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OUR FIGHT TO FREE THE 18

By JAMES T. FARRELL

Noted Novelist, Author of "Studs Lonigan," etc.

The Minneapolis Labor Case is the major case of the present war period involving the rights of labor and freedom of speech. The 18 defendants, now serving their periods of imprisonment in federal jails, have been made convicts by the United States Government merely because of their opinions. The Smith "Gag" Act under which they were convicted is in flagrant contradiction with the Bill of Rights which states unconditionally that "Congress shall pass no laws . . . abridging freedom of speech." Despite this flat contradiction between the provisions of the Smith Act and those in the Bill of Rights, the Supreme Court of the United States has, on three occasions now, refused even to hear the appeal of the defendants.

The menace involved in these actions by the government and the federal courts should be clearly seen by all who have concern with the rights of labor and of freedom of speech. The history of fascism teaches us that the first attacks made by reaction are against the labor movement, and usually against its extreme left wing. The 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Case belong to the Socialist Workers Party and to Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO. As their indictments specifically state, they have been put behind bars because they propagate the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, because they believe in the principles of the Communist Manifesto.

Now the force of law and the police power of the state, instead of reason, argument and debate, have become weapons used to combat the ideas of these defenders of Marxian socialism. Whether or not one agrees with the program and perspectives of this working-class political movement, it cannot be denied that Marxian socialists have consistently been in the forefront of the struggle for the advancement of labor and the defense of democratic rights. They have pledged the sincerity of their convictions, not merely by words, but by deeds. In many countries and for generations they have suffered jailing, torture and death at the hands of reaction in loyalty to their ideas.

The facts of this case plainly demonstrate that one can become a criminal here today in the United States if one defends these ideas. For, it must be repeated, these men have been imprisoned not for any overt action, but merely because of the views which they have presented openly and publicly.

This attack upon labor, this suppression of socialist ideas and imprisonment of socialists paves the way toward fascist reaction even if it is taken by a government which proclaims itself the enemy of fascism. This is the way that fascism undermined democracy and

seized power in other countries. Will we permit this to be repeated in the United States? Is it going to happen here?

These are questions which all of us must answer, not merely by words but by actions. Free speech and the rights of labor are not lost all in one fell swoop. These rights are eaten away. Precedents are established. Once they have been so established, they are then used for further acts of repression.

We now see this pattern, which led ultimately to fascism elsewhere, unfolding in this country. The government has promptly used the precedent established in the Minneapolis Case for another attack upon labor in its latest effort to deport Harry Bridges, CIO Longshoremen's union leader, even although he is a staunch supporter of the administration's policies. This should demonstrate — if further demonstration be needed — that it is not only the 18, not only opponents of the administration's policies whose rights and liberties are endangered by the Smith "Gag" Act. The entire labor movement, the cherished democratic rights of the American people are directly threatened.

Free speech is most important for those who have something new, important and vital to say. It means little to those who agree with prevailing opinion, supported by the powers that be. The fundamental significance of the rights of free speech and free press is that they permit those sponsoring other views to express them openly and in public. Where such guarantees of free expression exist, men are enabled to think honestly.

If the minds of men are not free, if they are made to feel that thoughts alone are dangerous and criminal, then the seeds of cowardice are implanted in the midst of society. Cultivate this seed by establishing precedents such as this, based upon the Mikado's doctrine of "dangerous thoughts," and you will have established one of the most important prerequisites for a police state, based on force and fear.

This pamphlet contains a summary of the salient facts in the Minneapolis Labor Case and brief biographies of the 18 prisoners. The story of their lives shows how they have fought for the interests of labor, for their ideas, and for a better world. They have not given up that cause, even at the price of jailing. Today behind prison bars they remain loyal to their principles. It is the duty of those of us who are outside the prison walls and can speak and act, who understand the importance of this case, who realize the dangers it can lead to, it is our duty to devote ourselves to the campaign for their freedom. It is our duty to fight for the repeal of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act.

Unless we do this and do it vigorously, there may be many more than these 18 behind bars.

February 27, 1944.

JAMES T. FARRELL

Free speech, civil liberties, labor's rights—cherished possessions of the American people — have been placed in peril by the convictions in the Minneapolis Labor Case. What are the facts in this case?

BACKGROUND OF THE PROSECUTION

The prosecution arose directly out of the influence of the Socialist Workers Party in the Minneapolis trade union movement. Members and sympathizers of this working-class party played a leading role in the Truckdrivers Union Local 544. Under the inspiration and guidance of 544 leaders from 1934 on, Minneapolis became transformed from one of the leading open shop cities in the U. S. to a strongly organized union center. The leaders of 544 struggled to build strong and democratic unions not only among the truckdrivers in Minneapolis but throughout the Northwest area. In 1938 they were instrumental in obtaining the first closed-shop contract for more than 200,000 over-the-road drivers in an 11-state area.

From 1934 on, there was constant friction between Local 544's leadership and Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This hostility came to a head the first week in June 1941, when a Committee of 544 leaders was summoned to appear before a meeting of the Teamsters International Executive Board in Washington, D. C. to answer charges of "radicalism" filed against them. There Tobin asked the 544 delegation to request his appointment of a dictator-receiver over the union, with absolute powers, including the power to expel anyone.

Local 544 rejected this proposal. Almost 4,000 members were present at a regular membership meeting held on June 9th, and by a practically unanimous vote they decided to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO.

