

The Negro Question

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS 'BRANDED' - KARL MARX

By J. R. JOHNSON

Marxists have always insisted that lynching has nothing to do with the protection of "the purity of womanhood." The most cursory reading of the evidence collected about lynching shows that the savagery with which the Negro is usually charged applies, not to the lynched Negroes but to the lynchers.

Some years ago Arthur F. Raper made a careful study of lynching. The results were published in the Tragedy of Lynching (The University of North Carolina Press, 1933). They are worth study.

Black Belt Lynching

The Negroes in the South are most heavily concentrated in the old Black Belt. In this area frequently one-half of the population is colored. There the Negro is safer from lynching than anywhere else. Why? Says Raper, "In the Black Belt race relations revolve about the plantation system, under which Negro tenants and wage hands are practically indispensable. Here the variant economic and cultural levels of the mass of whites and the mass of Negroes are well defined, and far removed."

The lynchings that do occur, however, are of a special type, corresponding to the economic set-up and the political and social conditions created by it.

"The Black Belt lynching is something of a business transaction." (p. 56) "The whites there, chiefly of the planter class and consciously dependent upon the Negro for labor, lynch him to conserve traditional landlord-tenant relations rather than to wreak vengeance upon his race. Black Belt white men demand that the Negroes stay out of their politics and dining rooms, the better to keep them in their fields and kitchens."

There is no "widespread hysteria." The mob is usually small. In cases examined by Raper, the "mob proceeded in routine fashion . . . with almost clock-like precision." In these areas politics is the white employer's business. The Negro must not interfere. The country officials are direct agents of the plantation owners and are well paid. The sheriff of Bolivar County, for instance, received in 1931 \$40,000 a year, ten times the salary of the Governor of Mississippi. "In these Black Belt plantation areas, where modified slave patterns still persist, any crime which occurs among the propertyless Negroes is considered a labor matter to be handled by the white landlord or his overseer."

We see now why these fellows are so fiercely opposed to the anti-lynching bill. It will be a powerful means of awakening the Negroes to the fact that they have rights, which are recognized in theory at any rate by the Federal Government. The bill will not stop lynching but it will strike a blow at the whole system.

The Mob Lynching

Frank Shay, in his Justice Lynch (Ives Washburn, 1938), gives us a picture of the other type of lynching, where the mob grows wild and tears the living flesh from the burning Negro. This mob, he says, is made up of young men between their teens and their middle twenties with a sprinkling of morons of all ages. "Its members are native whites, mostly the underprivileged, the unemployed, the dispossessed, and the unattached. . . . They are grocery-clerks, soda-jerkers, low-paid employees in jobs that require neither training nor intelligence; jobs that might often be filled more competently by Negroes and at lower wages. In rural communities this mob is made up of day-workers and wage-hands, the more shiftless type of tenants, those who through birth and former position are bound to the locality."

There we have it. Their own misery, defeat, and the fear for the scraps by which they live drive them periodically to terrorize and wreak their wrath against the social system on the Negroes, whom they see as their greatest enemy and whom they are traditionally taught to despise. Here again lynching is rooted in the economic system and even the very forms it takes are conditioned by the specific class relations of the two races.

Raper illustrates this principle in many ways. Take the situation in North Texas and Central Oklahoma. This is not a Black Belt area, and in the urban communities of these counties many business and professional Negroes own comfortable homes and other property. A considerable proportion of the colored people regularly participate in local and national elections. The propertyed whites, not dependent upon Negro labor as are the whites in the Black Belt area, do not circumscribe the Negro's activity to the same degree. But the poorer whites in the rural areas are hostile. By violence and threats they drive the Negroes from the rural neighborhoods. The lynch-mobs number over one thousand.

Raper makes one truly astonishing observation. While the propertyed whites here allow the Negroes a certain freedom, they do not need them for labor and are therefore indifferent to Negro persecution by the poor whites. In the Black Belt, however, the plantation owners protect their Negro serfs from the hostility of the poor whites. They are not going to have their labor force interfered with by a rival labor force. When there is any lynching to be done, they themselves will do it, in a systematic and organized manner.

