

# Labor Must Crush The Anti-Negro Terror

## Statement Of National Committee, Socialist Workers Party

A series of assaults upon the Negro people throughout the country has reached a bloody climax in Detroit. This latest ferocious lynch attack murdered 24 Negroes, beat and injured hundreds, struck terror into the hearts of Detroit's community of almost 200,000 Negroes. This was not a "race riot" but an unprovoked attack by "white supremacy" mobs.

The hoodlums who constituted the lynch mobs in Detroit operated with comparative immunity. That is proven not only by the many eye-witness accounts testifying that the police either tolerated or directly aided the mobsters, but also by the official figures showing that 85% of those arrested were Negroes. Emboldened by their success, the hoodlums are undoubtedly ready for further lynch attacks against the Negro people.

It is unfortunately all too plain that the anti-Negro elements have made advances in their aim of keeping the Negro "in his place" and halting his struggle for equality and emancipation. Large numbers of Negroes have been terrorized and intimidated. Many others are becoming attracted toward "Negro nationalist" sentiments and feel hostility towards white people as a whole. There is great danger that these Negro workers will turn away in distrust and despair from the trade union movement.

The attacks on the Negroes threaten the unity of the working class. And this threat to labor unity comes at the very moment when the labor movement must mobilize its full fighting strength to beat back the union-busting offensive of Big Business and Washington.

### Jim Crow Is Responsible

Why has this epidemic of the lynch spirit broken out like a plague all over the nation?

The capitalist, liberal and Stalinist press claim that Axis agents and Japanese "fifth columnists" provoked these outbursts. Although the Axis powers unquestionably exploit these acts of violence for their own reactionary ends, any informed person knows that such an explanation is absolutely worthless and nothing more than a fake alibi to cover up the real conditions and forces responsible for the crimes.

The real causes and culprits are here at home. Lynch assaults upon Negroes took place decades before the fascists came to power or the United States went to war with the Axis.

These attacks are an inevitable outgrowth of the Jim Crow system fostered by reactionary capitalist interests, protected by

Other articles on the anti-Negro terror in Detroit will be found on Page 3 of this issue.

the Democratic and Republican parties, and buttressed by the government's policies of discrimination against Negroes in war industry and segregation in the armed forces. This vicious system breeds race hatred, official sanctions and deliberately sharpens antagonisms between white and colored. The Jim Crow system provides the social basis for the poisonous propaganda and activities of the Ku-Kluxers, Black Legions, Christian-Americans and other native fascist cliques. The adherents, beneficiaries and dupes of the Jim Crow system take advantage of every source of friction between white and Negro to stimulate ill-feelings between them, inflame their prejudices, incite and hurl them against each other.

### Aggravated by the War

This carefully cultivated hostility has been aggravated by the consequences of the war. Bad housing, poor transportation, dislocation of family life, juvenile delinquency, scarcity of food, frozen wages and burdensome taxes in the face of soaring prices, afflict all sections of the working masses and create enormous discontent and rebelliousness. Because of their no-strike pledge and slavish subservience to Roosevelt's labor policies, the CIO-AFL leadership has completely failed to provide the workers with any program of resistance to the encroachments of the capitalists, to stop profiteering and the mounting cost of living. That is the reason why fascist demagogues and preachers of race hate and violence are able to receive a hearing from some workers.

For their own ends the ultra-reactionary forces are trying to divert the justifiable indignation of the workers away from the real causes and authors of their misery. The actual instiga-

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## Launch Drive To Free Kelly Postal

A national petition campaign to secure the pardon of Kelly Postal will be launched immediately, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week. The Defense Committee plans to collect many thousands of signatures together with trade union and other organizational resolutions asking the Governor of Minnesota to pardon and liberate the framed up labor leader. Complete details of this campaign will shortly be made public.

Postal, Secretary-Treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO and among the best-known trade union figures in the Northwest, entered the State Penitentiary at Stillwater last week to serve a five-year sentence for alleged "embezzlement" of union funds. He did no more than transfer the funds of his local union from one treasury to another when 544's membership voted to leave the AFL for the CIO. His indictments and conviction grew out of the conspiracy, headed by AFL Teamsters International President Tobin and aided by the Department of Justice and reactionary Minnesota state officials, to smash the militant teamsters movement in Minnesota.

Postal had been placed on trial and cleared twice before, once on a similar count based on the same facts. He was finally nailed on the third attempt. His conviction has been condemned as

one of the most flagrant frame-ups and vicious perversions of justice in American labor history.

Scores of unions, recognizing the importance of the issues involved in his case have rallied to Postal's defense. (A discussion of the issues in the case will be found in the column by M. Morrison on Page 3 of this issue.)

UAW Lincoln Local 900 of Detroit last week contributed \$100 to the Postal Defense Fund. Other contributors last week included Local 1981 of the United Steelworkers of America, Maywood, California, and UAW Local 260, Newark, New Jersey. At a garden party held on June 26 the New York branch of the CRDC raised over \$100.

Contributions for the Kelly Postal Defense Fund should be sent to the National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. James T. Farrell is Chairman and John Dos Passos Vice-Chairman of the CRDC.

# THE MILITANT

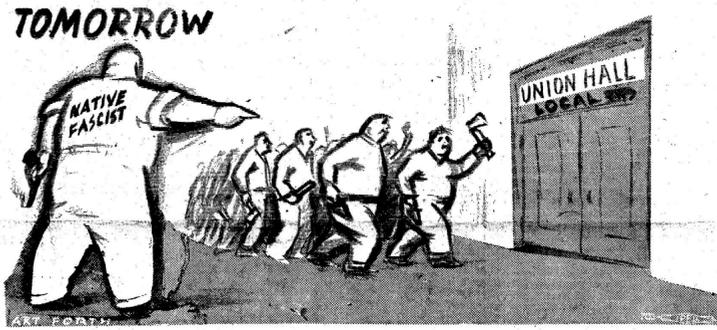
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# ANTI-UNION DRIVE CLIMAXED BY OUTLAWING OF STRIKES



## The Roosevelt-Congress Conspiracy Against Labor

An Editorial

The oppressive, tyrannical Smith-Connelly anti-strike bill is now law. This brazen union-busting measure reestablishes the doctrine of conspiracy. It makes legal the jailing of union militants and officials who have the courage to fight for their rights. It attempts to destroy the democratic rights of labor by virtually abolishing the right to strike.

In its hour of need labor was defenseless on the political field. Labor did not possess one effective spokesman in the halls of Congress. Every corporation lackey was on hand to denounce labor. Every millionaire lawyer was there to slander the workingman. All the timeservers of the billion dollar corporations joined like a pack of coyotes baying their victim to death. The legislative branch of the government was converted into a convention of open-shop labor-baiters and strike-breakers.

And where was Roosevelt when Congress was carrying through its nefarious work? Why, the labor fakery reply, Roosevelt is labor's greatest friend, Roosevelt vetoed the bill. It is not his fault that Congress overrode his veto. He did what he could and all he could.

We say that Roosevelt is as much responsible for the passage of this infamous law as any labor-baiting poll tax Congressman. Roosevelt's conduct on the Smith-Connelly bill was marked by hypocrisy, trickery and deceit. It was none other than Byrnes, Roosevelt's assistant, who pushed for the passage of the Smith-Connelly bill. Roosevelt launched no fight to defeat the measure. His legislative representatives made no effort to line up the necessary votes against the bill. Roosevelt made no real attempt to ensure the upholding of his veto by either the Senate or the House.

In his veto message to Congress, Roosevelt pointed out that he was in complete agreement with seven out of the nine points of the Smith-Connelly bill; his only objection to the other two points was that they were not sufficiently effective anti-strike provisions or irrelevant. His message was thus a virtual invitation for Congress to pass the bill as a whole now with the possibility of later revoking the two sections objected to by Roosevelt. And finally his own proposal to place all workers between the ages of 18 and 65 under the provisions of the draft law is every bit as vicious and totalitarian as the Smith-Connelly Act itself. Such is the real record of Roosevelt in this disgraceful labor-baiting campaign.

And yet in the face of this conspiracy between Roosevelt and Congress against the labor movement, this studied campaign to hamstring, hogtie and disembowel the labor unions, Murray and Green have the nerve to write Roosevelt thanking him for his veto, praising him for his "statesmanship" and "courage" and pledging to continue their "no-strike" policy. Is there no limit to the cowardice, to the groveling, to the toadyism of these sell-out artists? Murray and Green implied that they might have to resign from the War Labor Board if the Smith-Connelly bill were enacted into law. Now that it is law, they are singing another tune. Murray and Green are determined, come what may, to continue to hang on to the coat-tails of Roosevelt and his war administration. They are as much frightened by the independent action of labor as the corporations and their congressional stooges.