Daniel Tobin, close personal friend of President Roosevelt, member of the Democratic Party National Committee and head of the Democratic Labor Committee in the 1940 Presidential election, immediately wired Roosevelt for help. Stephen Early, Roosevelt's secretary, told the press: "When I advised the President of Tobin's representations this morning, he asked me to immediately have the Government departments and agencies interested in this matter notified." (*N. Y. Times, June 14, 1941*) Raids upon the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Twin-Cities, indictments and arrests of 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of the newly formed

Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544—CIO followed.

The political motivation behind the prosecution was pointed out by the American Civil Liberties Union in its letter of protest to Attorney-General Biddle, August 20, 1941: "It seems reasonable to conclude that the government interjected itself into an inter-union controversy in order to promote the interests of the one side which supported the administration's foreign and domestic policies."

THE CHARGES

On July 15, 1941, twenty-nine people were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in St. Paul, Minn., on charges of "seditious conspiracy." The indictment had been drawn up by the U. S. Department of Justice. Among those indicted were the national and local leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and officers of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544—CIO.

The indictment contained two counts, each one charging a conspiracy.

Count 1 was based upon a statute first enacted in 1861 which makes it a federal crime to commit overt acts against the government. This law was passed during the Civil War for use against the armed rebellion of the Confederacy.

In this count the prosecution charged that the Union Defense Guard of the Truckdrivers Local 544 had concealed arms and ammunition with which to overthrow the government by force and violence. The Union Defense Guard had really been formed in Sept. 1938 to defend the Union's picket lines, headquarters and members against threatened anti-labor violence from the fascist Silver-Shirt gangs. The trials proved that no arms nor ammunition were concealed.

This count was thrown out by the jury.

Count 2 was drawn up under the provisions of a new law, the Alien Registration Act, passed in peace-time 1940 and popularly known as the Smith "Gag" Act. Under this law, never tested for its constitutionality, the 18 Minneapolis defendants were convicted and sentenced.

THE SMITH "GAG" ACT

The sponsor of this law is the same poll-tax Congressman, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, who is the leader of the anti-labor bloc in Congress and co-author of the Smith-Connally anti-labor law.

Smith and his associates put through this law as a weapon in their reactionary campaign against the rights of labor.

This law is the first since the notorious Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798 to make thinking and the expression of opinion a federal crime.

Both the AFL and CIO opposed its passage. During the debates in Congress, Representative Geyer of California declared: "This bill is an attempt to put an end to real democracy. It is an attempt to break the labor movement." Representative Martin of Colorado said: "It is enough to make Thomas Jefferson turn over in his grave. It is without precedent in the history of labor legislation. It is an invention of intolerance contrary to every principle of democracy."

The American Civil Liberties Union pleaded with President Roosevelt to veto the Smith "Gag" Act because it violated the Bill of Rights and "would become an instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor."

THE TRIAL

The trial of the 28 began on October 27, 1941, in the Federal District Court at St. Paul, Minnesota. Matthew M. Joyce was the presiding judge; the federal prosecutors were Victor A. Anderson and Asst. Attorney-General Henry A. Schweinhaut.

In his opening statement to the jury, Anderson explicitly declared that even if it could not be proven that the defendants had taken up arms against the government, they could nevertheless be found guilty. In other words, the defendants could be convicted not for anything they did, but solely for expressing their opinions. He thus made it plain that the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and freedom of thought were on trial.

The government took three weeks to present its case. The prosecution's evidence against the defendants consisted only of certain statements alleged to have been made before witnesses, the majority of whom were friends, agents or on the payroll of Daniel Tobin. Also introduced into evidence were over 150 exhibits, consisting of official documents and articles published by the Socialist Workers Party together with many of the best-known works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. All these publications had been openly distributed and publicly sold. Among them was the Communist Manifesto. The government charged that this 93-year-old socialist classic, burned by Hitler's regime and banned by Mussolini and the Mikado, is likewise illegal and subversive literature in the U. S.

The defense took only four days to present its refutation. Attorney Albert Goldman summarized the arguments for the defense

in his final speech* which lasted ten hours. He outlined the main ideas of Marxism and thereby disproved the prosecution's charges that the defendants were engaged in a conspiratorial plot to overthrow the government by force. Marxists, he pointed out, believe that socialism can be achieved only by winning a majority of the people. He stated that the attempt to depict the Union Defense Guard as an armed band organized to overthrow the government was nothing but a frame-up. In addition Goldman showed that the case was a continuation of the factional struggle in the Teamsters Union and that the government initiated the prosecution to help Tobin's faction and to suppress a workers' party opposed to the administration's policies.

Five of the 28 defendants were dismissed by the court for lack of evidence against them. After two and a half days' deliberation, the jury acquitted all of the defendants on the first count and cleared five of all charges on both counts.

Before the trial, Attorney-General Biddle, in his reply to a letter from the American Civil Liberties Union protesting the indictments as a violation of free speech, had declared that "arming workers . . . is clearly sufficient to remove the case from one involving expression of opinion" and would be "supported by the evidence." But by throwing out the first count, the jury established that the charge of overt acts was completely unsupported by any evidence and that the case involved only expression of opinion.

Eighteen of the defendants were found guilty on the second count alone. The jury recommended leniency.

The 18 were sentenced on December 8, 1941. Twelve were given 16-month and six were given 12-month prison terms.

THE APPEALS

The 18 defendants were released on bail pending their appeal to the higher courts. On Sept. 20, 1943, the Circuit Court upheld the convictions.

