

The Two Sides of Abraham Lincoln

By G. F. Eckstein

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THE MILITANT

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James Kutcher In Hospital for New Operation

By George Breitman

NEWARK, Feb. 6 — "I'm sorry to be out of action again. I hope I'll be back on my artificial limbs soon so that I can resume my part in the fight for civil liberties." This was James Kutcher speaking—from his bed in the Beth Israel Hospital where he underwent a new operation on the stump of his left leg yesterday.

It is too early to tell if the operation was completely successful. An inch and a half of bone and some tissue were "trimmed" from his left stump in an effort to make it more adaptable to use of his artificial legs.

In recent months Kutcher had been suffering discomfort and pain; the stump began to bleed occasionally and there was danger of infection. It is believed that this was caused in part, by his increased activity after he was dismissed from his clerical job with the government because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Kutcher will be in the hospital for two or three weeks, until the stumps are removed. Then the stump will have to heal before he can again attempt the use of artificial limbs.

PLANS GREATER ACTIVITY

As he lay on his bed, looking tired and haggard, he was not interested in discussing the operation or its painfulness. Surgery and hospitals are an old story to him by now. Since he was wounded by a mortar shell in Italy 6½ years ago, he has had a total of three operations on each leg.

And there is no certainty that yesterday's will be the last one. Despite the advances made in the field of artificial limbs, it is not easy to obtain mobility where one leg extends only to just below the knee and the other has no knee at all.

Kutcher made it clear today, however, that he intends to be more active in the future than before: "I have received invitations to speak before labor,

liberal and veteran organizations in many parts of the country. If it is at all possible, I will accept them and maybe make some tours.

"For another thing, there will soon be a hearing on my case before the Loyalty Review Board in Washington. But above all, I want to reach the widest number of organizations and tell them about the real issue in my case—the danger to all democratic rights that arises when the political party in power assumes the authority to blacklist minority parties as 'subversive' on the say-so of one man, the Attorney General."

THE VA'S ATTITUDE

The local press played up the fact that the Veterans Administration will pay for the operation, which was performed by Dr. David S. Eisenberg. But evidently the VA did not propose to spend a cent more than it had to, denying him the use of either a private or semi-private room and placing him in a general wardroom crowded with 20 patients. The VA is the same agency for which Kutcher worked for over two years before he was fired last October.

Those who understand the broader meaning of the Kutcher fight, who recognize that he is fighting for all of us as well as himself, will redouble their efforts on his behalf while he is completely disabled. Those who want to communicate with him while he is in the hospital should address their mail to James Kutcher, Ward 201, Beth Israel Hospital, 201 Lyons Ave., Newark 8, N. J.

How YOU can help James Kutcher — See Page 4.

SURVIVAL OF KUOMINTANG MADE POSSIBLE BY CP

By Li Fu-jen

The situation in China is profoundly revolutionary. The overwhelming mass of the people are no longer prepared to tolerate the Kuomintang regime or any deceptive substitute for it. They want to end the system of exploitation and oppression on which this regime has rested. The regime itself is crumbling. Its class backers, the bourgeoisie and the landlords, have lost confidence in it and in their ability to sustain their own class rule. Lacking to convert the revolutionary situation into a social revolution, is a revolutionary party in the tradition of Bolshevism.

What stands out in the present situation is the glaring contradiction between the Stalinist program and policy, on the one hand, and the real revolutionary possibilities on the other. Stalinist program and policy are determined and governed, not by revolutionary considerations, but by the conservative bureaucratic needs of the Kremlin gang and by the still meager bureaucratic interests of the Chinese Stalinists themselves.

A revolutionary situation cannot remain revolutionary for an indefinite period. Unless the Chinese ruling classes are decisively crushed and their properties expropriated in the shortest possible time, they may be able to stage a come-back. The revolutionary situation could turn into its opposite — a counter-revolutionary situation. If the Stalinists were deliberately planning a come-back for Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, they could scarcely do it more effectively than by their present vacillating, half-way, compromising policy which is adding to the life-span of this reactionary regime. Recent news dispatches show quite clearly that Chiang and his henchmen are using the breathing space provided them by the Stalinists to prepare for a counter-offensive.