The national strikebreaking organization parading under the name of the Communist Party takes its stand beside the head bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO. Indeed it goes Murray and Green one better. Whereas these "statesmen" are talking about defeating every Congressman who voted for the Smith-Connelly Act, the flanking sheet of the Stalinists, the Daily Worker, warns that "It is wrong to judge members of Congress only on the basis of the vote on the (Smith-Connelly) bill."

We are sure that the enactment of the Smith-Connelly slave-labor bill will serve as an important object lesson for the ranks of American labor. They will learn that the policy of subservience to the war machine, the policy of giving up labor's rights and independence, the policy of "company unionism" on the political field only emboldens the capitalists, only paves the way for further retreats and the further weakening of the labor movement.

The Smith-Connelly Act must be fought tooth and nail! The reactionaries, the labor baiters must be driven back into their holes. Not only by court tests of the law and demands for its repeal, but primarily by breaking with Roosevelt, by breaking with the Democratic and Republican Parties, by breaking with the policy of subservience to the war machine and by reasserting the independence of the labor movement on both the economic and political fields. The day that labor launches its own independent political party will sound the death knell of the Smith-Connelly Act.

## Roosevelt Advocates Work-Or-Fight Draft

Murray-Green Continue Policy of Subservience to White House But Rank and File of Unions Are Losing Faith in Roosevelt

By E. R. Frank

The furious labor-baiting, union-busting campaign of Congress reached its climax with the enactment of the Smith-Connelly slave-labor Bill on June 25. Congress was all set for the kill and less than two hours after receipt of Roosevelt's veto message re-passed the bill. This infamous law makes it a crime punishable by one year's imprisonment and \$5,000 fine to "coerce, instigate, induce, conspire with or encourage any person to interfere by lockout, strike, slow-down or other inter-

ruption with the operations of plants in possession of the government."

The provisions of this law are so general and broad as to make it possible to jail every trade union official and shop militant who has the courage to fight for labor's rights. The law makes it possible to harass the unions with civil damage suits in order to bankrupt the union treasuries.

The industrialists and bankers are in deadly fear of the powerful American labor movement. They are aware of labor's rising resentment to Big Business' war profiteering and looting of the public treasury. The coal strikes, the militancy and solidarity of the miners, the response of the auto, rubber and other groups of workers, threw them into a panic.

Through their agents in Congress they determined to push more actively their anti-labor offensive. They determined to destroy labor's strike weapon. They determined to reestablish the old relationship of masters and slaves. They determined to disembowel the labor movement so that it would have no strength to fight against their rapacity and their crimes.

### FIRST REACTIONS

But the American capitalists are reckoning without their host. The miners were neither frightened or cowed by the new law.

They called off the third coal strike and returned to work only because it was their conviction that it was best to support the union Policy Committee, not because of fear of the slave-labor act. Immediately after its passage, the workers of the Detroit Chrysler Highland Park plant walked out in protest against the suspension of a union steward.

The ending of the third coal strike has not ended the labor crisis. The crisis continues to rage. The capitalists have not solved their problems, they have not stilled labor's voice by the passage of the Smith-Connelly Act. Their problems are just beginning. Labor ranks are seething with bitterness, dissatisfaction and hostility as never before. Labor's voice is growing clearer, louder and bolder in pressing for its just demands.

### ROOSEVELT'S ROLE

Roosevelt has exposed his hand in his struggle with the miners. It is now clear to an increasing number of union militants that Roosevelt is responsible for the wage-freezing policy of the administration. They see clearly now that Roosevelt aims to keep the working man in a debased condition while the cost-plus contractors are growing fat and rich and prices continue sky-rocketing. The time is past when Roosevelt's anger will vent itself upon Roosevelt's underlings and subordinates

and bypass the chief culprit himself.

It is generally realized in labor ranks that Roosevelt's opposition to the Smith-Connelly bill was hypocritical and perfidious. He just went through the motions in order to deceive labor. As a matter of fact, in his veto message to Congress he wrote that he fully approved seven out of the nine points in the bill—the seven points that deprive labor of its right to strike, that make it possible to jail and fine union militants, that make it possible to bankrupt union treasuries. "If the bill were limited to these seven sections," Roosevelt wrote, "I would sign it."

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## CIO in Michigan Condemns Lynch Mob Attacks

Delegates Assert Smith-Connelly Act Smacks of Fascism

— BULLETIN —

DETROIT, Mich., June 29 (By Wire). — The Michigan CIO Convention today passed a strong resolution denouncing the Smith-Connelly Act as the most vicious anti-labor legislation ever enacted in this country, which makes a mockery of the avowed claims that this is a war for democracy and which is similar to the actions taken by the fascist in Germany.

The convention also passed a resolution blaming the anti-Negro riots in Detroit on intolerance fostered by the employers and their agents for the purpose of further exploiting the workers through the policy of divide and conquer.

By JOHN SAUNDERS

DETROIT, Mich., June 28—A resolution on the anti-Negro riots in Detroit, presented to the 1800 delegates at the Michigan State CIO convention today, was referred back to the Resolutions Committee amidst considerable confusion caused by the Stalinists and reactionaries.

The sentiment of the delegates was overwhelmingly in favor of placing the blame for the lynch terror on the employer-inspired Jim Crow setup in this country and the Resolutions Committee expressed willingness to accept amendments from the ranks strengthening the resolution in condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan and in providing for a

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## Miners Angered By Passage Of Smith-Connelly Bill

By Art Preis

PITTSBURGH, Pa., June 28. — After demonstrating their scorn and defiance of President Roosevelt's military forced-labor threat and the newly enacted Smith-Connelly slave-labor bill by continuing their strike for four days after the United Mine Workers Policy Committee's announced truce, the bulk of the Western Pennsylvania soft coal miners have voted in their local meetings to return to work today.

In part, the continued strike reflected their natural disappointment at being asked to accept another in-convoluted truce and to return to work once more without a contract. But the provocative threat by Roosevelt to draft all striking

miners and force them to work under military regulations struck a spark to an already explosive situation. As one UMW official expressed it, Roosevelt's statement was like "throwing gasoline on a hot fire."

Only the desire to back their Policy Committee in the difficult negotiations and struggle ahead, and to preserve the coal miners' justly-earned unity and discipline in the face of the gang-up of the government, the bosses and the cowardly "stab-in-the-back" AFL and CIO leaders, has moved the miners to reluctantly accept the Policy Committee's request that

What The Miners Say About The Militant — see story on Page 2 by Art Preis, our special correspondent in the coal fields.

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# Labor Must End Jim Crow Terror

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tors of these attacks come from the capitalist class and their conscious or unconscious tools. It has already been disclosed that agents of the employers planned and provoked the anti-Negro demonstrations in Mobile and elsewhere.

## Part of the Anti-Labor Drive

Every worker is aware that the capitalist interests are conducting today a furious campaign against the labor movement. The blows against the coal miners, the anti-labor decisions of the War Labor Board, the passing of the Smith-Connelly slave-labor act, Roosevelt's demand for the drafting of all strikers, have been high points in this offensive.

All workers must realize that the concerted attacks upon the colored people are an essential and integral part of this national union-busting drive. The employing class hopes by these murderous means to split the workers along race and color lines, to throw white workers against black, to undermine and demoralize the unions; and thus to turn the attention of the workers away from their real enemies.

Divide and rule: this policy, everywhere pursued by the possessing classes and their agents, has alone enabled them to hold down the exploited masses. Britain incites Moslems against Hindus. Hitler uses the Jews for scapegoats. All of them hurl the workers of one country against another in periodical world wars.

For generations here in the United States employers have grown fat and powerful by playing native workers against foreign-born, white against black, craft against craft. The American workers were able to build their powerful union movement in the last decade by sweeping aside, overcoming, and fighting against all these artificially-fomented divisions. The Negro workers played a heroic role in the building of the industrial union movement. They fought side by side with their white brothers against the bosses. Race prejudice and discrimination cannot be permitted to penetrate again and regain a foothold within the trade unions.

## The Government's Role

The capitalist government bears a large share of responsibility for these attacks. The administration's recent decision for segregation of colored workers in the Mobile shipyards and the policy of segregation practiced in the armed forces provide official example and encouragement to the Jim Crow elements.

The government fails to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment or the federal statutes against discrimination, and even violates the provisions of the Selective Service Act against discrimination. This authorized lawlessness has encouraged similar lawlessness amongst the advocates of "white supremacy." The failure of Roosevelt's administration to press for the passage of anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation has given aid and comfort to all enemies of the Negro people. Roosevelt has brought neither freedom from war nor freedom from fear to the Negro people. On the contrary they are today more terrorized and troubled than ever before.

## The Allies of the Negroes

What must be done to stop this lynch violence? Certainly no trust or reliance can be placed in the federal authorities, the army, state or municipal police, the good-will of the capitalist rulers, the action of Congress or the President. They have shown that they will not take the steps needed to protect Negro lives and rights.

The Negro people have both the right and the duty to protect themselves against lawless attacks of the lynch mobs. They have the right to demand that, in event of any future attacks, Negro troops alone be used and Negroes be deputized to defend them.