On October 14, 1943, an appeal was made to the U. S. Supreme Court. On Nov. 22, 1943, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case, despite the important legal and constitutional questions involved. The American Civil Liberties Union twice again appealed to the highest court to review the case and test its constitutionality. Three times the Supreme Court refused. Many newspapers expressed

*The main testimony of the defense has been printed in two pamphlets: "In Defense of Socialism," by Albert Goldman, and "Socialism on Trial," by James P. Cannon. These can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. C. 3, N. Y., at 10 cents each.

astonishment at this refusal, which the American Civil Liberties Union declared "unprecedented."

On New Year's Eve, December 31, 1943, the 18 began to serve their sentences in federal penitentiaries.

THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THIS CASE

This prosecution is the most sweeping government attack upon democratic and labor rights in many years. The Minneapolis Labor Case has been nationally recognized as the test case of civil liberties in this war. Its 18 defendants are the first to be imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act. This law, which makes the expression of opinion a federal crime clearly violates the rights of free speech and free press guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

In refusing to hear this case, the Supreme Court has set an extremely dangerous precedent. Now that the members of Local 544-CIO have been imprisoned for their trade-union activities, other unionists can be similarly prosecuted. Now that the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party have been imprisoned for their opinions, the Smith "Gag" Act can be used in witch-hunts against other political groups. In fact, immediately after the 18 went to prison, the Department of Justice used the precedent established in these convictions to aid them in deportation proceedings against the CIO leader Harry Bridges.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is conducting a national campaign to obtain unconditional Presidential pardon for the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, and to repeal the Smith "Gag" Act. Scores of trade unions and progressive organizations have already passed resolutions asking President Roosevelt to uphold the Bill of Rights and pardon the 18.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is appealing to all progressive America, especially to the organized trade union movement to back its fight and support this campaign. The CRDC is convinced that the trade union movement must adopt an unequivocal stand on this issue as part and parcel of its effort to defeat the forces of reaction which, in violating and destroying the Bill of Rights, are likewise seeking to crush the American labor movement.

THE 18 MUST BE FREED!

THE VICIOUS SMITH "GAG" ACT MUST BE REPEALED!

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE
18 PRISONERS IN THE
MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE



JAMES P. CANNON

Over 30 years ago James P. Cannon took the road of unceasing struggle on behalf of and in defense of the working-class. Through hardships and travail he has never wavered from that road. Cannon was brought up in the prairie town of Rosedale, Kansas, where he was born in 1890. His father, now 86 years old, was a foundry-man and a Debs socialist. His mother was a devout Catholic. Like many workers' families, the Cannons lived in grinding poverty.

When he was 12 his mother died. At this early age, he had to go to work, 60 hours a week at a packing-house plant. He worked 70 hours a week in a railroad yard when he was 14. He yearned for education, for the ability to express himself and his ideas, and became a voracious reader of books. He entered high-school at the age of 16, and after graduating, returned to work and began to study law at night. Finally he abandoned his law studies and became active in the labor movement.

In 1908 Cannon joined the Socialist Party in Kansas City. He became a migratory worker, traveling around, getting what jobs he could, organizing and educating in the interest of working-class solidarity. In 1911 he joined in the militant upsurge of the IWW. He met and worked with the great figures of that movement — Vincent St. John, Frank Little, Big Bill Haywood.

During this period he participated actively in many of the historic IWW struggles; as organizer in the first 1913 Akron Rubber Strike, in the Peoria Metal Workers and Duluth and Superior Ore Dock strikes. He was indicted for conspiracy in the 1913 Peoria strike. Later in 1919 he was indicted by the federal government for his activities in the Kansas coal miners' strike.

Cannon aided the work of the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee by

organizing a series of mass demonstrations from coast to coast on behalf of these two labor martyrs. Hundreds of thousands of workers were mobilized for these demonstrations through local trade union conferences. Today this labor defender is himself a victim of anti-labor persecution.

A foundation member of the American Communist Party, Cannon was expelled in 1928 because he defended the ideas of Leon Trotsky. He and others then founded the American Trotskyist movement, now known as the Socialist Workers Party, of which Cannon is the National Secretary.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



DR. GRACE CARLSON

Dr. Grace Carlson is distinguished as the sole woman among the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case. A true defender of workers' rights, she burns with indignation at injustice, poverty and tyranny. She has inspired men and women workers alike by her courageous defense of the working-class.

Grace was born in St. Paul, Minn., in 1906. Her father is an Irish-American railroad worker and her great-great grandfather was Samuel Holmes, who came from Ireland and fought in the American Revolution.

She was educated in St. Catherine's College and the University of Minnesota, where she earned her BA, MA and PhD degrees. A woman of brilliant intellect, she was elected to Pi Lamda Theta, National Honorary Society for Women in Education in 1931; to Sigma Xi, National Honorary Scientific Society in 1933. For two years she lectured in the Department of Psychology of the University

of Minnesota. Then for five years she held the post of Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor of the State Department of Education.

Grace joined the trade union movement and devoted herself to building a better social order. She was a charter member of Minnesota State Employes Union Local No. 10, for four years a delegate to the St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly, a member of its Education Committee for three years and twice a delegate to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor conventions. She distinguished herself in labor defense work as a member of the National Committee of the Workers Defense League, and became an active worker in the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In 1940 Dr. Carlson resigned from the Minnesota Department of Education and ran as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator. In this campaign she received over 8,500 votes, more than the combined votes of the Communist and Socialist parties. In 1942 she ran for mayor of St. Paul on the SWP ticket, and although already convicted and sentenced to prison, she received 3% of the total vote cast.