The Stalinists permitted the criminal Chiang and the entire personnel of his government to flee safely and unhindered from Nanking — after making the empty gesture of placing them on a list of "war criminals." And after they had fled, they "ordered" Li Tsung-jen — head of the Kuomintang's "caretaker" government in Nanking — to arrest Chiang and the rest of the "war criminals." A Kerensky entrusted with the arrest of a Kornilov!

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"Inherent Powers" Doctrine Menaces Democratic Rights

Reconstruction of 'Militant' Office Proceeding Slowly

Readers' Donations Still Urgently Needed

NEW YORK — Thanks to the financial response of Militant readers, it has been possible to go ahead with reconstruction of this paper's offices at 116 University Pl., which were gutted by a fire of unknown origin Jan. 23. But thus far only a beginning has been made. It will require additional funds and several more weeks before The Militant will be able to operate on anything like a normal basis.

Some of the office equipment damaged by the flames has been salvaged and restored to use, and substitutes are being obtained piece-by-piece for other equipment ruined beyond repair. The invaluable clipping morgue, badly scorched and partly destroyed, is also being rebuilt. While the long, slow task of constructing new flooring and installing windows and electrical equipment is under way on the second and third floors, the staff is at work turning out the paper in an improvised office on the first floor, which escaped damage.

"TO HELP REPLACE"

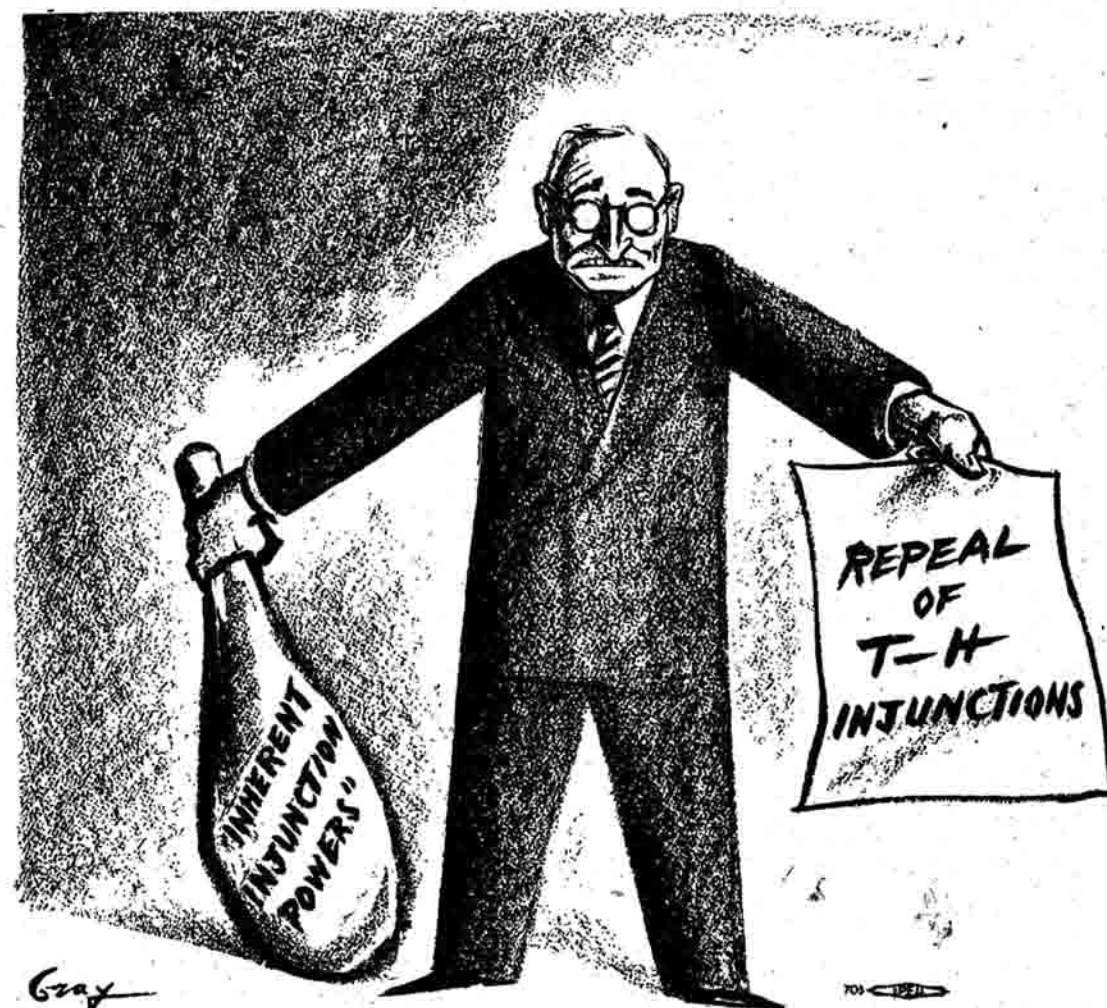
These steps have been made possible by the generous help extended by our readers. Previously reported was the donation of \$515 in cash and pledges from the New York Local of the SWP.