But the Negroes constitute only a small minority of the population. For their protection they require strong and reliable allies. These allies will come above all from organized labor in which the colored workers form a significant section. The prejudices exhibited by some workers should not blind the Negroes to the necessity of uniting with the labor movement. Prejudices implanted in the minds of white workers by their enemies have been and can be overcome through action and education in joint struggle of black and white workers against their enemies and exploiters. The fundamental interests and aims of the white and colored workers in their fight for equality and emancipation are the same.

## Responsibility of the Unions

The chief responsibility for defending the Negro people rests today upon the trade unions. The CIO, most powerful organization of the working people in Michigan, was established and grew strong because of its policy of non-discrimination against any worker, regardless of color, race, religion or political affiliation. The labor leaders must do more than deplore these attacks upon the Negro people. They must do more than order their members to stay off the streets and appeal for grand-jury investigations. They must summon their membership to take determined and organized action against the instigators and organizers of these lynch mobs. The unions of Detroit could have repulsed this threat to their very existence as they repulsed General Motors in 1937 and Ford in 1941. Detroit would be far different today and the native fascists would be covering in their holes, demoralized instead of triumphant, had the union leaders called out the veteran flying squadrons to defend the Negro people.

These attacks are an alarm-signal. They involve issues no less important to the unions than the fight waged against the auto-barons in 1937. The hoodlums and hooligans who are today assailing the Negroes are training themselves for other acts of violence. Tomorrow or the day after they can be unleashed by the Fords, Wilsons and Chryslers as storm troops and strike-breakers against the unions themselves. Workers, take warning! This is how fascist gangs were formed and fascism arose in Europe and crushed the labor movement. Do not permit them to take root here.

## Program of Action for Labor

For their own self-protection the unions must use the same methods of struggle, the same fighting program that proved so effective against Harry Bennett's mobsters. Let the union officials call a great meeting of all the shop stewards in the Detroit area, acquaint them with the seriousness of the situation and inform them of the union's plan of campaign. The members of each local should be mobilized for action. Flying squadrons of union militants should stand ready to protect the rights of their Negro fellow-workers menaced by the mobs. The various local unions should maintain order and clear their respective territories of anti-Negro, anti-labor gangs.

Every local union should set up a vigorous anti-discrimination committee to combat employer-instituted discrimination in the shops and to ferret out the conscious Ku-Klux agents and

# Passage Of Bill Angers Miners

## What The Miners Say About 'The Militant'

By Art Preis

PITTSBURGH, Pa., June 25.—"The Militant" is the only paper in the country that's told the truth about us miners."

Those are the literal words from the lips of striking miners and local union officials I heard during the past week in the mining towns of California, Coverdale, Library, Hillcrest, Marianna and a half dozen others.

To embattled miners all along the Monongahela Valley, site of the world's richest soft coal seam, the name of The Militant is becoming a by-word for truth and justice to their cause.

Although only a few thousand Militants have been circulated in this area, many more thousands of miners have read it, for a single copy passes through many hands. In fact, wherever I went I was besieged for copies by scores who knew of the paper only by its fast-growing reputation.

### Warm Welcome

It was a heart-warming experience for me last Wednesday when I was welcomed into the meeting of Local 73, in Library, Pa., and heard one of the local officers state, "We gave an interview to The Militant during the first strike, and I must say that it's the only paper that printed what we said just like we told it. We were promised by this reporter here that the straight truth was going into his paper, and I must say that this paper has kept it word."

Coming from a coal miner, that's a tribute to be prized. The miners have a sound and healthy hostility toward all reporters, because the type they've met is usually from the boss papers which misquote them, twist their words, and distort the true story of the miners' struggle.

Over in Walkersville, near California, Pa., where I had the privilege of listening in on a union local meeting yesterday afternoon and later interviewing the local officers, I was met with open hostility outside the hall when I announced myself as a reporter. In a few seconds, the word had passed on inside and a voice whooped out, "Another reporter! Throw him in the creek with the rest of them!"

But in another few seconds, when I had announced my paper, the word spread ahead, "He's O. K. He's from that Militant paper."

After the meeting, I managed to bum a lift, along with three miners, in a car driven by a Hearst reporter. He was a good fellow aside from his job — anyone who gives you a lift in these gas-rationed days must be fundamentally decent at bottom. But after we became acquainted, he complained of the treatment he'd received from the miners. "Why, I came out here to get the miners' side of the picture, but they don't want to talk to me."

"Sure," I said, as I winked back at the three miners in the back seat and they grinned back at me. "Sure, you print a few lines of statements from miners buried among a lot of other stuff, and then you print columns of editorials and articles saying the miners should be jailed and shot."

The Hearst reporter appeared very uncomfortable, but the miners seemed to be enjoying the conversation a great deal.

### Fills a Real Need

Praise for The Militant has come not merely from rank and file, but from leading district UMW officials. One International Board member with whom I spoke Wednesday — and they are usually non-committal — stated quite openly:

"Yes, I read The Militant and I know it is widely read among the officials around here. And I have heard some very favorable comments about the job you boys have been doing on the mine situation."

The splendid reception which The Militant is receiving in this important mining area is due to one fact: The Militant, insofar as its limited circulation has permitted, has filled a real need of these coal miners for accurate information and a clear and forceful presentation of the issues.

Wherever it has penetrated, The Militant has helped to give the miners additional strength and understanding. The miners have been able to use its arsenal of facts and clearly formulated arguments on their behalf as real weapons in their struggle.

### How to Get This Paper

Now I want to say a few words to the miners who complained to me after the meeting in Walkersville yesterday, and to the many others who raised the same complaint about not being able to get copies of the paper, that The Militant has been taxing all its small resources trying to get as many copies of the paper to you as possible. The Militant is a workers' paper, maintained and supported by the pennies, nickels and dimes of union men and women who want to see the truth about the workers' conditions and problems, put forth. At present, The Militant can supply only hundreds of copies where tens of thousands are wanted and needed.

Our paper doesn't have big financial sponsors and it can't be bought off with juicy corporation advertising contracts. Because we tell the truth boldly and without mincing words, the government officials have tried to silence us by taking away our second-class mailing privileges.

So, if you want to make sure of receiving The Militant regularly, the best thing to do is get a subscription by sending in a dollar and your name and address. This will bring the paper to you for six months, every week. Of course, The Militant will do its best to see that the bundles that have been going into the mining towns continue, and we hope that those getting copies will make sure to share them around.

"The Militant has told the truth about us" — that is the verdict of thousands of miners in the Monongahela valley. Depend upon it, The Militant will continue to tell the truth.

# Dobbs Tour Covers Key Midwest Cities

## Detroit

DETROIT, Mich., June 27.—Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, brought his visit to Detroit to a close tonight by speaking to a large and enthusiastic audience of members and close friends of the party. His exposure of the drive of Big Business and the entire governmental apparatus against the standards of labor was especially timely in view of the assaults against colored workers which have been sweeping the country, and which reached their tragic culmination in Detroit only a few days ago.

Comrade Dobbs pointed out that these anti-Negro riots were not accidental, nor the result of spontaneous reactions of individuals but were a new device, consciously organized by Big Business and its hoodlum gangs, to

provocateurs who try to stir up dissension between white and colored workers. The unions must carry on educational activities to explain the backward workers the reactionary meaning of race prejudice and its menace to their own interests and organizations. The prejudices inculcated by capitalist institutions can and must be eradicated by union education. In addition, the Detroit labor movement should set up its own investigating committee and conduct its own public hearing, where the truth can be told about the causes, instigators and beneficiaries of the anti-Negro terror, and where plans to prevent new attacks can be mapped out.

Such immediate steps in Detroit must be extended on a national scale. The unions can be content with nothing less than the leadership of the struggle to abolish Jim Crowism and to secure full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people.

Such a program of action would help restore the shaken faith of the Negroes in the entire labor movement. It would create unbreakable bonds of unity between white and colored workers. By establishing the solidarity of the working class as a whole, it would clear the way to smash the capitalist anti-labor offensive all along the line. Black and white, unite and fight your common enemies!

divide and weaken the working class. The favoritism shown by the police to the white hoodlums is exactly the same as their favoritism to scabs attacking picket lines, and to fascists in their assaults against workers.

"The trade unions must now rebuild what has been torn down, and organize workers' defense guards to insure that labor as a whole, or any section of it, will be adequately protected against future attacks," said Comrade Dobbs.

"We must drive home the lesson of the need for political action, of the kind which will weld workers together. The time has come to start an aggressive campaign for the formation of an independent labor party, a party which will fight for complete unity and equality of all workers, and which will raise their level of political consciousness to that pinnacle where they will be ready to come to grips with the forces now opposing them."

The audience responded to this

inspiring address not only with questions and discussion, but by political solidarity in the form of generous financial contributions. When the chairman announced that the collection had brought in \$382 in cash and pledges, additional contributions and pledges were made to bring the total to exactly \$400.