Alderson, West Va.—16 months



JAKE COOPER

The youngest of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, Cooper was born in 1916 in St. Paul, Minn. His parents were poor, hard-working immigrants from Czarist Russia.

After graduating from the Chaska, Minnesota, High School, during the depression of the 1930's Jake found work as a truck driver. In 1936 he joined the General Drivers Union Local 544. He soon proved himself on the picket lines and in workers' demonstrations.

As an organizer for the Youth Section of Local 544's Federal Workers Section, he helped to organize many young workers. He has been jailed twice for his participation in union activities.

In 1941 Cooper became a member of the Packinghouse Workers Union, Swift Local 167, South St. Paul, serving as a steward and as delegate to the District Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee Conference.

From his early youth, Cooper took his stand in the fight for workers' rights and socialism.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



OSCAR COOVER

Oscar Coover is quiet-spoken, warm-hearted and friendly. Born in Republic, Mo., in 1887 he went to grade and high schools at Springfield, Mo. A skilled electrician, he worked for the railroads from 1904 to 1924 on the St. Louis & San Francisco, the Missouri-Pacific, the Chicago and Great Western lines. Since then he has worked at his trade as a stage-hand and on building construction.

Unionism, the cause of labor, are his deepest interests. He has held continuous membership in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers since 1906 and since 1907 in the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

From 1916 to 1922, he was active in the organization of the railroad workers. He played an outstanding role in the famous Railroad Shopmen's strike of 1922 as Secretary of the Chicago, Great Northwestern and Pullman shop employees. He had the distinction of being named personally in Attorney-General Dougherty's notorious injunction against picketing.

Coover has served in so many capacities in the labor movement that he cannot remember them all. He was a delegate for two years to the Springfield, Mo., Trades & Labor Assembly, for five years to the Minneapolis Trades & Labor Assembly.

Oscar is the father of three grown children.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



HARRY DEBOER

Harry DeBoer, who was born in Crookston, Minn., in 1907, has worked his entire adult life as a truck driver. In his youth he had little opportunity for a formal education and was compelled to finish his schooling with the eighth grade.

Standing in the forefront on the picket-lines and in every great labor struggle in Minneapolis, Harry has emerged from these struggles tempered in experience and action. During the Minneapolis drivers strike in July 1934, he was almost killed by a police bullet. Recovering after several months in a hospital, he returned from a hospital bed to the fight for workers' rights.

DeBoer served as an organizer for Local 544 from 1934 to 1941, one of those who were the very backbone of that model union. He was president of the Bakery Drivers local and was elected to Chairman of the Midwest Bakery Drivers Council. In the capacity of Minnesota State delegate to the 12-state Over-the-Road Drivers Council, he helped to win the first uniform contract for the over-the-road drivers, covering 250,000 previously unorganized workers. He was elected delegate to several state AFL conventions and to the AFL Teamsters International Convention.

DeBoer has honesty and conviction. His aim is to win a new world for his fellow-workers.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months

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FARRELL DOBBS

Farrell Dobbs was born in Queen City, Missouri, in 1907 and lived in Minneapolis from the age of six. A year after graduating from high-school he secured employment as a wire man for Western Electric and learned in the course of his work enough about operations to qualify as a planning engineer. The crash and the depression of the 1930's ended this employment. He became a coal yard worker.

Farrell saw insecurity, poverty, misery all around him. When Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund and others began to organize the Minneapolis coal yard drivers in 1933, he joined them. He had decided what he was going to do—help build the union and fight for the working class.

By the time the May and July 1934 drivers strikes occurred, Farrell was in the center of action. He had served on the organization committee prior to the strikes. He was now elected a member of the negotiations committee of the strikes, where he displayed unusual talents—cool judgment, attentiveness to details, uncompromising firmness, an analytical mind.

Farrell joined the Socialist Workers Party in March 1934. From 1934 to 1939 the Local 544 membership elected him repeatedly to the office of secretary-treasurer, except for a 10 months' period when he was elected recording secretary.

In 1937 he was elected secretary of the newly formed council of drivers locals in the northwest area, the North Central District Drivers Council. Out of this council, in which Farrell played an outstanding role, grew the Eleven State Area Committee, of which Farrell was also secretary. He was chosen as spokesman for the committee in negotiations which won a 12-state uniform union contract for 250,000 over-the-road drivers.

In 1939 Farrell Dobbs resigned his post as International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and became National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. He returned to Minneapolis in 1941 to help Local 544 in its fight to maintain its traditions of democratic unionism.

Farrell has three children of school age.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



VINCENT R. DUNNE

Vincent Dunne is one of the best known labor leaders to come out of the Northwest. He was born in Kansas City, Kansas, in 1889. Son of a railroad construction worker, he spent the early years of his life on his grandfather's farm, where his family lived while his father was employed in the construction camps.

Next to the eldest son in a family of seven, he had to leave home at an early age to seek work in the harvest fields, mines and lumber camps of the west. This was a period when a great wave of labor struggle swept the western states, giving rise to the Western Federation of Miners and the IWW. Vincent was one of the most active spirits in these struggles.

He participated in the strikes and historic free-speech fights of the IWW in 1906-1908, when IWW members chained themselves to lamp-posts and defended free speech by publicly reciting the Declaration of Independence until they were beaten into unconsciousness.