One last point. Going on data compiled by Wootter, Raper shows that between 1900 and 1930, whenever the price of cotton is above the usual trend, the number of lynchings is below the average. Whenever the price of cotton is depressed, the number of lynchings increases. The Fourth International struggles wherever a battle in the class war is being waged. We utilize the capitalist parliament for our own purposes, and that is why we do all we can to defeat the attempt of the Senators to block the bill. But we never lose sight of the fact that the greatest enemy of all is the capitalist system. It cannot exist in the South without mob law. The workers, white and black, must steadily prepare to destroy capitalism, the root-source of lynching.

ON THE WAR IN FINLAND

Why We Should Defend the Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

What attitude should a class-conscious worker adopt towards the Soviet-Finnish war?

The problem is in reality not so difficult as some people would have us believe. The worker who does not permit himself to be confused by the propaganda of the capitalist press, by the whinnings of all the varieties of middle-class intellectuals, including those who call themselves "socialists" and those who use Marxist phrasology; the worker who bases himself on the fundamentals of revolutionary Marxism and who approaches the whole problem from the standpoint of the historical interests of the working class, will readily agree that the policy adopted by the Socialist Workers Party is not only clear and simple to understand, but is the only policy that is in harmony with the principles of revolutionary socialism and therefore one hundred per cent correct.

REVOLUTIONARY ROOTS OF THE SOVIET UNION

The revolutionary worker, in trying to arrive at a correct conclusion as to what attitude he should take towards the struggle between the Soviet Union and Finland, cannot possibly forget the different roots of these two states. The Soviet Union was born as the result of the greatest revolutionary upheaval in the history of mankind. Under the leadership of Lenin the Russian masses destroyed the capitalist army, police force, jails, legislative, executive and judicial organs, in a word, the capitalist state that protected the interests of the Russian capitalists and landlords. Under the leadership of Lenin the Russian masses created a new type of state, the Soviet state, based on the idea that the workers should control their own destinies both politically and economically. The workers' state proceeded to nationalize all industry. The capitalists fled the country.

There are some people, pretending to be the super-Marxists of the century, who claim that there never was a proletarian revolution in Russia. We shall let these people argue with the former Russian capitalists who are now living in France, England and the United States and vociferously proclaiming the need to

defend democratic Finland. To the worker who is not misled by phrases any revolution in which the masses take the industries away from the capitalists is a proletarian revolution.

It is true that the terrible conditions under which the revolution was consummated did not permit the workers' state to put into practice the degree of democracy that Lenin dreamed of, but in spite of everything the Russian workers had greater freedom and greater rights under the early Soviet regime than any group of workers ever had in the history of mankind. Their victorious struggle against the armies of the Russian, French, English and American capitalists testifies to that fact.

REACTIONARY ROOTS OF BOURGEOIS FINLAND

Now let us take a look at the origin of Finland. The story is simple. Under the leadership of Mannerheim and supported, first by the German imperialists, and then by the English imperialists, the Finnish white guards succeeded in defeating the Finnish workers, exterminating tens of thousands of them physically and establishing on their blood and bones a country which was to serve as one of the buffer states against the Soviet Union. In the course of some years a veneer of capitalist democracy was smeared over but hardly succeeded in concealing the capitalist exploitation which exists there. Essentially it is the same Finland that was created by virtue of the defeat of the Finnish workers and the same Mannerheim is still at the head of this country.

Thus in the struggle between the Soviet Union and Finland we have one born under the leadership of Lenin in a victorious struggle against the capitalists and the other born under the leadership of Mannerheim in a victorious struggle against the workers.

He who ignores this fact is likely to go far astray and land in company which, to put it mildly, is far from interested in the welfare of the Finnish or any other workers.

IS ANYTHING LEFT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION?

Is there anything left of the revolution, of the work of the Russian masses guided by Lenin?

This is the second question that we must ask ourselves. For, obviously, if there is nothing left of the revolution we need not concern ourselves at all with the question whether or not to defend the Soviet Union. The revolutionary worker can make up his mind only on the basis of the answer to the question: Is there anything worth while saving in the Soviet Union?

The leaders of the revolution of November 1917 had as their fundamental aim the achievement of socialism, the establishment of a social system where the means of production would be owned by society as a whole, where every human being would have a very high standard of living, where there would be no classes and consequently where there would be no state, that is, no instruments of force for the purpose of keeping any section of society under control. The advanced workers, however, understood well enough that such a social system could not be achieved unless the proletarian revolution was extended to the most advanced capitalist countries.

