slave-Act Stassen. The place is the annual AFL convention, in Seattle.

By those words the head of the AFL Teamsters indicates more clearly than we could possibly do, the fact that Tobin is bribing Stassen for denying democratic elections to the Minneapolis drivers.

Tobin's first concern is with Mr. Daniel J. Tobin. He desires, at whatever price, to maintain his privileges and power as head of the teamsters. But his humanitarian actions and reactionary views create an ever-growing revolt against him among the drivers.

To maintain himself, Tobin has to look for support, not to the workers, but to the employers and the boss politicians.

That is why Tobin leaned on the Minnesota governor, then paid him off in part by issuing Slave-Act Stassen to appear before the AFL convention.

"The business interests of Minneapolis were endangered more than once" by the leadership of 544, Tobin told the assembled AFL delegates in Seattle.

WHAT KIND OF A UNION LEADER IS IT WHO TRIES TO JUSTIFY HIS UNION-SMASHING BY THE ARGUMENT THAT THE UNION WAS ENDANGERING THE PROFITS OF THE BOSSES?

Of course the real Local 544 "endangered" the bosses' profits, that is, sought to divert those profits in the form of increased wages to the men who create the profits. This is one of the important aims of unionism, to win for the producers of wealth a greater share of what they produce.

What's wrong with that? "Nothing at all. That's why we joined the union," the worker will reply.

"It's terrible," Tobin screams. "The employers must have their profits at all costs. You must sacrifice. Don't strike. Don't rock the boat. The employers' interests come first."

Union officials like Tobin are rightly described as Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism in the ranks of the workers. The Tobins are employers' agents, using their posts to prevent the workers from struggling to obtain better wages and conditions. Tobin has infinitely more in common with Slave-Act Stassen than Tobin has with the workers. That's why they were together in Seattle.

On the National Picket Line

Marvel Schell

The thousands of workers who picked up their papers Tuesday to read that Alfred P. Blair, state labor conciliator, had resigned his post to accept a position as labor relations director for the Gamble-Robinson Company must have been just as outraged as I was. Even when we have had demonstrated to us time and again that certain types of trade union bureaucrats look to their own interests first, and to those of the workers they represent, second, it is characteristic of workers to always hope that a man they must deal with is honest.

Drivers in Toledo Are Joining CIO

TOLEDO—The United Construction Workers is making progress in organizing motor transport drivers here. Scores of AFL drivers have come to CIO headquarters to join up with the modern industrial union movement.

In an attempt to stem the CIO tide, Tobin has concentrated his good squads in Toledo. Toledo is particularly important because two-thirds of Michigan's motor transport is bottlenecked in Toledo. The CIO is preparing to negotiate contracts covering over-road drivers.

Bruce Vincent Is Loyal To Unionism

Tobin's sheet, the "Minnesota Teamster," published a rotten lie last week when it told its readers that "We have a new member on our staff, Bruce Vincent, who will help organize the greenhouses."

All workers should know that Bruce Vincent, former business agent of Local 221, who came over to the CIO when the day laborer section of Local 221 voted to join the CIO, is loyal as ever to Local 544-CIO.

Brother Bruce has nothing but contempt for the Tobin brand of unionism, and his devotion to honest industrial unionism could not be bought by all the dough in Tobin's sack.

When you build a prison, you had better build with the thought ever in mind that you and your children may occupy the cells—ELIZABETH FRY, in a prison report to the King of France.

During this same trip I spent some time with the leadership of the AFL Des Moines and Detroit Drivers' unions. I sensed the same lack in these men which I had noticed in Kansas City. When I returned to Minneapolis and again went to the Drivers' hall, it felt as though I had come home. But still I couldn't put my finger on the difference. And then, it came to me. The membership of 544 (now CIO) were not just members of the union because they had to be in order to hold their jobs. Rank and file members, congregating in the halls to talk with one another, sounded more like seasoned trade unionists than any of the "leaders" I had met on my trip. Every worker knew the problems of the union in regard to his own job. Every worker felt free to discuss those problems with any and all of the organizers. These men were unionists, not just members. And their leadership were unionists, too. Not just job-holders with an eye to the future.

Then last winter Lloyd Haney, St. Paul trade unionist who had been appointed by Stassen as the first labor conciliator under the new Stassen Labor Relations Law, resigned to take a post as labor relations director for the Spicer Mfg. Co. of Toledo, Ohio. I knew something of Haney's background as a trade unionist, more of his record as conciliator, and his going over to the bosses wasn't too much of a surprise and disappointment. But it did make me think as it must have every other Minnesota worker. Why? What price?

This last summer, shortly after the Drivers Union had voted to secede from the AFL and go into the CIO, another man who had been publicized as a prominent, honest trade unionist also deserted the movement to take a position with the bosses, which would enable him to use all of his knowledge of the movement AGAINST THE WORKERS HE HAD FORMERLY SERVED. Meyer Lewis, who came to Minneapolis as a personal representative of William Green in 1935, left the AFL to take a post as labor relations director with a big firm on the West Coast. He used his position, his prestige, as a stepping stone right into 'big money.'