R.B.G. of Los Angeles wrote: "What little I can spare as an old laborer goes to the anarchist papers, but I learned of the fire you had and am enclosing \$2." L. S. of Philadelphia expressed grief at the news of the fire and sent \$5 "to help replace the burned equipment."

The Northwest Side Branch of the SWP in Chicago gave \$17.80, and pledged an additional \$30. The South Side Branch sent \$5. C. A. of Los Angeles contributed \$20, S. C. of Yonkers \$5 and M. S. of Shaker Heights, Ohio, \$50. Virtually all the contributors voiced regret at not being able to send more.

The editorial and business staffs of The Militant appreciate both the spirit shown by these readers and their donations, no matter how small. We urge our other friends to do likewise — send whatever you can and as quickly as possible. It will enable us to overcome the existing handicaps and to resume publication under normal conditions.

Please mail your contribution to The Militant, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.



Judge Bars 'Confidential' Jury-Packing Evidence

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, Feb. 9 — Official records of methods used to pack federal jury panels with representatives of the rich have been barred from evidence in the defense challenge of the jury system in the trial of the 11 Stalinists.

Henry P. Chandler, director of the U. S. Courts Administrative Office, stated from the witness stand that such "confidential" material might be "misused" if made public. Judge Medina upheld Chandler's position. Involved were the "working materials" used by Leland L. Tolman of Chandler's office in preparing an official study of the jury system.

The Tolman report describes the "high type of citizens" serving on juries, thanks to the use of Who's Who, the Social Register and similar directories in drawing the jury panels, and thanks also to a "pleasing young man" engaged in drawing the panels who knows about geographic

distribution of the population by occupation, race, income level, etc.

Mountains of evidence showing systematic exclusion from jury panels of workers, Negroes and other minorities by the invidious method of token representation have been submitted by the defense. This evidence was introduced mainly through the testimony of Dorey A. Wilkerson, director of the Stalinist Jefferson School.

The government prosecutor, John F. X. McGohy, made a big fuss about one missing pin among the hundreds of pins on the score of maps showing how jurors are concentrated in the wealthy neighborhoods.

PROSECUTION'S LINE

Wilkerson has sought to avoid compliance with the prosecutor's demand that he be given the names of all persons who helped prepare the maps and charts showing the composition of the jury panels. McGohy is obviously preparing to use this develop-

ment as a pretext to demand that all testimony by Wilkerson be thrown out.

Characterizing defense procedure in the jury challenge as "subversion of the administration of justice," Judge Medina has declared he will resort to every means at his disposal to end the challenge proceedings and go ahead with the trial under the indictment.

As the trial nears the end of the fourth week, there is a striking absence of a broad protest movement against the jury-packing scheme and the even more sinister thought-control indictment of the Stalinists under the Smith Act.

In part this lack of mass protest is due to the hysterical red-baiting propaganda. President Truman, the Congress and the judiciary have spearheaded the public denunciation of the Stalinists. The capitalist press and radio have played the red-baiting theme in every key. The Mindzenty trial has been used by the

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Truman Claims Presidential Authority to Rule by Decree

By Art Preis

Truman's claim that he has "inherent power" to outlaw and smash strikes when he decides they affect public "health, safety and welfare" is the boldest

move he has yet made to arrogate to himself dictatorial powers.