After serving in 1908 as a strike committee member in a strike of southern saw-mill workers at Bogalooosa, La., Vincent returned north to live with his parents in Minneapolis and to work as an express wagon driver. Discharged many times for trying to organize

the workers, he was finally black-listed and driven from the industry during the anti-labor drive of World War I.

He then obtained work with a coal company, first as a yard laborer and then as a truck driver, weighman and superintendent. In 1931 when his efforts to organize the coal drivers and laborers began to meet with success, he was fired.

Then followed years of unemployment, when he tried to maintain his wife and two children on government relief. He continued to work untiringly to organize the truck drivers. Finally, in 1934, along with his brothers, Grant and Miles, Vincent became a leader of the historic drivers strikes which made Minneapolis a union town and inspired the organization of hundreds of thousands throughout the northwest.

Workers respect Vincent Dunne for his wisdom and experience, his courage under fire, his complete trustworthiness and selflessness.

In addition to his union activities, Dunne is prominently identified as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



MAX GOLDMAN

Max Goldman was born in 1905 in a ghetto of Warsaw, Poland. His parents came to this country hoping to better their conditions, but found only poverty and back-breaking toil.

Max went to Public School 174 in Brooklyn, to Boy's High and then to City College of New York. He tried his hand at selling and teaching and was an active member of the American Federation of Teachers.

During the Minneapolis union struggles of the last decade, Max

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was an active participant. He became an organizer of Federal Workers Section, Local 544, a fighting leader of the unemployed and WPA workers. Because of his activities in the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike, he was arrested and sentenced to Sandstone Penitentiary for eight months. Now he has gone a second time to the same prison for his loyalty to labor.

Max has two children, a daughter, 6 years old, and a baby boy, born on Christmas Day, just before Max went to prison.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



ALBERT GOLDMAN

Albert Goldman's conduct of the defense in the Minneapolis trials made American labor defense history. Arrayed against the defendants were the ablest prosecutors of the Department of Justice, and a judge and jury prejudiced against organized labor. Goldman was himself on trial, facing a possible sentence of up to 16 years. During the trials, even the jury could sense his integrity and unshakable conviction in the socialist ideas he so ably defended.

Goldman grew up amid the poverty of the Chicago working-class districts. He graduated from the Chicago public schools and later from the University of Cincinnati. In 1919, at the age of 22, he joined the IWW, getting his first-hand lessons in the post-war attacks upon trade-unionists and radicals. At this time he was working long hours as a tailor in Chicago's sweat-shop clothing factories.

Goldman determined to become a labor attorney and devote himself to defending working-class victims of injustice. He worked his way through the night law school at Northwestern University. Soon he became an outstanding labor defense attorney.

As counsel for the International Labor Defense in the late

twenties and early thirties, he defended hundreds of workers arrested in strikes and demonstrations. In 1932 he was attacked by a vigilante mob in Danville, Ill., for defending several unemployed workers.

In 1934 Goldman placed his legal talents at the service of Norman Mini in the famous Sacramento "Criminal Syndicalism" trial which grew out of the struggle of the California agricultural workers. In 1937 he achieved international renown as Leon Trotsky's defense attorney before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry's hearings into the Moscow frameup trials in Mexico City.

Now this man who has defended the rights of hundreds of persecuted workers has himself become a victim of anti-labor political persecution.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



CLARENCE HAMEL

Clarence Hamel was born in 1909 in Hamel, Minnesota, a town named after his grandfather who settled there following the Civil War. His schooling consisted of eight years at Notre Dame De Lourdes grade school, and two years at Dunwoody Trade School, Minneapolis.

During the bleak days of the depression, in 1933, Clarence joined the union of coal haulers, participating in the successful strike which paved the way for the later organization of Local 544. In all the subsequent Minneapolis strikes, he was a tenacious fighter.

A big man, he and his pal, Emil Hansen, were fondly termed the "600 Twins," because of their size.

After many years' service as a steward for the coal and grocery drivers, Clarence in 1939 was selected as a business agent for Local 544. When the going gets tough, Clarence shows his real stamina and unalterable devotion to working-class interests.

Sandstone, Minn.—12 months



EMIL HANSEN

Over six feet tall and more than 225 pounds in weight, Emil Hansen, sometimes called "The Big Dane," has stood out among his fellow workers, not merely in size but in courage and working-class loyalty.

Hansen was born in Denmark, in 1906. He joined the Minneapolis Driver's Union in 1928. That was the year when the Minneapolis unions were weak and the town was open-shop.

Emil Hansen helped to bring unionism to Minneapolis. When the Minneapolis Drivers began their struggle, Emil was an active participant. He swung the organization of cab-drivers, which he helped organize behind the 1934 strikes. He proved to be one of the best fighters in the cause of unionism.

He won the respect and affection of his fellow-workers, who selected him year after year as an organizer and trustee of local 544.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months



CARLOS HUDSON

Carlos Hudson is a gifted writer and journalist. An honest and courageous man, he devoted his life to educating and defending the workers through the medium of the labor press.

Hudson was born in Minneapolis in 1908. He worked his way

as a freight laborer through the University of Minnesota, where he majored in economics and graduated with a BBA degree in 1929. That was the year of the economic crash, and Carlos witnessed the living reality of hungry workers.

Carlos took his stand with the fighting workers, contributing his talents to advance their cause. He edited and wrote for workers' papers in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Austin, Minn., Fargo, N. Dakota, and Omaha, Nebraska.

As editor of the *Northwest Organizer*, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council and the *Industrial Organizer*, published by Minneapolis Local 544-CIO, Carlos made a major contribution to the labor movement of the northwest. These papers were powerful weapons in the building of the entire union movement in this area.