During Comrade Dobbs' stay in Detroit, many new friends and one new member were gained for the party.

## St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 20 — Speaking to an audience composed predominantly of CIO and AFL trade unionists here last night, Farrell Dobbs outlined the need and prospects for independent labor political action in this country.

The meeting was under the auspices of the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party, and was attended by a considerable number of non-party members attending an SWP meeting for the first time. Their discussion of the issues raised by Comrade Dobbs was a reflection of the growing interest shown by union militants in the question of the labor party.

A collection of \$80 was taken, and the ground was laid for recruitment of some workers into the SWP and the securing of subscriptions to The Militant.

## Flint

FLINT, Mich., June 24 — A militant young Negro factory worker was recruited into the Socialist Workers Party here yesterday at the meeting addressed by Farrell Dobbs at a time when the anti-Negro rioting in nearby Detroit had not yet subsided. Comrade Dobbs' talk on the

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they terminate their third national strike within the past two months.

### BITTER FURY

Words cannot adequately describe the bitter fury that shook the miners when they learned of Roosevelt's threat.

"Let 'em throw us into the army," was the typical expression heard in the miners' meetings and throughout the mining towns in this area. "They'll see how much coal they'll get out of the pits that way! They won't make slave labor out of us!"

So far as the rank and file miners are concerned, the present truce is just that—a truce. There can be little doubt that they intend to renew the struggle by every means at their command if in the coming period they do not receive a satisfactory contract and their deserved portal-to-portal pay. The miners have not been intimidated by threats of jail or military forced labor. On the contrary, such threats have only increased their fighting determination. The mine situation is far from settled. It has only entered the phase of transitory, uneasy peace.

Every miner's town in the past few days in this area has been the scene of heated debate at UMW local meetings. For the most part, there has been considerable confusion as to the exact meaning of the latest truce. But, having expressed their dissatisfaction with the truce and demonstrated that their return to work is in no way based upon fear of government reprisal, a majority of the miners have accepted the necessity for continuing to act together despite their understandable feelings and to follow the strategy laid out by their national leaders.

The capitalist press in Pittsburgh and the other mining areas, which has been calling for nothing less than jailing and shooting the striking miners, has tried to incite a split in the UMW ranks by suddenly shedding crocodile tears for the miners because "Lewis didn't win them anything." Naturally, such "sympathy" from the vilest enemies of the miners will receive the response it merits. The mine workers can see the hook beneath the bait and will shun it accordingly. The miners understand that their unity and discipline is their greatest weapon.

### "CAPTIVE MINE" LOCALS

Nowhere was the bitterness and fighting fury of the miners more forcefully demonstrated than at the meetings of the "captive mine" locals.

A typical "captive mine" local meeting I had the privilege of attending was held last Thursday in the Hungarian Hall at Walkersville, just outside California, Pa., site of the Jones & Laughlin mines. Here the strikers, members of Local 2399, working in Vesta No. 4, world's largest coal mine, expressed in no uncertain terms their feelings about the trickery and intimidation being used to thrust the War Labor Board's "yellow-dog" contract down their throats.

Although it was a stifling hot day, the men filled every seat and all the aisles, out through the doorway and into the entrance-way leading into the basement hall. When I arrived, the meeting was already underway. It was clear that the men were strongly opposed to an immediate acceptance of the truce. There was a burst of loud protest every time a member or official spoke in favor of going back to work. Above the general noise of the meeting at frequent intervals would rip the shout, "No contract, no work!"

The meeting expressed the general arguments and sentiments I have heard up and down the Monongahela Valley since the truce announcement.

"Let 'em throw us into the army! Let 'em try to make slave labor out of us!"

"They don't have to risk their lives every day. They're drawing their fat salaries that we're paying for. They can order us back into the mine without a contract

and do us out of our increase. Let the War Labor Board go into the mine for one day and see what it's like!"

Other speakers, realizing the danger of a split in the ranks and of dissipating the energies of the miners' struggle by isolated strikes in opposition to the decision of the Policy Committee, pleaded with the men to accept the decision. An inconclusive decision was finally reached to go along with the Policy Committee, but no date for a return to work was set. To date the men are still out on strike.

### WORKING CONDITIONS

After the Thursday meeting, I interviewed John G. Harris, the president of Local 2399. We talked with a group of the members around us, who frequently interposed information of their own about their working and living conditions.

Of course, here, as in every mining town, staggering prices have imposed an intolerable burden on the miners. Harris declared that in the local company store, "prices are up 100 to 125 percent."

At this point, a young miner exclaimed: "If you want to see daylight robbery, just come around to Daisytown and buy something in our store."

"And put this in your paper," Harris added: "Ask the government why it don't publish the OWT's report on prices in the Kentucky coal mine areas?" He then informed me that the OWI had conducted a recent price survey which was so damaging to the operators that it has not been made public.

### PORTAL-TO-PORTAL ISSUE

On the portal-to-portal pay issue, Harris revealed that at Vesta No. 4, running 28 miles underground, the men spend 12 hours a day in the mine, only seven of which are working time. The men spend from four to five hours on the man-trip to and from the working face of the mine. "And then," another miner added, "we're often waiting 20 and 25 minutes late to get the man-trip out."

Harris also explained the frequency of lay-offs in the mine, either because of penalties unjustly placed on the men or to beat out the payment of overtime.

"We're not allowed to have more than 83 pounds of dirt in a 7300 pound load of coal. The company lays you off for anywhere from a day to 30 days, if you turn in a load with more than 83 pounds of dirt. Why, the men have to work on a face sometimes with as high as five feet of slate, in water from six inches to a foot-and-a-half deep. And still they penalize the men. They lay the men off whenever they want to, all right, but when we lay off to get our just pay, they yell like murder!"

So-called government supervision of the mines so far hasn't meant anything, according to Harris, because the same management is running the mine and carrying out the same policies as before. He pointed out that the management has been laying men off in the middle of the week in order to avoid paying them time and a half for the sixth day of work. "The company gets paid 23 cents a ton for time-and-a-half costs," he explained, "but it is cheating the men of this."

Another meeting I attended was that of Local 73, Montour No. 10 mine of the Pittsburgh Coal Co., at Library, Pa. This was held Wednesday afternoon just after the announcement of the new truce.

Here too was expressed the same strong sentiment against going back to work without a contract. The feelings were particularly bitter about the threat of being drafted and the impending anti-strike bill.

### "NONE LIKE DECISION"

As one old veteran of the mines expressed it:

"Going into a mine is no easy thing. Every time you go in, you never know if you're coming out. If they want to pass such a law on us men, let 'em pass it. We've worked in these mines and risked our lives, and damned near at times had to eat grass and frozen

apples to stay alive. But we're still living and we're still fighting."

When another speaker stated, "There's teeth in that bill. We can all be arrested," there was a loud chorus from the floor: "Let's all go to jail!"

It was freely admitted by all those who spoke in favor of supporting the policy committee's recommendations that "none of us like the decision." As one of the leaders stated: "We're all sore about the decision, but we must accept it. We can't help the situation by staying out another few days. It would look like we're not backing the Policy Committee any more."

By a close margin, it was decided to return to work the next day. Subsequently, the men pulled out again and did not return to work until today.

### THEY WANT A CONTRACT

The support Lewis has maintained so far in this battle is based on the conviction of the men that he is really fighting for them. Lewis did not call them out against their will. On the contrary, it is only because Lewis has given them leadership in an open struggle which the miners themselves demanded that he has sustained his authority and prestige.

However, many express the feeling that in calling the latest truce and in establishing the terms of that truce, the opinions of the rank and file have not been sufficiently consulted.

One of the miners told me: "We're just handed orders from the top, but we don't know where we really stand. This is our strike, not John L. Lewis', and we'd like to be consulted more. Don't misunderstand me. We have full confidence in our union and our leaders. But we don't like to be kept in the dark about all that's going on behind the doors in Washington."

Their suspicion of accepting, even temporarily, any settlement but a signed and sealed contract is very evident. During the meeting at Library, for instance, there was much questioning of the policy of returning to work even if the mines remain under the present nominal control of the government.

One miner asked: "Has it been confirmed that the government has taken over complete control of the mines? If it's the present setup, I'm for sticking out."

Another stated: "First it will be a truce until October 31, then Christmas, and finally it will be until next contract time."

All these ideas reflect the fact that the miners suspect any form of settlement short of a contract embodying their minimum demands. The terms of the latest truce have not reassured them on this score.

One weakness of the miners' position is their sense of isolation from the rest of the organized workers. Most of them, surrounded as they are by capitalist press and radio propaganda, do not realize the tremendous amount of sentiment in support of their fight among the auto, rubber, maritime and other important sectors of the American workers.

Many miners informed me that they learned of this support only through the columns of The Militant, which has, after all, only a very limited circulation in the mine fields.