Meyer Lewis' betrayal made things a bit clearer for me. Most persons who have been interested in the drivers' movement, and all of the drivers themselves, certainly looked upon Lewis' action as only a logical conclusion for the labor career of a man who

had come into town deliberately to try to break the Drivers Union during the fight in 1935-36 when 574 was independent. I must confess that I was glad at last he had exposed himself in his true colors.

When CIO-544 appealed to State Labor Conciliator Blair for elections to determine whether the drivers of this city or the CIO, I sighed with relief. Having been more or less a close observer of the entire history of the Drivers movement here, I couldn't see how Blair, even though a former AFL official, could possibly deny to the drivers one of the basic rights granted them under the very law he was administering. A man who is placed in a judicial position must, it seemed to me, at least make a pretense at being impartial.

There is no need to go into the day by day events of that farce of a hearing during which the CIO Drivers, hundreds of them, testified as to the brutal, gangster methods used by T. T. Neal and his goon squads. In fact, I personally saw a few of the physical results of visits of those goons to truck docks. I talked to hundreds of drivers whose only plea was "Let us vote and we will show them that we want the CIO."

Blair's decision to deny elections shocked me, as it must have shocked the senses of every working man and woman in the country. How could such a flagrantly unfair decision have been rendered by a man in his position? We who read the Organizer might have one time or another thought that the editors were going a bit strong in their predictions that Blair would deny the election petitions. We may have even questioned that some of the charges were a bit far-fetched. But not after Blair decided, arbitrarily, that the AFL Teamsters' International Union would be the sole bargaining agency for 5,000 drivers—almost all of whom we knew wanted to go into the CIO.

And then Tuesday morning when I read of Blair's resignation to "take a post with a large West Coast firm," I was outraged. When the St. Paul Dispatch came out Wednesday morning with the announcement that the "West

Coast firm" with which Blair was now affiliated was none other than our own labor-hating Gamble-Rob—well, I began to ask myself these questions:

Is this the price which the AFL and Stassen agreed to pay in order to finish the murder and rape now being committed against trade union democracy in Minneapolis?

Was this the price for which Blair was holding out when he delayed so long his decision announcement?

And those questions brought to mind some others.

What makes the difference between such men as T. T. Neal, Red O'Loughlin, Casey, Blair, Haney, Meyer Lewis, and their ilk, on the one hand, and men like V. R. Dunbar, and the other 544-CIO leaders, on the other?

Why, on the one hand, do men of the Blair-Neal type seek only to keep down militancy, stifle trade unions with reactionary, sweetheart contracts, etc. In crystal clear contrast, why do men such as the leadership of CIO-544 sacrifice everything, home life, economic security, financial advancement, work day and night, many times without any salary at all, in order to

advance the living standard of the workers? I have come to only one answer. The AFL, as exemplified by Haney, are part of the movement not because the workers' movement cause they see in working class emancipation ONLY BECAUSE OF THE MOVEMENT TO ADVANCE THEIR WELFARE.

And those other leaders who next Monday go on trial for "causing their union anti-war conviction" MEN BELIEVE WORKERS TO LEAVE THAT NO TOO HARSH TO IF BY PERSONAL FORCE THEY COULD WANCE THE TO THEIR EVENTUAL IN THE SUN.

ORGANIZERS WANT A FINE building lot of 1/2 acre on Knox Ave. N. Full \$5 per month or will sell truck for all or part. 4617 Grand Ave. N.

OCTOBER MEETING SCHEDULE	
Wednesday, October 1—Snuggly; Pe-trolmen	Sunday, October 12—City drivers, dockmen, drivers who sign under contract, 8 p. m.
Thursday, October 2—Greenhouses; Independent Truck Owners	Monday, October 20—Stew; Coal; Paper men
Friday, October 3—Job Stewards	Tuesday, October 16—Awaiting Newspaper, 10
Monday, October 13—General Street-herip	Friday, October 17—Job Stewards
Tuesday, October 14—Lumber	Saturday, October 22—Stewards
Wednesday, October 8—Market; Wholesale Liquor	Friday, October 24—Coal and Produce
Friday, October 10—Wholesale Grocery	Sat. October 25—Monday, 1:30; Day Laborers; Warehousemen—2nd Tuesday, 14th; Stewards, 16th; October 27

Follow the Trial Through The Industrial Organizer

You have learned that in the many labor trials held in Minneapolis, the daily papers distort and suppress the workers' side of the case. This was so in the Strutwear Strike Trials, the Local 544 Fink Suit, the WPA Strike Trials, the hearings before Blair, etc.

Only the workers' own paper tells the TRUTH about the case and about what goes on in the courtroom.

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