The more immediate aim, therefore, of the advanced Russian workers was to overthrow their own capitalists, establish a workers' state to prevent a possible restoration of capitalism, to organize production, and continue to work for the extension of the revolution. The rule of the workers expresses itself fundamentally in the fact that they have abolished private property in the means of production and have established nationalized property.

The rule of any class can assume different forms. Under capitalism we have absolute or limited monarchies, democratic or fascist governments. The rule of the working class can also assume different forms depending upon the particular conditions prevailing. But the aim of the advanced workers has always been and should always be to achieve the greatest possible degree of democracy in a workers' state. That was the aim of Lenin and of the Russian workers.

DEMOCRATIC SOVIETS TO BUREAUCRACY

But circumstances prevented the achievement of the ideal of a democratic Soviet state. The extreme backwardness of Russia,

the imperialist war, the civil war and the throttling of the proletarian revolution in Germany by the Social Democratic leaders, made impossible the attainment of a really democratic state. The bureaucratic forces generated by these objective conditions finally gained control. The victory of Stalin over Trotsky expressed the victory of the bureaucracy over the democratic forces.

Step by step the bureaucracy under Stalin's leadership consolidated its control. Soviet, party, trade union democracy were crushed. Initiative and freedom of thought were suppressed. The process of degeneration set in and the advanced Russian workers were unable to stem the tide of reaction. The bureaucracy gained complete control.

Some overly-hasty people who either do not know or have forgotten that for Marxists the basic criterion is an economic one, jumped to the conclusion that, since the Russian workers lost all their democratic rights, there was no longer any workers' state. On the other hand Trotsky and those who accept his theories have been tireless in pointing out that so long as the basic achievement of the November revolution remains, so long as nationalized property has not been destroyed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, so long does the Soviet Union remain a workers' state. It is true, no longer the kind of workers' state that we would like to see; it is true, that it is now a workers' state; that has degenerated; but it is still a workers' state and will remain such so long as nationalized property and the monopoly

of foreign trade remain essentially as they were established by the revolution.

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Following and analyzing events in the Soviet Union, Trotsky has proposed certain changes in our attitude to the Stalinist bureaucracy. For a long time it appeared possible to change the nature of the regime by methods of reform, but when that possibility disappeared Trotsky did not hesitate to propose the idea, and the Fourth Internationalists did not hesitate to accept the proposal, that reform was no longer possible and that a political revolution was necessary to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy.

No one denies that Stalin has introduced some changes which affect nationalized property in the Soviet Union. No one denies the danger of a change in property relations by virtue of Stalin's policies.

But a revolutionary worker has a different attitude to a company union than he has to an independent union, no matter how reactionary the leadership of the latter union may be. Once a revolutionary worker, by analyzing all the factors involved, comes to the conclusion that the Soviet Union is still a workers' state, though degenerated; once a revolutionary worker clearly sees that nationalized property still exists and that therefore there is something worth while saving he can easily solve the problem of what his attitude should be in the war that is being waged between the Soviet Union and Finland.

(Continued next week)

In This Corner

by MAX SHACHTMAN

An Appeal From Our Polish Comrades

Through one of those devious routes which revolutionists in Europe are now forced to take to communicate with their comrades and friends abroad, a letter has just come which is at once an urgent appeal and a stirring summons to action. It is written by a Polish Bolshevik-Leninist with whom I am personally acquainted and for whose standing in the revolutionary movement I am able to vouch; here is a translation of it:

"Today I received my first information of the whereabouts of our friends, who escaped the Polish disaster. At present they are at Wilno, the temporary capital of Lithuania.

"Primarily I am writing on their behalf through you to Max. I am asking you to put forward this case vigorously. It cannot be delayed any longer. It is imperative to save them. "Imagine journeying on foot from Warsaw through Lublin, Chelm, Kowel, Lwow to Wilno. All the way facing the impending danger of German bullets and bombs. But more gruesome than this, having Stalin's barbaric hordes on their trail all the time. These bands make the Czar's Cossacks look like playboys in comparison. It is still a mystery to me how, through all these horrible events, they got to Wilno.

"They have been there already two months, and only now was I able to establish contact with them. The winter is bitter and earning a living is out of the question. We must help them to freedom.