### FIGHT NOT ENDED

No group in this struggle, least of all the operators, are deceiving themselves that the battle is over. The pressure for a contract will continue, even during the truce. As a District 5 official stated: "Now I ask you, do you think the operators will ever get normal production until the miners get a contract? The men can't be expected to put any heart into their work under conditions as they face them now. The operators are worried stiff right now. They know that production will continue chaotic until a decent contract is signed."

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# The Negro Struggle

By David Ransom

## The Kind of "Justice" Negroes Get

"This court makes no distinction of color," declared Detroit Judge John P. Scallon on June 24, while imposing 90-day sentences on five white defendants arrested in the anti-Negro riots. By sentencing some white hoodlums to jail and raising a hue and cry about it, Scallon apparently sought to convey the impression that the Detroit authorities had acted and were acting with impartial justice toward both white and Negro. Behind this hypocritical statement and action lies the desire to hide and cover up the brutal role played by the Detroit police during those long hours of violence against the Negro population.

But the Negro people know as well as does Judge Scallon that the so-called agencies of justice, the police and courts, were arrayed against the Negroes of Detroit in their hour of need. They know that the police, upholders of "justice" and defenders of public "peace," stood on the side of the hoodlums and rioters; that their guns and clubs were turned not against the white terrorists but against the defenseless Negroes.

1400 people were arrested by the Detroit police; 85% were Negroes. 31 persons were shot dead; 24 "happened" to be Negroes. Of the dead Negroes at least 15, by admission of the Detroit police, were shot by the defenders of "law and order." This, then, is Judge Scallon's brand of justice, administered with out "distinction of color."

Let us examine this "justice" at work a bit more closely. On June 22, the day the rioting reached its height, the Pittsburgh Courier reports, "At a noon-day meeting in the Lucy Thurman branch of the YWCA, Negro and civic leaders complained to the mayor about the obvious partiality shown by members of the Detroit police force, they stated that the police are confining their activities to shooting and clubbing Negroes."

"They said that Hastings, St. Antoine and Brush streets are the scenes of police brutality, and that Negroes are being roughly handled and warned to 'get off the streets.'"

"They claimed that whites are permitted to roam at will on Woodward Avenue, a boulevard running parallel to the aforementioned streets, and the police don't stop them from congregating."

"They say Negroes are not permitted to approach nor cross Woodward Avenue... that all but the Negro district has been practically declared 'off limits' for Negroes."

The same report cites an example of police terror, the machine-gunning of an apartment house in the Negro community: "According to information I have been able to gather, it seems that one colored occupant had fired out of one of the windows."

"Immediately, state troopers and municipal police machine-gunned every window in the building, killing two occupants immediately and seriously wounding more than half a dozen others. They then invaded the building and brought out every occupant."

"Using Gestapo methods, they forced the occupants to stand on the Brush Street sidewalk against the building, with hands

## THE DETROIT MASSACRE

# Police, Politicians And Press All Share In Guilt

By PHILIP BLAKE

"Freedom from fear" — we've heard a lot about that in recent months. The pictures in the papers showed that it was something very much absent in Detroit last week.

On Tuesday, June 22, while the anti-Negro riot was still going on in Detroit, there was a strike aboard the ship, "City of Detroit," by white members of the deck and engine departments. The pickets weren't out longer than five minutes before the Negro longshoremen walked out in sympathy. Several tons of butter and perishable cargo were on the Detroit docks. The grievance—concerning overtime pay—was settled in a short time and the men went back to work. The fact that the longshoremen went on a sympathy strike caused much favorable comment among the white workers. They had been given added proof of the necessity for solidarity between workers of both races.

The official report of the Detroit Police Department admits that 15 of the 24 Negroes killed were shot by the police. None of the whites who died were killed by the police. The report listed 227 seriously injured. Of these 135 were whites, not counting the police and one soldier. Only 7 of these, according to the police, were injured by other whites or by unknown assailants; thus at most 7 whites were severely injured by the police. Here is how the police accounted for the 73 seriously injured Negroes: 36 beaten by whites; 11 shot by "unknowns"; one shot by another Negro; 4 wounded by stray bullets; 4 wounded by police "while looting stores"; 7 wounded by police "who were attempting to enforce order"; 6 "injured otherwise by police"; and one "accidentally wounded by police."

It is generally agreed that a firm stand by the police could have checked the outbreaks at the very beginning. In those few cases where individual police showed they meant business, the hoodlums retreated. But apparently the police didn't think it would do any harm to let a little blood flow.

One of the white hoodlums was loudly bragging that every time the police stopped him, they would walk him down a block and then tell him to go home.

The mayor, the governor and the commander of the armed forces in Detroit all joined in praising the press in the helpful and cooperative way in which they handled the rioting. The truth is that many of their stories were biased. The Detroit News, for example, dismissed the charges against the Ku Klux Klan by saying: "As to instigation by the Klan, we know that Negro hoodlums were aggressors just as often and quite as early in the proceedings as their white counterparts." That was the general line followed by most of the Detroit papers—to place equal responsibility on

## Bloody Lynch Attack



(Federated Picture)

The above picture shows a helpless Negro dragged from a car and beaten unmercifully by a gang of hoodlums bent on terrorizing the Negro people and splitting the labor movement.

the white hoodlums and on the victims of these hoodlums. As for the murderous role played by the police, there was little comment of any kind on this question by the press.

No conflicts were reported in those neighborhoods inhabited by both Negro and white. The fighting took place only in areas from which Negro tenants are excluded or in which they are segregated. What a powerful argument against restrictive housing and all other forms of segregation!

There were also no outbreaks or conflicts within the factories of Detroit. The union officials and stewards took special steps to prevent any provocative acts on the part of their members. Many workers were heard to say that this was a terrible blow to the labor movement of Detroit. A number of others expressed the opinion that the union should have acted more positively to halt the rioting.

At Fort Custer, Michigan, members of a Negro quartermaster battalion tried to secure arms and trucks, but were arrested. The post commander explained, "The men had become restless over the disturbances in Detroit and wanted to go to assist their families." He added that they were being held "for investigation." An honest investigation should disclose only that these soldiers wanted to fight for democracy.

White members of the armed forces were also revolted by the lynch assaults. In some cases they sent letters and petitions to Detroit expressing their indignation. Sixty soldiers in Camp McCoy, Wisconsin, sent a letter to the mayor of Detroit asking: "Of what use is it if we defeat world fascism, only to find that while we paid with our lives for democracy, the fascist rule of the mob has been established at home?"

White sailors are segregated from Negroes in the Navy, but apparently there are quite a number who refuse to accept the "white supremacy" ideas on which segregation is based. Three sailors defegated a Negro from a roving band of whites in front of the City Hall, and when a white hoodlum asked what business it was of theirs, one of the sailors answered: "Plenty! There was a colored guy in our outfit and he saved a couple of lives. Besides, you guys are stirring up something that we're trying to stop."

In the midst of the violence on June 21, the local Negro weekly, Michigan Chronicle, received the following phone call: "We had plenty trouble today, and this is not the last of it. This is the Klan calling, just to give you a warning that we will drive every nigger out of Detroit."

There were many evidences that the rioting against the Negroes did not lack organization. One physician watching from the Pro-

fessional Bldg. told the press: "These white hoodlums had a car loaded with bricks and iron bars, parked at the curb, where they were going for supplies. Their leaders could be seen directing them, pulling Negroes from cars and beating them mercilessly."

But federal, state and city authorities don't appear to be much interested in determining what caused and who aggravated the Detroit tragedy. Despite the evidence contained in newspaper photographs and despite eyewitness accounts reporting organized leadership of the hoodlum bands, John S. Bugas, head of the FBI in Detroit, pooh-poohed the whole business — and, incidentally, showed how unconcerned he was about it — by saying: "Do you think that 200 kids, pulled off Negroes and pummeled them, were acting on orders? I don't."

Despite a lot of strong talk on the part of Governor H. F. Kelly and Mayor Jeffries at the beginning of the week, they had cooled down in a few days. Said Kelly on June 23: "Now our job is to see that those who took part in the rioting are punished and to find out what the causes were and who was responsible. Every effort will be made to bring them to the bar of justice so that such things will never again happen in Michigan." He then appointed a committee to report to him on these questions.

The governor's "fact-finding" committee was composed of four men; two of them were the heads of the city and state police who had played such a criminal role in the rioting; the other two were the county prosecutor and the state attorney. It is not surprising therefore that the committee did not recommend further investigation.

The committee report, issued on June 25, said: "We find no evidence of any plan or plans or any inspiration coming from enemy influence or any other organized influence which brought about the recent rioting. Because of this conclusion by your committee or because of the lack of information as to planning or inspired enemy influence it is the consensus of your committee that no grand jury be called at this time." The governor immediately announced that he would not call for a grand jury investigation.