Carlos has faced continued persecution for his loyalty to the working class. He was fired from his WPA job for his activities in organizing WPA teachers into a union. Because of his conviction in the Minneapolis Labor Case he was blacklisted from 20 plants and fired from two, after he had learned the machinist trade.

Carlos has two children: a son, five years old, and a two-year old daughter.

Sanstone, Minn.—16 months



KARL KUEHN

Karl Kuehn has been a Minnesotan all his life, having been born in St. Paul in 1894. By dint of persistent study and self-education, he became a mechanical and industrial engineer, and he has worked as a mechanical designer, civil engineer, industrial refrigeration designer and food distribution engineer.

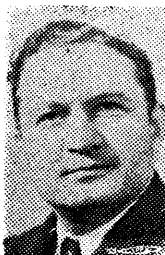
Karl was not the type of man who could close his eyes to the misery and poverty around him. He joined forces with the union workers and the unemployed and engaged in their struggles with his characteristic tenacity.

In 1934 he was an official representative of the organized unemployed in the General Drivers Strike. He was elected delegate to numerous state and national unemployed conventions and conferences. He did great service in helping to tie together the struggles of the employed and unemployed. For a number of years he was recording secretary of the Federal Workers Section, Local 544, and he was a delegate to several Farmer-Labor Party conventions.

In 1940 he was indicted and tried under unjust charges growing out of his activities in the Minneapolis WPA strike. These charges were finally dismissed.

Karl is father of six children and grandfather of two.

Danbury, Conn.—12 months



FELIX MORROW

Felix Morrow was born in New York City in 1906, and brought up in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, a working-class district. As a boy he became a member of the Junior Circle of the Young People's Socialist League.

Morrow went to New York University and did graduate work there in philosophy and at Columbia University. He joined the club affiliated with the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded by Jack London and was once arrested for helping to collect funds in the neighborhood of the university to aid the left-wing miners' opposition in the United Mine Workers.

Beginning with 1925 Felix became a journalist. He worked on the *Brooklyn Daily Times* and *Daily Eagle* and later worked for the New York *World* and *American*. He also contributed frequently to the liberal periodicals.

The 1929 crisis, he says, brought to him the realization that "Marxism had to be more than an intellectual conviction." During the depression years he became active in the Communist Party, and wrote for its press. He was arrested during the needle trades strikes in December 1932 in South River, N. J. Among his best writings of that period were eyewitness accounts of the Ford Massacre in March 1932 and his account of the veterans' bonus march.

In 1933 he joined the Trotskyist movement and became National Secretary of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. He later became associate editor of the *Socialist Appeal*. From 1940 to 1942 he was editor of *The Militant*, and since 1941, the editor of the *Fourth International*. He has written two books on Spain: "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," and "The Civil War in Spain."



EDWARD PALMQUIST

Edward Palmquist is the son of a charter member of Minneapolis Carpenters Local 6, and has worthily upheld his family's labor tradition. He was born in Minneapolis in 1897 and obtained his schooling in the Hennepin County grammar school and Hopkins High School.

For 15 years Palmquist worked as a machinist in a steel plant, until the depression years, when he became unemployed. He plunged into the unemployed struggle for relief and jobs, soon after the rise of Local 544. As Chairman of Local 544's Federal Workers Section, organized in 1936, he played an outstanding role in helping to win thousands of jobs for the unemployed and one of the highest WPA

and relief standards in the country. His fighting leadership won him the confidence and respect of his fellow workers, who elected him as representative of the organized unemployed to the State Emergency Relief Administration and WPA.

In the July 1934 truckdrivers strike, Edward was one of the scores of union fighters herded into a military "stockade." He was sentenced in 1940 to eight months in Sandstone, for his leadership during the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike. Palmquist was an active member of the Hod Carriers Union, served as a delegate to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and was a delegate to a number of State Federation of Labor conventions.

He has two children; a daughter eight years old, and a 1 year old son.

Sandstone, Minn.—12 months



ALFRED RUSSEL

Alfred Russel was born of poor parents in Brooklyn in 1911, His mother died when he was three, and his father when he was seventeen. He went to City College for a year, and to Brooklyn College for two.

Russel's first job in 1929 was as an office boy. For several years thereafter, he worked at any job he could get and often suffered the hardship of unemployment. For one year he worked in a ribbon weaving mill, on the night shift, 60 hours a week for \$16.15.

In 1935 Russel went to Minneapolis, during the period of the great labor upsurge. He was arrested for his activities in the 1935 Strutwear Knitting Mills strike, and served six months in jail. He later assisted in the organization of textile workers and cab drivers,

and published a strike paper for the Yellow Cab strikers. He aided in the organization of Omaha General Drivers Union Local 554. joined the union and was three times elected recording secretary. For opposing the policies of Daniel Tobin, he was arbitrarily removed from office and the local was put under receivership in 1940. Since then he has been working as a truck driver, steel mill hand and machinist.

Russel's wife is expecting their first child.

Danbury, Conn.—12 months



OSCAR SCHOENFELD

Shoenfeld was born in 1916 in New York City. He has known for most of his life only a world of unemployment and deprivation. When he left student life at New York University, he plunged into the life of a working-class organizer, becoming active in picket lines and labor demonstrations.