"My friend, if you only knew these people. They are all young and very militant, but have suffered more than the old. They suffered immensely before and during the war. In spite of this, they are still able to prove their devotion to the cause. But their situation is such that their activities may be brought to a standstill forever. I am unable, for reasons obvious to all, to give the accurate characteristics of each. Believe me, they are the people with whom our future is bound up. They must be rescued at all costs.

"I am not speaking of their struggle. Glance at the map of Europe and you will discover little Lithuania, hugging a spot on the Baltic. It appears as a little dot on the brink of the angry seas of Hitlerism and Stalinism. How long will she last? Only the miracles of the time threw part of Poland to Lithuania. What has European history heard of her lately? Practically nothing. My friends have found temporary shelter there. But for how long?

A Word from the Survivors

"I write you a few quotations from their letters. 'We must flee before German bombers and tanks, and leave behind the mad fanatics who are hot on our pursuit. We did not always have the good fortune to dodge these frenzied maniacs, who at every opportunity would let their blood-thirsty passions run away with them and strike terror into the hearts of their innocent victims. Many of those dear to us fell as victims to one or the other. We, the handful of survivors, trod our way to Wilno. The first days, with an unknown feeling of joy and wonder, we proved to ourselves that we were alive and safe. But a few days later we were forced to come to an alarming decision that our freedom was only problematical. What will happen if one of these enraged hordes of Stalinists invade Lithuania?' If so, our friends will undoubtedly perish.

"Dear friend, I know that we, the Polish immigrants abroad, cannot be of much aid. Leaving aside the fact that we are poor, it is impossible to send money out of this country. Even if the money should be raised, it is improbable that this country would accept them. Yet these people must be saved. I am appealing to you to provide immediate aid for them.

"In a few days I will send you their addresses. Send them at least money to keep warm and alive, and eventually get them out of Lithuania. We understand that you have no money. Let Max lay it out. By everything that is ours, sacredly and mutually, I adjure you not to let these men die. I will shoulder the responsibility for that money as a private citizen in the name of our friends. If you have the slightest faith in our future, you ought to trust this unofficial note which I am signing below. Send them at least \$200. . . .

"I have hope that you will do all in your power and more. Clasp your palms firmly and waiting for your prompt reply and the reply of Max and his associates, I remain, X"

It is true that we have no money, but we are not so poor that such an appeal will go unheeded. Our only fear is that the material aid that we must and will collect for our Polish comrades may come too late. Fortunately, there is not yet any reason why we should believe this to be the case, and that is why not a minute is to be lost.

The American Labor Aid, to which a similar appeal was addressed, has already acted in exemplary fashion. It has forwarded, we are informed, half of the extremely modest sum requested by the Polish revolutionists. In turn, our party has warmly subscribed to the campaign launched by the American Labor Aid.

Through this column, I earnestly beg all our readers and friends to send generous contributions by air mail to the A.L.A. Its address is 125 West 33rd Street, New York, N.Y. Contributions—not loans, for the "note" which my good comrade sent along, with his moving letter is entirely superfluous.

Our Polish comrades, fearless partisans of the Fourth International, have long ago redeemed a thousand such "notes" by their spotless record of revolutionary proletarian activity. I know something of their work; I feel some of the pride we share at being comrades-in-arms in a movement which has these fighters in its ranks.

For the sake of the great cause of labor, for the sake of that spirit of international revolutionary solidarity which stands above all else, for the sake of the new Poland that will surely arise over the dirty ashes of Hitlerism and Stalinism—the Poland of the workers' and peasants' Soviets—help our stranded, imperilled comrades!

British Spurn Gandhi; Proposed Deal Fails

(Continued from Page 1)

war began. The cry for drastic mass action was heard on all sides.

But the Gandhi crowd who hold the reins of the Congress movement tightly in their hands trembled before the prospects of revolution. Representing the native landowning class, merchants, money lenders and mill owners who fear for their property at least as much as do the British rulers, the Gandhi-Nehru reactionaries deliberately set about quelling and dampening the spirit of the masses.

Beholding the Movement

For a time they were swept along and issued "radical" slogans and demands for demagogic purposes (immediate independence, a Constituent Assembly, etc.). But not for long. A period of aimless, endless and demoralizing negotiations with the Viceroy began. No lead was given the country, except continuous exhortations to refrain from action and violence.