By this declaration, Truman has openly and autocratically attempted to assume authority that no previous president, not even Roosevelt, had ever dared to assert in war or peace without specific legal sanction. There is nothing in the U. S. Constitution granting the sweeping powers that Truman claims as chief executive. Nevertheless, Truman has stated, in effect, that "I am the law!"

He made this dictatorial claim at a press interview on Feb. 4 when he approved a memorandum by Attorney General Tom Clark to the Senate labor hearings, which contended there is no need for a special law to permit presidential use of injunctions because the president has "inherent power" to enjoin strikes in "national emergencies." Truman said he had no objection to Congress "spelling out" such a law, but he didn't think it was "necessary" inasmuch as he already has the "inherent power" to act.

"DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS"

Truman's enunciation of this new and unprecedented doctrine of "inherent power" raises an issue that transcends even the vital issue of labor relations legislation. Under this doctrine there is no limit to the powers the president may assert. It parallels the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" maintained by absolute monarchs.

As applied to the sphere of labor relations, Truman's assumption of "inherent power" would make him a supreme arbiter with no legal limits to his authority to intervene against the workers at any time he decides their actions constitute a "national emergency."

Truman's claim is all the more ominous because it follows a series of other actions designed to establish his power by decree to suppress and outlaw dissenting political groups and to plunge the

country into war without the specific approval of Congress, let alone the expressed will of the people.

OTHER USURPATIONS

Truman acted on the doctrine of "inherent power," without publicly formulating it, when he issued his Executive Order 9835 that initiated Clark's list of so-called "subversive" organizations and the Gestapo-like "loyalty" purge among government workers. This order not only blacklists any political opposition that Truman chooses to label "subversive" and denies them a hearing on this charge, but it subjects anyone on government work, whether in federal or private employment, to intimate investigation and dismissal without a hearing or the right to confront accusers. It was under this order that James Kutcher, the legless war veteran, was fired from the Veterans Administration.

It has been revealed that the North Atlantic military pact, now being secretly drafted in Washington, includes the commitment that the U. S. will send military support to any other pact-partner which may be "attacked" by an "aggressor." Under this commitment, Truman, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, could plunge this country into war at will.

If Truman gets away with his new doctrine of "inherent powers," it will be the biggest step yet taken in this country toward a police state. If he can break strikes this way, then he can also break any and all elementary rights of labor, Negro and progressive organizations by decree. Organized labor must take the lead in halting this move toward totalitarianism.

See Page 3 for editorial, "On the Road to Totalitarianism."

A LESSON THAT LABOR CAN PROFIT FROM

By The Editors

The organized landlords aren't depending merely on their agents in Congress, or protest letters or even threats of mass evictions to force the end of rent controls. They mean business and are acting accordingly. The American Property Owners Association has called a national landlords conference in Washington starting Feb. 14. Mass delegations of rent-sharks from Tulsa, Kansas City, St. Louis and other midwest centers are traveling by special trains to park themselves next week on the very door-step of Congress. The N. Y. Times headlines this action: "Landlords to Invade Washington."

That's how exploiters and gougers of the working people fight. But what is organized labor doing to defend the workers' interests while Congress and Truman play football with the vital issues of Taft-Hartley repeal, civil rights, housing, etc.? The union leaders are sitting back and urging the workers to "wait for Harry."

Well, Truman has shown his hand. He's stated that the only reason he's refrained from including in his labor bill a specific section on injunctions, is because it's not "necessary"—he already has "inherent power" to break strikes. His housing program, experts reveal, is so inadequate it will mean even bigger slums by the time the program is finished eight years from now. And the Democrats in Congress are cooking up a slick deal to compromise civil rights legislation.

All of which means that labor will get only crumbs and broken promises out of Truman and Congress unless it carries its fight to Washington—just as its enemies, like the landlords, are doing. Thousands of union delegates, from every national and local body, should be in Washington right now in a United Congress of Labor drafting labor's demands and spearheading national action to win them. Let labor take a tip from the landlords and "invade" Washington. That's the way to get results.

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Trial of the Stalinist Leaders

By James P. Cannon

(The following is the text of a speech delivered by the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party at a protest mass meeting held in New York Feb. 6. Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman, also spoke, presenting an eyewitness account of the Stalinist trial to date.)