As an organizer of the Unemployed Youth Section of Local 544. Oscar fought for relief and jobs for the unemployed. He was a leader of the Minneapolis WPA strike in 1939, and was convicted for his strike activity in February 1940, when he was 23 years old. The judge placed him on probation for 18 months, and the probation was extended after his indictment in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

Oscar's loyal and courageous wife, Margaret Kuehn, is the daughter of one of the 18 prisoners, Karl Kuehn. She has taken her place beside her husband and father in labor struggles. She was convicted and placed under one year probation for her activities in the 1939 Minneapolis WPA strike.

The Shoenfelds have two children, both under five years of age.

Danbury, Conn.—12 months



CARL SKOGLUND

Carl Skoglund has been called a grand old working-class leader. To his fellow-workers, who honored his loyalty and fighting spirit by electing him president of Local 544, he is a hearty and lovable friend.

Carl was born in Sweden almost 60 years ago. He became a saw-mill and paper-mill worker, and from his earliest youth he participated in the organization and struggles of the workers. In 1911 he came to this country, where he worked in the building trades, and as lumberman, fireman, janitor, railroad worker, coal driver, mechanic. Everywhere he carried the same rallying cry to labor to organize.

In 1923, he was chairman of the Burlington, Great Western and North Western in the railroad shopmen's strike. He earned the enmity of the employers and when the strike was defeated he was blacklisted from the railroads for life.

During the early organization of the Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544, and in the strikes of 1934, Carl helped to break the open shop in the northwest.

He has held many union posts; was delegate from the Railroad Carmen and AFL Teamsters to the Minneapolis Central Labor Union; twice CLU delegate to conventions of the State Federation of Labor; delegate to the Teamsters' International Convention in 1940; and president of Local 544.

When the prosecutions against the union and socialist leaders began in 1941, Carl was arrested and held for deportation to Sweden. He was told that the deportation threat might be "reconsidered" if he would take the stand for the government in the Minneapolis Labor Case. For his refusal to turn against his brother workers, he is now in prison.

Sandstone, Minn.—16 months

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Recognizing the vital importance of the Minneapolis case to the entire labor movement and the cause of civil liberties, the following unions have previously contributed to our work

St. Louis Joint Advisory Council—CIO, St. Louis, Mo.
 Bridgeport Industrial Union Council, Bridgeport, Conn.
 San Francisco Industrial Union Council, San Francisco, Cal.
 United Transport Service Employees of America, Chicago, Ill.
 CIO Council No. 2—Bucks County, Quakertown, Pa.
 Rochester Railroad Council, Rochester, N. Y.
 Mechanics Educational Society of America, Detroit, Mich.

UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA — CIO

Local #3, Detroit, Mich.	Local #490, Highland Park, Mich.
Local #15, Detroit, Mich.	Local #501, Buffalo, N. Y.
Local #45, Cleveland, Ohio	Local #511, Newark, N. J.
Local #51, Detroit, Mich.	Local #560, El Cerrito, Cal.
Local #82, Racine, Wisc.	Local #578, Oshkosh, Wisc.
Local #88, Cleveland, Ohio	Local #594, Pontiac, Mich.
Local #102, Eau Claire, Wisc.	Local #647, Reading, Ohio
Local #203, Detroit, Mich.	Local #662, Anderson, Ind.
Local #212, Detroit, Mich.	Local #663, Anderson, Ind.
Local #260, Newark, N. J.	Local #666, Jackson, Mich.
Local #262, Detroit, Mich.	Local #672, Trenton, N. J.
Local #263, Cleveland, Ohio	Local #764, Elkhart, Ind.
Local #398, Torrington, Conn.	Local #805, Chicago, Ill.
Local #407, Milwaukee, Wisc.	Local #836, Saginaw, Mich.
Local #410, Detroit, Mich.	Local #837, Elkhart, Ind.
Local #425, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #854, Syracuse, N. Y.
Local #486, Cleveland, Ohio	UAW District Council #11, Buffalo, N. Y.

UNITED STEEL WORKERS OF AMERICA — CIO

Local #1060, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #1833, Newark, N. J.
Local #1330, Youngstown, Ohio	Local #1845, Huntington Park, Cal.
Local #1339, Jersey City, N. J.	Local #2106, Roseland, N. J.
Local #1486, New Haven, Conn.	Local #2017, Buffalo, N. Y.
Local #1743, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #2111, Trenton, N. J.
Local #1753, Buffalo, N. Y.	Local #2141, New Haven, Conn.

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS OF AMERICA — CIO

Local #15, Akron, Ohio	Local #182, Rahway, N. J.
Local #69, Trenton, N. J.	Local #187, Newark, N. J.
Local #107, Trenton, N. J.	Local #205, Trenton, N. J.

INDUSTRIAL UNION OF MARINE & SHIPBUILDING WORKERS — CIO

Local #9, Los Angeles, Cal.	Local #15, Hoboken, N. J.
Local #13, Staten Island, N. Y.	Local #44, Bayonne, N. J.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA — CIO

Local #1, New York, N. Y.
Local #3, Denver, Colo.

Local #169, New York, N. Y.
Local #195, Newark, N. J.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA — CIO

Local #26, Freehold, N. J.
Local #87, Paterson, N. J.

Local #277, Newark, N. J.
Local #356, Newark, N. J.

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA — CIO

Local #203, Bridgeport, Conn.

Local #402, Newark, N. J.

Local #426, Newark, N. J.

INT. LONGSHOREMEN'S & WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION — CIO

Local #10, San Francisco, Cal.

Local #13, San Pedro, Cal.

Local #29, San Diego, Cal.

Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, South St. Paul, Minn.
Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee, Agar Local, Chicago, Ill.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America, Local #462, Irvington, N. J.
Oil Workers Union, Local #337, Linden, N. J.
Oil Workers Union Local #397, Cartaret, N. J.
International Woodworkers of America, Local #2-9, Tacoma, Wash.
International Woodworkers of America, Local #28, Portola, Cal.
Plaything and Novelty Workers of America, Local #433, Bridgeport, Conn.
Doll and Toyworkers Industrial Union, Local #226, Trenton, N. J.
Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers Union, Local #190, Minneapolis, Minn.
State, County and Municipal Workers of America, Local #277, Newark, N. J.
United Retail and Wholesale Employees, Local #108, Newark, N. J.
Aluminum Workers of America, Local #4, Chicago, Ill.
Marine, Fireman, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers, San Pedro, Cal.
United Shoe Workers Joint Council #13, New York, N. Y.
Dyers and Finishers Local #1932, Passaic, N. J.
Fur Workers Union, Local #30, Boston, Mass.

INT. LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION — AFL

Joint Board of Dress and Waistmakers Union of Greater New York —
Locals #10, #22, #60, #89.

Baltimore Joint Board of the ILGWU, Baltimore, Md.

Local #13, Boonton, N. J.

Local #66, New York, N. Y.

Local #25, New York, N. Y.

Local #155, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Local #160, Bayonne, N. J.

Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers, AFL, Local #60, New York, N. Y.

Millinery Workers Union, AFL, Local #24, New York, N. Y.

Amalgamated Lithographers of America, AFL, Local #1, New York, N. Y.

United Mine Workers of America, Local #12160, West Haven, Conn.

Gas By-Products, Coke Workers Local #12065, Edgewater, N. J.

Federation of G. C. S. & S. Workers, Newton Tile Local #75, Newark, N. J.

United Construction Workers, Local #73, Gary, Ind.

Newark Typographical Union, Local #103, Newark, N. J.

BREWERS UNION

Local #2, Newark, N. J.

Local #18, Chicago, Ill.

Local #4, Buffalo, N. Y.

Local #148, Newark, N. J.

Local #205, Minneapolis, Minn.

LABOR AND LIBERALS CONDEMN CONVICTION

NEW JERSEY STATE CIO COUNCIL

"My disagreement with their ideas forms the very basis of my strong conviction that their right to their beliefs and their freedom to express those beliefs ought to be strongly safeguarded. This principle, I believe, is the very rock upon which our democracy stands. This is the reason why the Executive Board of the organization which I head recorded itself in favor of protecting the civil rights of the defendants involved. Therefore, on behalf of the New Jersey State CIO Council, I would like to add my strong protest against the refusal of the Supreme Court of the United States to hear a case where the elements of freedom of speech are involved."—Irving Abramson, *President*.

UNITED TRANSPORT EMPLOYEES — CIO

"The refusal of the United States Supreme Court to hear the case, the first appeal of any conviction under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, is an indication of the anti-civil liberties temper of these times. We pledge our solidarity with you in the work that lies ahead to secure the freedom of the 18 defendants."—Willard Townsend, *President*.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

"This is a case which should never have been brought to court under a law which should never have been passed. Never before has the Supreme Court refused to review a case of this importance."—Roger Baldwin, *Director*.

THE NATION — *Liberal Weekly*

"The record of this prosecution is one to shame every decent American . . . A greater crime is the injury done the Bill of Rights by their prosecution and by the dangerous precedents established, from which the court has averted its face."—*Jan. 15, 1944*.

PM — *N. Y. Daily*

"To permit such convictions to stand is to establish a new and dangerous precedent. To refuse a hearing, after the lower courts have set aside the 'clear and present danger' rule, is to invite the disregard in war and peace of one of the principal constitutional doctrines safeguarding freedom of speech and press."—*Dec. 31, 1943*.

ROCHESTER (N.Y.) RAILROAD COUNCIL

"We recognize this as a general attack on labor and therefore a fight that all labor must rally to. The Rochester Railroad Council goes on record condemning these convictions of workers under this law."

INDUSTRIAL UNION OF MARINE AND SHIPBUILDING WORKERS OF AMERICA — CIO

"I consider it my personal duty as a responsible union leader and as an American to strongly protest the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the U. S. refusing to consider the appeal of 18 members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union."—John Green, *President*.

What YOU Can Do To Help Free the 18

1. Send us your contribution, no matter how small, to provide relief for the 18 prisoners, their wives and children.
2. Write a letter to President Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C., asking him to pardon the 18.
3. Have your union, club or fraternal organization pass a resolution urging the President to uphold the Bill of Rights by freeing the 18, and send it to the White House.
4. Discuss this case and the danger of the Smith "Gag" Act with your friends and fellow workers. Ask them to read this pamphlet. Enlist them in our fight for free speech.

Additional copies of this pamphlet, pardon petitions, two-color 11x16 posters, collection lists and other material on the Minneapolis Labor Case can be obtained by writing to our National Office.

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
160 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10, N. Y.

THIS PAMPHLET PUBLISHED BY

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

JAMES T. FARRELL JOHN DOS PASSOS GEORGE NOVACK
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ENDORSED BY THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
and THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

HELP OUR FIGHT TO FREE THE 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee needs \$10,000 for the following purposes:

1. To win a Presidential pardon for the 18.
2. To provide relief for the wives and children of the prisoners.
3. To fight for the repeal of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act.

MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO:

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

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