At the last meeting of the Executive Working Committee of the Congress (December, 1939), Gandhi was appointed Supreme Dictator, with authority to make decisions, set aside previous decisions and decide policy by himself. He was authorized to make an agreement with the British. His weekly paper, Harijan, has become the weekly instruction bulletin for Congress organizers and workers. Any effort to institute a "Civil Disobedience" campaign was frowned upon and opposed. Gandhi stated, "We cannot be unfair to the British."

Left Wing Purged

At the same time a fierce drive launched against the Congress radical wing made up of left-wing nationalists (Bose), socialists and Stalinists. They, who were demanding action, were considered the real enemy by the Gandhi traitors. Subhas Bose, leading left-wing Nationalist, neatly summed up the whole struggle when, after denouncing Gandhi as a traitor to India, he wrote, "The essence of Gandhism is to lick the foot which has kicked it in the face!"

But the country has not been silent during this period. It is still absolutely correct to say that India is solidly against support of the war and is proving this in action. The organized opposition is led by the Congress left-wing; the unions of workers and peasants, the Socialists, the Stalinists, and the supporters of Subhas Bose.

Stirrings of Revolt

To cite but a few instances: On October 2 there was a one-day political strike against the war by 90,000 textile workers of Bombay. In Madras, Bose addressed an anti-war demonstration of 100,000 people. At Nagpur on October 9 an anti-imperialist conference under the presidency of Bose was attended by 30,000 delegates. Strikes of jute workers in Calcutta are still going on, and rapid growth of the peasant unions in Madras, Punjab and Bengal provinces is reported.

The British, in the meanwhile, have been conducting feverish negotiations with Gandhi and Nehru. They brought Sir Stafford Cripps to India for discussions with Gandhi, Nehru and Moslem leaders. But Sir Stafford accomplished next to nothing and has already left the country via China and is on his way to America.

Many Arrests

The authorities have begun a campaign of arrests against numerous trade union and peasant leaders, with hundreds being sentenced. The British well understand who their real enemy is. They realize that Gandhi's influence is on the wane and that little can be expected even if they should sign an agreement with him. In the long run they must depend upon military and police force to remain in India.

Distrust of Stalinists

To summarize: the past three months has seen the deliberate and wilful sabotage by Gandhi of the anti-war sentiment of the masses. The fighting spirit of India's workers and peasant has been momentarily set back. The Indian people are justifiably hesitant about falling for the pseudo-radical and demagogic slogans flung at them by the Indian Communist Party. The Indian C.P.—as all sections of the Communist International—works solely in the interests of the Moscow bureaucracy and in the interests of its alliance with German imperialism. The "radical" slogans of the Indian Stalinists are aimed at furthering the successes of the Russo-German military war alliance and not at really freeing India from imperialism.

Naturally, Indian revolutionists will support each and every action directed against British imperialism—no matter if it is led by the Stalinists, while at the same time pitilessly exposing the motives of the Stalinists, which are clear to all.

Country Stripped for War

As the war progresses British exploitation in India heightens. The country is being drained of its food products, its silver and gold, its mineral ores, its jute and cotton—all for Britain's war needs. The determination of the workers and peasants to resist this super-colonial exploitation will redouble. The growth of the Congress left-wing is assured. Today India's struggle centers within the Congress—the struggle against Gandhism sell out.

Dutch Queen Ready For A Rainy Day

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Queen Wilhelmina of Holland is the owner of the Westchester, the big and very costly apartment house block here. She purchased it through a dummy corporation just in case!

The Lynching of Claude Neal How Democracy Works in the Sunny South

What does the Anti-Lynching Bill, to go before the Senate February 6, seek to prevent? What is a lynching? It is a murder by a mob, you will say. But in terms of human feelings, in more than dictionary words, what is a lynching?

The lynching of Claude Neal in 1934 was not in any important respect exceptional. The crowd was not unusually brutal. The lynched man did not suffer more than most victims. It was, we may say, a typical lynching. The NAACP has published a brochure describing in some detail the mob-murder of this Negro, an account that gives every evidence of being carefully checked at every point. What follows is a summary of that account.