With neither state, city or federal authorities wanting to see an investigation, it was natural that a reactionary like Representative Dies should step forward and announce that his committee will "investigate." Dies thinks the trouble is that the Negro people are being "coddled" too much. It is easy to imagine what he will "discover."

If the workers of Detroit want an honest investigation of the causes of the rioting, it looks as though they'll have to organize it themselves through their own labor organizations.

# We Saw Murder On The Streets Of Detroit

## By Two White Eyewitnesses

DETROIT — The undersigned were witnesses on Monday of certain events at the height of the assaults on the Negro people.

Woodward Ave. from Vernor to Watson was completely dominated by organized "white hundreds" mobs. The white hoodlums were constantly rushing one block east toward John R. in attempts to penetrate the heavily-populated Negro district beyond that street. When they penetrated the Negro district, the Negroes drove them back west of John R.

Then the police who had let the white mob through finished the job for the mob by machine-gunning the Negro defenders. In order to show their "impartiality," the cops gave the white mob the same dose — except with tear gas fired high like skyrocket and completely harmless. This "equality" treatment went on continuously.

After the retreat of the white crowd west of John R. everybody laughed — and the cops joined in the exultant fraternization. When the hoodlums prepared

for a new attack, many hurled bricks under the friendly watchful eyes of the cops. Many openly carried knives — also under the eyes of the cops.

At around 9 P. M. the white mob surged forward and was again driven back. Then the city police and state troopers went to town. With machine guns, pistols and rifles they fired hundreds of shots into the Negro ranks even while the hoodlums were still hurling bricks at the Negroes.

On the corner of John R. and Montcalm the whites suddenly surrounded a Negro apartment house and began hurling bricks through the windows. From the house came a shot in an attempt to drive off the mob.

The police who were shooting at Negroes elsewhere, turned all their fire into the building. They shot to kill, and hundreds of bullets and rounds of tear gas were poured into the building. The Negroes were finally driven out — that is, those who weren't killed or wounded — and lined up against the wall.

Later the cops hurried them away in cars while the crowd cheered its uniformed brothers. Then of course the police drove the whites back — with tear gas fired high in the air.

## By a Negro Observer

DETROIT — Regardless of published reports to the contrary, I know the "Paradise Valley" riot began as a defensive one. At 1:40 A. M. Monday I was standing among a group of orderly people at the corner of St. Antoine and Adams. There was no violence of any kind on that corner at that time although we heard rumors of brawls on Belle Isle.

Suddenly police in several squad cars drove up and without warning began throwing tear gas bombs and shooting at men and women as they began to run.

At 8:30 A. M. I saw police drive up to the corner of Hastings and Farnsworth and fire indiscriminately in all directions.

At 8:30 P. M. I heard state troopers cursing colored women at Oakland and Owen. When the name-calling was returned by the crowd, the troopers fired repeatedly at point-blank range. Two were killed and many more lives endangered. These are not "rumors." They are facts.

# Basic Issues Involved In The Kelly Postal Case

By M. Morrison

I doubt whether there is a single intelligent and honest lawyer in the United States, no matter how conservative, who would not be shocked by the decision of the Supreme Court of Minnesota upholding the conviction of Kelly Postal. Very few lawyers would openly condemn it, but very few would privately approve of it.

For it is a decision too crassly stupid and reactionary to meet the approval of the intelligent, conservative lawyer. It is a decision which too obviously shows the determination of the judges to "get" Postal, regardless of logic, decency, or law.

The decision is judge-made law at its very worst. The statute does not say that the treasurer of a local union, following instructions of his executive board and the majority of the membership to take the funds of the local union when it disaffiliates from its international, is guilty of grand larceny or embezzlement. It simply defines the crime of embezzlement or grand larceny as appropriating funds of an organization or person for one's own use or for the use of someone else.

Only vicious and cynical people could interpret such a statute to apply to a man who believed that, as an officer of a local union, he was bound to follow the instructions of the local union with reference to its funds.

I do not know whether Postal or the Executive Board of 544 asked the advice of attorneys before taking the funds of the local union with them when they withdrew from the AFL and joined the CIO. I presume it never occurred to any of them that there could possibly be anything wrong with taking money for the local that belonged to the local. Had they consulted any attorneys, I doubt whether it would have occurred to any attorney to suggest the possibility of a criminal prosecution.

As everyone knows, there have been many frameups in the history of the American labor movement. Judges have rendered the rawest decisions imaginable against trade union militants and revolutionary workers. The two most famous frameups are the Tom Mooney and the Sacco-Vanzetti cases. It is my opinion that the decision in the Postal case is worse than any of the decisions made by any of the judges involved either in the Mooney or the Sacco-Vanzetti cases.

For the reason that in the Postal case the judges were not called upon to decide facts but to interpret a law.

In the Mooney and Sacco-Vanzetti cases the judges had this excuse: that a jury had rendered its verdict after listening to all of the evidence. The judges took the attitude that it was not up to them to reverse the verdict of a jury that had an opportunity to listen to and observe all the witnesses. The frameup was primarily due to the prosecutors who obtained the verdict by perjured testimony. The judges simply shut their eyes to that fact and took what might be deemed by intelligent lawyers a technically correct legal position.

In the Postal case the main facts are not disputed. He was Treasurer of Local 544. When Tobin threatened to appoint a receiver for the Local, the Executive Board instructed Postal not to bank the money of the Local in the regular Local account, fearing that Tobin would get hold of the money. Kelly Postal followed instructions. The Local, by a majority vote, decided to withdraw from Tobin's International and join the CIO. Kelly Postal abided by the instructions.

These are the essential and undisputed facts.

Judge Levi Hall, before whom the first indictment was tried, instructed the jury on these facts that they must find Postal not guilty.

The prosecution then found a judge willing to try a second indictment based on the same facts but involving a different sum of money. This judge instructed the jury that under the facts they could, if they wanted to, find Postal guilty of grand larceny. The jurors hostile to Local 544 as they must have been, found Postal guilty.

The main question on appeal was whether, on the undisputed facts which Judge Levi Hall deemed to be insufficient for a verdict of guilty, the judge before whom the second indictment was being tried should have permitted the case to go to the jury. In other words, did the essential and undisputed facts constitute, in law, a case of larceny or embezzlement?

The Supreme Court made the shocking and vicious decision that Postal was guilty of grand larceny. Essentially, the question of Postal's guilt is a legal question, and the Supreme Court of Minnesota shares the dubious honor with the prosecution of sending to jail a man who they know is innocent.

In writing the opinion the judges were obviously aware of the terrible crime they were committing, for they attempt to cover it up by stating that the jury found from the evidence that there was bad faith on the part of the defendant. The alleged bad faith consisted mainly in the fact that a month before the actual withdrawal of the Local, Kelly Postal, on instructions from the Executive Board, told his secretary not to bank the cash receipts in the regular account of the Local and instead went through the formality of making a loan of the cash to another local union. Postal stated openly that this was done to prevent Tobin from getting hold of the money, and the judges dare to label this fact sufficient evidence of bad faith to go to the jury. What monstrous hypocrisy!

I do not know what caused the jury to knuckle under to the evident desire of the trial judge to have them find Postal guilty. It takes an exceptional man in a jury to withstand the pressure of a judge. This jury did not contain this exceptional person. It consisted of persons of average middle-class mentality without a spark of rebellious honesty in them. Such persons in such a case accept the plea of the prosecutor and are decisively influenced by the attitude of the trial judge.

But I do know what influenced the Supreme Court judges in their opinion — a vicious hatred of everything and everybody connected with Local 544, representing honest and militant trade unionism.

Kelly Postal — a thief and embezzler? You are liars, Messrs. prosecutor and judges. He is a class-conscious militant worker who will never cringe before the hypocrites and liars on the judges' bench.

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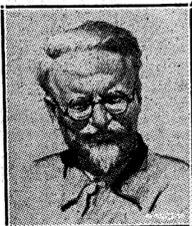
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8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
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## Railroad Workers And The Mine Case

Every muddle-headed liberal, every hypocritical labor faker, every Stalinist fink has advised the miners that they would have received consideration for their demands if they had only docilely laid their case before the War Labor Board and peacefully continued to mine coal. The Murrays and Greens, not so good at winning wage increases for their own members, know exactly how the miners could have won.

The experience of the railroad workers proves that this advice is not worth a continental. Fifteen railroad unions, representing approximately 750,000 workers, have been negotiating for a 20% wage increase since February, 1943. The railroad corporations are bloated with profits. Class 1 roads had a net operating income of one billion 480 million dollars after all taxes in 1942. They paid off over 428 million dollars in debts to the banks and the bond holders. They are making more money in 1943. They are more than able to continue paying out huge dividends to their stockholders and lush salaries to their executives and still grant a sizable wage increase to their overworked and underpaid workers.

Unlike Lewis, the officials of the 15 railroad unions did not fight the government. They did not challenge the authority of the Rail Labor Board. They did not call their workers out on strike. They placed their faith in the government. These union officials have been trudging hat in hand, for six months, from government board to board, presenting statistical data, pleading for consideration for the railroad workers.