There is a widespread popular impression that the Communist Party leaders in the dock in the federal courtroom on Foley Square are criminals and ought to be brought to trial. I personally agree with that popular sentiment. The Stalinist leaders are indeed criminals, and they should be tried for their crimes. But we don't agree with this trial. This is a case of the right criminals charged with the wrong crime. And they are being tried in the wrong court.

Like Comrade Dobbs, I could testify as an expert witness on

these questions. I hereby publicly offer the lawyers for the Stalinists on trial my services in their defense against false accusations. I have qualifications as such an expert, as follows:

I was an active member of the Communist Party since its foundation in 1919 until 1928, that is, nine years. I am a student of Marxist and Leninist theory, which the Stalinists are falsely accused of teaching. I have been a working opponent of Stalinism for 20 years.

And, finally, I am familiar with the free speech section of the United States Constitution which provides that "Congress shall pass no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." I learned that in school, and then had an opportunity to read it over again and ponder over it for 13 months in a federal university at Sandstone penitentiary.

THREE GROUNDS

So, armed with these qualifications, I would challenge the in-

dictment of the leaders of the Stalinist Party on three grounds:

1. The crime charged against them—that they "conspired to advocate" the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence—is not a crime in this country under the Constitution.

2. The Stalinists are not even guilty of this crime that is not a crime. They do not advocate the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence, or otherwise.

3. The federal court of American capitalism has no right to try them, because the crimes of the Stalinists have not been directed against the system this court represents. The Stalinist leaders should be placed on trial before a court of the international working class for high crimes and misdemeanors against the working class of the world, and of this country too, over a long period of years; high crimes and misdemeanors ranging from perjury to "Marxism" to class

collaboration and support of the imperialist government of the United States in the Second World War, and including every kind of offense against the ethics of the workers' movement from falsification and forgery to frame-up and murder.

The Stalinists are guilty of these crimes. The Stalinists are the greatest criminals in history. But the present trial in the federal court of the Southern District of New York in Foley Square is a frameup against them. They are not guilty of the charge brought against them, that they advocated the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States.

The whole course of Stalinism, since its inception, has served to support world capitalism and not to overthrow it. Stalinism began twenty-five years ago with the promulgation of its basic theory of "socialism in one country," meaning Russia. That signified, "no socialism in any other country." It signified the renunciation

of all perspectives of international revolution; an offer of the Soviet bureaucracy to compromise with world capitalism at the expense of the international workers' movement. That is the theory from which Stalinism originated.

STALINIST CRIMES

The practice followed from the theory: the expulsion, the frame-ups and mass murders of tens of thousands of Bolsheviks who made the revolution and stood, in reality, for international revolution against all capitalist institutions; the conduct of the Stalinists in Spain, where they propped up and supported the bourgeois government at the cost of mass murders of Spanish revolutionaries; the "peoples' front" policy of collaboration with capitalist parties and participation in capitalist governments; the Soviet-Nazi Pact, whereby the Stalinists joined hands with Hitler in launching the Second World War; the Anglo-Soviet

The Trial of the Stalinist Leaders

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American Pact, under which the American Stalinists sold out the working class of the United States and lined up to support the war.

Yes, the record clearly shows that the Stalinists are criminals. But the capitalist court is disqualified, by this record of known facts, and by the clear provision of the United States Constitution, and even by considerations of gratitude for services received from the Stalinists, especially during the war, to try them.

On the other hand, despite the fact that we indict the Stalinists as criminals on the record, we and all other workers' organizations, who have reason for neither love nor gratitude toward the Stalinists, have a vital interest in protesting against their prosecution in this particular case. This is the purpose of our meeting tonight.

This is not a criminal trial of alleged actions in violation of definite Constitutional laws. This is a political trial. The freedom to "advocate" any doctrine, including revolution, is basic to free speech and democracy. This trial strikes at the very roots of these democratic rights of all workers' organizations.

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

It should be borne in mind that the indictment against the Stalinists does not charge them with a single action against the United States government. The sole basis of the trial is that they conspired to "advocate" the overthrow of the United States government. That is to say, they conspired to speak and to write.