"On October 19, 1934, Claude Neal, 23, of Greenwood, Florida, was arrested by Deputy Sheriff J. P. Coulette for the murder of Lola Cannidy, 20, a white girl also of Greenwood, Florida. . . . It is alleged that a confession was wrung from Neal and that he assumed entire responsibility for the crime. Sheriff W. F. Chambliss . . . ordered Neal to be taken to Chipley, Florida, for safekeeping, a distance of about 20 miles. . . .

"From the moment that Neal was arrested a blood-thirsty mob relentlessly pursued him.

"The angry mood of the crowd at Chipley caused the sheriff there to remove Neal to Panama City. From Panama City he was taken by boat to Pensacola. From Pensacola Neal was taken across the Florida line to Brewton, Alabama—a distance of 61 miles. . . . "An armed mob of approximately 100 men stormed the county jail at Brewton on the morning of October 26. Neal was seized after Mike Shanholster, the jailer, unlocked his cell door, and was brought screaming and crying and placed in the front car in front of the county jail. The mob had triumphed. . . .

RADIO BROADCAST CALLS LYNCHING PARTY

"According to a member of the mob with whom I talked, Claude Neal was lynched in a lonely spot about four miles from Greenwood. . . . Due to the great number of people who wanted to participate in the lynching, the original mob

which secured Neal from the jail at Brewton evidently decided that if all of the niceties of a modern Twentieth Century lynching were to be inflicted upon Neal it would be unwise for a larger mob to handle the victim. They preferred that his last hours on earth be filled with the greatest possible humiliation and agony. However, the word was passed all over Northeastern Florida and South-eastern Alabama that there was to be a lynching party to which all white people are invited, near the Cannidy home Friday night. It is also reported that the information was broadcast from the radio station at Dothan, Alabama. . . .

"A member of the lynching party with whom I talked described the lynching in all of its ghastliness, down to the minutest detail:

"After taking the nigger to the woods about four miles from Greenwood, they cut off his penis. He was made to eat it. Then they cut off his testicles and made him eat them and say he liked it. (I gathered that this barbarous act consumed considerable time and that other means of torture were used from time to time on Neal.)

FINALLY THEY DECIDED JUST TO KILL HIM

"Then they sliced his sides and stomach with knives and every now and then somebody would cut off a finger or toe. Red hot irons were used on the nigger to burn him from top to bottom. From time to time during the torture a rope would be tied around Neal's neck and he was pulled up over a limb and held there until he almost choked to death, when he would be let down and the torture begun all over again. After several hours of this unspeakable torture, they decided just to kill him."

"Neal's body was tied to a rope on the rear of an automobile and dragged over the highway to the Cannidy home. Here a mob estimated to number somewhere between 3,000 and 7,000 people from eleven southern states was excitedly waiting his arrival. When the car which was dragging Neal's body came in front of the Cannidy home, a man who was riding the rear bumper cut the

"A woman came out of the Cannidy house and drove a butcher knife into his heart. Then the crowd came by and some kicked him and some drove their cars over him."

"The body, which by this time was horribly mutilated, was taken by the mob to Marianna, . . . where it was hung to a tree on the northeast corner of the courthouse square. Pictures were taken of the mutilated form and hundreds of photographs were sold for fifty cents each. . . . Fingers and toes from Neal's body have been exhibited as souvenirs. . . .

"The body was cut down about eight-thirty Saturday morning, October 27. . . . Toward noon a white man struck a Negro who sought to defend himself and in the struggle with the white man, hurled a pop bottle at him. . . . The Negro finally tore himself away from the mob (that gathered) and ran across the street and into the courthouse, where he was given protection by a friendly group of white men. The mob clamored for another victim. . . . and began a systematic attempt to drive all Negroes from the town. Saturday was a day of terror and madness, never to be forgotten by anyone."

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THAT LYNCHING

"It is claimed that a large number of those who participated in the rioting in Marianna on Saturday, October 27, had been on the county relief rolls for some time. Relief had been cut off about two weeks before the lynching occurred. . . . An organization known as the Jackson county FERA Purification League headed by W. Poozer led a demonstration through the streets of Marianna on the Saturday preceding the lynching. . . .

"This lynching was a surface eruption. The basic cause was economic. . . . The lynching had two objects, first, to intimidate and threaten the white employers of Negro labor and secondly to scare and terrorize the Negroes so that they would leave the county and their jobs could be taken over by white men."

"There are too many niggers and too many white people looking for the same job."