With what results? Vinson, Director of Economic Stabilization, has set aside the paltry eight cent increase granted by even the Rail Labor Board. The railroad workers have received nothing. The railroad union officials have been so polite and quiet about the whole thing that most people are not even aware of the raw deal that the railroad workers are getting.

Isn't it obvious that if instead of isolating and knifing the mine workers the railroad union officials had joined with the miners in fighting Roosevelt's wage freeze policy, if instead of cooperating with Roosevelt against the miners they cooperated with the miners against Roosevelt, then not only the miners but the railroad workers would be further ahead today?

Unity of labor in action against Roosevelt's wage freeze—that is the task of the hour for the miners, for the railroad workers, for all of American labor.

## The Slave-Labor And Anti-Poll Tax Bill

On June 24 Senator McFarland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee in charge of the anti-poll-tax bill already passed by the House, announced that action on the bill would be postponed until after the summer congressional recess because the subcommittee members were too busy to consider it at this time.

The very next day the Senate set a new record for speed. At 3:13 P. M. Roosevelt vetoed the Smith-Connelly bill on the ground that two of its provisions were not sufficiently effective anti-strike measures. By 5:28 P. M. both Houses had acted and voted the bill into law.

There is a direct connection between the turtle-like behavior of Congress on the first issue and the greased-lightning speed with which it acted on the second.

The first issue affects the right to vote of ten million Southern industrial and agricultural workers. It has the support of the whole labor movement. It is a measure in the interest of all the masses.

The second bill attempts to destroy the democratic right to strike. It is opposed by the whole trade union movement. It is a measure in the interest of the capitalist class exclusively.

The representatives of Big Business in Congress stall action on the anti-poll tax bill in order to make it easier to pass legislation like the anti-strike bill. Delay on the anti-poll tax bill helps the poll taxers, who hope to kill the bill in the same way they did last year — by postponing action as long as possible and then conducting or threatening to conduct a filibuster against it. Maintenance of the poll tax means the continued election to Congress of a sizeable group from districts where the masses cannot vote and therefore cannot exert much pressure.

Without the poll tax bloc, it would not have been so easy to put over similar reactionary measures aimed against the whole working class in the future.

The attitude of Congress toward these two bills is an argument not only for the speedy creation of an Independent Labor Party based on the trade unions, but also for an intensified drive by the labor movement to abolish the poll tax system which threatens the welfare of the workers in all parts of the country.

## Only One Line Is Being Held

It is now plain as a pikestaff that the only part of the government's "anti-inflation" program that is being carried out in practice is the drive to keep wages down. The objective effect is not to prevent inflation at all, but to impose the burden of the war on the masses.

What has happened to the promise to curb profits?

Corporate profits after tax payments, which reached their highest point in the nation's history in 1941 and 1942, were 18% higher during the first quarter of 1943 than in the same period last year, according to the Department of Commerce survey. Operating earnings of insured commercial banks increased in 1942 to the highest figure on record, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation announced last week.

What has happened to the promise to stop price rises?

Prices are rising sky high, as any housewife can testify, and as even the conservative figures of the government show. The Department of Labor admits that on May 15 of this year prices (living costs) were over 24% above those of January, 1941. These figures of course do not take into consideration the fact that workers have to pay far higher prices than are shown in the official price ceiling lists.

OPA Administrator Prentiss Brown, speaking before a congressional committee two weeks ago, asserted that without subsidies it would be "impossible" for the government to put through the meager roll-back program which it promised when the miners began their fight for increased wages. Taking him at his word, the agents of Big Business in both Houses of Congress have now ruled out the subsidy program sought by the administration. This not only ends the fiction of rolling back prices but foreshadows a drive for higher prices in the immediate period ahead.

The only place where President Roosevelt's "line" is being held is on the wage front — and there, as is shown by the War Labor Board's mine wage decision and Economic Stabilizer Vinson's railroad wage decision, it is being held with all the tenacity and ferocity at the command of the capitalist class.

The program of Big Business, put into operation through its control of industry and its domination over the government, has been bared in all its nakedness: the highest profits of all time for the employers; the freezing of wages for the workers, and the reduction of their living standards through price rises and increased taxes.

The labor movement can counteract this program only by rejecting outright the "Little Steel formula," only by withdrawing its representatives from the WLB, only by asserting the economic and political independence of the labor movement in its fight to maintain the rights of American labor and a standard of living that will permit the working man to live in decency and health.

## It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

# No-Strike Bill Climax In Anti-Labor Drive

(Continued from page 1)

His own substitute "work or fight" program, through which he proposes to put all workers between the ages of 18 and 65 under the draft law, is just as vicious, just as reactionary, just as hostile to labor, just as totalitarian as the slave-labor law.

The coal controversy has made it abundantly clear that under the pressure of Big Business Roosevelt has been forced to push with greater fury and ferocity his hunger program. Roosevelt no longer has the leeway to temporize very much with the labor movement or grant it even minor concessions. The war is costing billions every week and piling up an unprecedented burden of debt. Under capitalism it is the masses of the people who must bear the brunt of the load. Roosevelt as agent and spokesman of the whole capitalist class must now proceed, with no further delay, to drive down the wage standards of the working class and to silence every voice that protests.

### A PYRRHIC VICTORY

Roosevelt has held the line against the United Mine Workers. The miners are returning to work without having won any of their basic demands. And yet apparently the feeling persists in the Roosevelt administration that the victory was a pyrrhic one. The War Labor Board is still denouncing the miners' union and still demanding that Roosevelt force the UMW to sign their "yellow dog" contract for two years. Suggestions are made that the check-off of union dues be abolished or that the UMW treasury be seized, if Lewis and the union policy committee refuse to accept the WLB contract.

Have they determined in Washington that they will not rest content until they have succeeded in wrecking the miners' union? Isn't it enough that they forced the miners back to work without granting them any significant concessions?

No, Roosevelt feels that it is not enough. Roosevelt feels that in spite of everything he has come out of the fight second best. Roosevelt was the first leader of American labor on March 10,

### Enactment of Bill Elates Wall Street

Big Business was pleased as punch by the enactment of the Smith-Connelly slave-labor bill on June 25. The prices of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange rose the next morning to "the highest levels in three years," according to the N. Y. Times of June 27, while "Volume on the New York Curb Exchange was also unusually heavy for a Saturday... and prices generally were higher." All observers attributed these signs of confidence and jubilation in Wall Street to the adoption of the anti-strike bill.

when the coal negotiations first started. Today half a million miners are bitter towards him, and this feeling is spreading to millions of other workers. Roosevelt sought to wreck Lewis as a labor leader. Lewis has emerged as the national trade union leader possessing the greatest moral authority among the workers.

The coal controversy and its sequel in the passage of the slave-labor law, rather than strengthening the authority of the government has weakened it; rather than increasing Roosevelt's hold over the labor movement, has lessened it. The three coal strikes have upset Roosevelt's existing coalition with the labor movement and have ushered in a new period of dynamic labor effort and activity.

### THE LABOR ZOMBIES

Roosevelt possesses powerful allies inside the trade union movement who are scheming and working to keep labor subservient to Roosevelt. The top bureaucrats of the AFL and CIO, the Murrays and Greens, are planning to keep labor bog-tied to the war machine, hound in the chains of the no-strike pledge and ineffective by continued support and backing of the capitalist Democratic and Republican Parties. Murray and Green bared their cowardly souls in their last letter to Roosevelt after the Smith-Connelly bill be-

came law. They reached a new low in groveling, in toadyism, in treachery.

"Despite our disappointment over the action today by Congress," Murray wrote Roosevelt. "I hasten to assure you that our organizations will maintain their no-strike pledge." Murray knows just what the five million members of the CIO will do before he has even bothered to ask them.

Green informed Roosevelt in his letter that the AFL and its constituent organizations "stand committed to our no-strike pledge for the duration of the war."

The Murrays and Greens are determined, come what may, to hang on to the coat-tails of the Roosevelt administration. They are scared out of their wits by the independence and militancy displayed by the rank and file of the unions and are holding on to Roosevelt for dear life to protect them from their own membership. But fortunately, the Murrays and Greens are not all there is to the labor movement. Besides the treacherous bureaucrats, there are approximately 13 million men and women in the ranks of organized labor.

### A CHANGING SITUATION

These workers supported Roosevelt only so long as they believed that he was "labor's friend" and was helping them improve their lot and supporting their aspirations for a better life. Now their illusions are beginning to fade away. They are already beginning to resist the encroachment of the Roosevelt administration upon their rights. They are already beginning to fight the Roosevelt program to drive their wage standards down to coolie levels. They will continue this fight regardless of and despite the Murrays and Greens.

Several weeks ago, Green wrote to Roosevelt that "The workers of this country would never become reconciled to this legislation (Smith-Connelly bill). They would protest it and rebel against it in the event it would become the law of the land."