The very provision of the Constitution, which I have referred to, was designed specifically to prevent Congress from passing laws which would proscribe the "advocacy" of any doctrine. But this indictment under the Smith Act—the same law under which we were prosecuted and convicted in Minneapolis—is an indictment against speaking and writing. Now, once you establish the precedent that it is possible to proscribe one kind of talk or "advocacy," you lay the ground for the suppression of any other. You legitimize the suppression of free speech and the free press.

Unfortunately, our trial and conviction under the Smith Act in Minneapolis, and our subsequent imprisonment, and the refusal of the Supreme Court to review the case, has already set one precedent. This was a heavy blow at free speech and democracy in this country, and the Stalinists on trial are suffering from this precedent.

LABOR'S OWN INTERESTS

It is true, as Comrade Dobbs pointed out, and as I think all of you know, that the Stalinists did all they could, in every dirty way they knew, to help the prosecution put us in prison. They did everything they could to keep us in prison for our full term. It is true that these scoundrels ever tried to sabotage and break up our Defense Committee, to prevent it from raising funds from sympathetic organizations to pay the lawyers. If the Stalinists had had their way, we would not have been able to employ a legal defense to make a legal record. Their shameful conduct paved the way for their own prosecution under the same law.

That is all true, as has been related so graphically here tonight by Comrade Dobbs. But that cannot determine the policy of a revolutionary organization, or of any workers' organization for that matter. Sheer self-interest, for us and for every honest workers' organization, weighs more than sentiments of revenge in this case.

If the precedent established in our case is reinforced by another conviction in this case of the Stalinists, and sanctioned by public opinion until it becomes accepted as a custom, the traditional freedoms which the workers' movement needs for enlightened advancement will yield

to new encroachments all along the line. The ominous trend toward thought-control under a police state will be greatly accelerated.

That is the larger issue, transcending all other considerations, in the trial of the Stalinists now going on. That is why we are so deeply concerned about it and appeal to all workers' organizations, especially to those who supported us in our trial, to protest against the political trial of the Stalinists. I think we have made it sufficiently clear that our point of view in this case is not motivated by Christian forgiveness or soft-headedness, and even less by political conciliation with perfidious Stalinism. Our stand is based solely on our concept of the most vital interest of the working class and its future struggles.

A GREAT TRADITION

It used to be taken for granted in the labor movement, that despite all differences and disputes between different parties, factions and groups, all would unite and cooperate when any section of the labor movement was under attack in the courts of the class enemy. We have come a long way from the old tradition of solidarity against persecution and frameup. It was a good tradition and we should try in some measure to restore it.

Some of the brightest pages of American labor history were written in united struggles for justice and free speech. The labor movement of today, which did not fall from the skies, is the product and fruit of many struggles in the past, and owes a great deal to these united front struggles for free speech and justice and freedom of organization.

My first interest in the socialist and labor movement was aroused by the great protest movement in behalf of Moyer and Haywood in 1906. They were arrested and brought to trial on trumped-up charges of murder, but their real offense was their labor activities, their militancy and incorruptibility. They were not left alone to defend themselves as best they could. They were leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, which was then affiliated to the IWW. Nevertheless, all sections of the labor movement recognized the threat to themselves and their whole future in the attempt to legitimize the framing-up of the labor leaders.

A tremendous machinery of protest and defense was built up, from one end of the country to the other, in the form of "Moyer-Haywood Conferences." All kinds of organizations, representing every section of the labor movement and all points of view, sent delegates to these united front conferences. AFL and independent unions, the IWW, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the anarchist groups and groups

Mop Brigade Parades for Wage Hike



Mops aloft, 300 London charladies (women cleaners) employed in government buildings marched through the streets of the British capital to dramatize their demand for a wage increase from 34c to 40c an hour. The government's best offer was a farthing (1c).

of liberals, and people of good will—all marched together under the "Moyer-Haywood Conferences" to make a mighty movement in defense of the accused. The ground shook with their tread.

The conspirators who had sought to take the lives of Moyer and Haywood were pushed back. The frameup was defeated by the threat of the united workers' movement. The great Bill Haywood, of beloved memory, was right when he spoke to the first great mass meeting of 200,000 in Chicago, who greeted him on his release from jail, and said: "We owe our lives to your solidarity."