For Green this was only an empty threat. But the workers meant it. They are not going to become reconciled to this law. They are going to rebel against it.

# Michigan CIO Strongly Condemns Lynch Attack

(Continued from page 1)

thoroughgoing investigation of the city authorities for the handling of the critical situation in Detroit. But the Stalinists insisted on placing the blame for the riots on Hitler and Mussolini. The reactionaries seized upon this opportunity to try to place responsibility for the Detroit clashes on the Japanese as well as on all aliens residing in this country.

These two forces combined and voted down the original resolution. When the delegates realized what had happened, they immediately asked the Resolutions Committee to bring back another resolution on this subject embodying the real wishes of the ranks. This resolution will undoubtedly be submitted at tomorrow's session.

### TOWNSEND EXPLAINS

The feelings of the delegates were clearly expressed in their thunderous ovation to the speech of Willard S. Townsend, member of the national executive board of the CIO and president of the United Transport Service Employees Union (Red Caps), who minced no words in exposing the real causes of the events of the last week:

"Don't make the mistake of believing these racial outbreaks

are isolated incidents in our national community or that they are all inspired from Berlin, Rome and Tokio," he said. "It's the very same forces that are fomenting racial strife that no more than three days ago pushed through Congress a slave-labor bill over the President's veto. Not only are these forces fomenting racial strife but labor and national racial strife as well. They are the very same forces that are fighting against effective price-control, anti-poll tax legislation, anti-lynch legislation, effective social security legislation and everything that is decent and human in our American way of life.

"While many were rioting in Detroit, the reactionary Congress was passing laws to enslave not only Negroes but all workers. The Smith-Connelly Bill was passed not against Negroes but against the working people of this country. Prices are being pushed higher. Not only Negroes but all the people will suffer as a consequence. All must join to kill reaction in America.

"Axis propaganda? Bosh! This combination of hate mongers is

homemade... This combination of hate mongers was doing a thriving business long before the cowardly Mussolini marched on Rome or before Schickelgruber planned his beer hall putsch."

### THE BASIC CAUSE

Townsend's evaluation did not end here.

"The basic causes for these racial incidents are found at the very roots of our social and economic system. A system which promotes discord among races, classes, and nationality groups as insurance against its own destruction. A system which by its very nature cannot effectively challenge slavery, insecurity, class and race antagonism. Divide the common people and rule has been the economic keystone of those who control the economic destiny of America...

"The Negro is a scapegoat in America because certain people can profit by his suppression. Race antipathy will die when nobody can profit by it."

(A complete report on the Michigan CIO convention will be printed in next week's issue of The Militant.)

### Archbishop Gives A Fair Appraisal Of Stalinist Party

During an interview in Costa Rica last week, Archbishop Sanabria denied that there was any truth in the report that Catholics could join the Communist Party of that country. Said the Archbishop in a personally prepared statement printed in the June 26 issue of Catholic News, official organ of the Archdiocese of New York:

"The Communist Party was dissolved on June 13. A new party, Vanguardia Popular, was created with its own program. The latter was submitted for study by the Hierarchy of Costa Rica, which found it to contain nothing Communist nor Socialist. It is tolerated that a Catholic join the new party on the same ground as other parties."

## Boston SWP Explains How To Combat Lies In Davies' Film

BOSTON, June 25. — The Boston premiere of the Davies whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," scheduled for one of the largest theatres in this city, has been postponed for one week and will be shown at a smaller theatre. This is the upshot of a controversy around the film which began with a resolution passed by the Boston City Council, influenced by the Hearst press, the Catholic hierarchy and other reactionary anti-Soviet propagandists, asking the mayor to ban the film.

The proposed suppression of the film was protested by the local CIO councils who advanced the Stalinist-inspired argument that "it would harm the relations between two freedom-loving peoples."

The Boston Branch of the Socialist Workers Party came out strongly against the proposed ban. The statement issued to the local press declares:

object of the slanders and lies in "Mission To Moscow" believe truth would be better served by exposing the historical falsity of the film than by banning it.

"The International Commission headed by John Dewey proved the Moscow trials of 1936-38 to be frameups and published several volumes of conclusive evidence and testimony...

"This film, produced with the tacit approval of the State Department, whitewashes Stalin's record in the past decade... The security of the Soviet Union depends upon the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe. By fostering the illusion that Stalin's crimes are identical with socialist justice, this film will confuse and alienate those very labor and political groups which must be won to this program if the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik ideas of Lenin

are to survive."

## War Writers Board Hits 'Mission To Moscow'

The Davies whitewash film, "Mission To Moscow," is boomeranging on its inspirers, sponsors and producers. The GPU lies and frameups are too much to ram down the throats of the American public, despite the Hollywood sauce and the "unofficial" blessing of the State Department.

Among the latest to denounce the film is the Writers War Board, representing more than 2,000 feature writers for newspapers and periodicals. This board, which issues reports on war movies, last week awarded "three duds" to the Warner Brothers screen justification of the Moscow frameups. The board further found that Hollywood has tried to "falsify facts" for the sake of appeasing Stalin and goes on to add:

"Every movement for appeasement is based on the idea that an untruth or a distortion is excusable if it serves a greater good. We cannot subscribe to such a doctrine, however desirable the immediate effect." (N. Y. Times, June 26.)

The report bears the names of Rex Stout, chairman; Franklin P. Adams, Pearl S. Buck, Carl Carner, Robert T. Colwell, Russell Crouse, Clifton Fadiman, Paul Gallico, Jack Goodman, Oscar Hammerstein, Rita Halle Kleeman, Robert J. Landry, Margaret Leech, John P. Marquand, Katharine Seymour, William L. Shirer, and Frederica Barach, executive secretary.

There is one glaring omission in the report of the Writers War Board. They pretend that Warner Brothers ("Hollywood") was alone responsible for the falsification of facts. There is not a single reference to the State Department and its "unofficial" endorsement of the film.

## Bank and Corporation Profits Reach New High

"WASHINGTON, June 21.—Despite increased expenses and taxes, current operating earnings of insured commercial banks increased in 1942 to the highest figures on record, it was announced today by Leo T. Crowley, chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation." — N. Y. Times, June 25.

Most of the increase, the report continued, was due to "interest on larger holdings of obligations of the United States Government." As a result of these holdings bank profits were highest in history, except for the years 1941 and 1936.

At the same time, the Department of Commerce revealed last week, the industrial corporations are doing all right for themselves too. After payment of their taxes, they show profits for the first quarter of 1943 amounting to 18% more than they made during the first quarter of 1942. Biggest profit rises were in the automobile-aircraft industry. The N. Y. Times of June 27 reported that the net income of 41 automobile, automotive equipment and aircraft manufacturers during the first 3 months of 1943 was 29% higher than in the same period in 1942.

The question is: How many industrial workers, after paying their taxes, can claim that their standard of living today is 18% higher than a year ago?

## Otto Ruehle Is Dead In Mexico City

According to newspaper reports Otto Ruehle died of a heart attack at the age of 69 on June 24 in Mexico City. Otto Ruehle belonged to the old revolutionary generation. He served as a Social-Democratic Deputy in the German Reichstag. In the first world war he held a consistent internationalist position. Together with Liebknecht he voted against granting war credits to the Kaiser and the German imperialists in 1914. He was one of the leaders of the German Spartacist movement and in November 1918 led the Saxon revolution.

In 1919 he joined the German Communist Party, but later became a left Communist. Hitler's victory drove him into exile, and six years ago he found refuge in Mexico. He is the author of a biography of Marx. During his stay in Mexico he served as a member of the International Commission which under the chairmanship of John Dewey investigated the Moscow trials and rendered the verdict that they were frameups.

## Negro Woman Worker Comments On Pamphlet

After reading "The Struggle For Negro Equality," the new Pioneer Publishers pamphlet by John Saunders and Albert Parker, a Negro woman worker in New York City last week submitted the following comment:

"In referring to the source of race prejudice, it is true no one is born with it, but children of race prejudiced parents acquire it before even the primary age. One reason that it is hard to overcome Jim Crowism and discrimination is that the Negro was brought here as a slave at that time uneducated and at the mercy of his so-called master, to be beaten and sold like cattle.

"Since then he has been ridiculed and pictured in papers and books to look like nothing human — big mouth, white eyes, and a grin stretching from ear to ear, just a big clown; naturally with all this instilled in the white race from one generation to another, it's very hard for them to realize there is a new Negro today, who can cope with the white race in any field of endeavor.

"If the Socialist Workers Party can do and will do the wonderful things that are written in this book, I feel that each and every Negro should join that party. As the saying goes, nothing ventured, nothing gained, and we certainly haven't gained anything from either the Republican or Democratic party. This little book should be a must in every Negro's home."

Pioneer Publishers announced last week that the first edition of the pamphlet, which is selling very rapidly, has almost been exhausted.