The same solidarity was shown in defense of Ettor and Giovanitti, leaders of the Lawrence strike of 1912; and in the defense of Mooney and Billings. It was true to a considerable extent in the case of the IWW leaders during the first World War, and in the cases of Debs and of Sacco and Vanzetti. All class conscious workers felt it to be an elementary duty, as a matter of course, to join together against the attacks of the class enemy.

ROLE OF THE ILD

The Communist Party itself was once the exponent of this proud tradition of solidarity. The International Labor Defense, which was formed in 1925 under the direct inspiration of the Communist Party, was specifically dedicated to the principle of non-partisan labor defense, to the defense of any member of the working class movement, regardless of his views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist courts because of his activities or his opinions.

I can speak with authority

about that because I participated in the planning of the ILD, and was the National Secretary from its inception until we were thrown out of the Communist Party in 1928. The International Labor Defense was really "born in Moscow"; that I must admit, although it was strictly an American institution in its methods and practices. The ILD was born in Moscow in discussion with Bill Haywood. The old fighter, who was exiled from America with a 20-year sentence hanging over him, was deeply concerned about the persecution of workers in America. He wanted to have something done for the almost forgotten men laying in jail all over the country.

There were over 100 men—labor organizers, strike leaders and radicals in prisons at that time in the United States—IWW's, anarchists, Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, McNamara and Schmidt, the Centralia prisoners, etc. In discussions there in Moscow in 1925 we worked out the plan and conception of the International Labor Defense as a non-partisan body which would defend any member of the working class movement, regardless of his opinion or affiliation, if he came under persecution by capitalist law.

I never will forget those meetings with Bill Haywood. When we completed the plans which were later to become reality in the formation of the ILD; and when I promised him that I would come back to America and see to it that the plans did not remain on paper; that we would really go to work in earnest and come to the aid of the men forgotten in prison—the old lion's eyes—his one eye, rather—flashed with

the old fire. He said, "I wish I could go back to give a hand in that job." He couldn't come back because he was an outlaw in the United States, not for any crime he had committed but for all the good things he had done for the American working class. Up to the end of his life he continued to be an active participant in the work of the ILD by correspondence.

NON-PARTISAN DEFENSE

The plans for the International Labor Defense as a non-partisan defense organization, made there in Bill Haywood's room in Moscow, were carried out in practice during its first years. There were 106 class war prisoners in the United States—scores of IWW's, members railroaded in California, Kansas, Utah and other states under the criminal syndicalist laws. We located a couple of obscure anarchists in Rhode Island; a group of AFL coal miners in West Virginia; two labor organizers in Thomaston, Maine—besides the more prominent and better known prisoners mentioned before. They added up to 106 people in prison in this land of the free at that time for activities in the labor movement. They were not criminals at all, but strike leaders, organizers, agitators, dissenters—our own kind of people. Not one of these 106 prisoners was a member of the Communist Party! But the ILD defended and helped them all.

The ILD adopted as its policy to remember them all and raise money for them. We created a fund so that \$5 was sent every month to each of the 106 class war prisoners. Every Christmas time we raised a special fund for their families. The Centralia IWW group, almost forgotten for years, were remembered, publicity was given their case and efforts made to help them. The same with all the old half-forgotten cases. The ILD was the organizing center of the great world-wide movement of protest for the two anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti. All this work of solidarity had the backing and support of the Communist Party, but that was before it became completely Stalinized and expelled the honest revolutionists.

The principle of the International Labor Defense, which made it so popular and so dear to the militants, was non-partisan defense without political discrimination. The principle was solidarity. When you consider all this and compare it with the later practices of the Stalinists; when you recall what has happened in the last 20-odd years, you must say that the Stalinists have done more than any others to dishonor this tradition of solidarity. They have done more than any others to disrupt unity for defense against the class enemy.

CHICKENS TO ROOST

That terrible corruption of

disunity in the face of the class enemy has penetrated other sections of the labor movement too. The Social Democrats do a great deal of pious moralizing about the Stalinists, but their conduct isn't much better, if any. For the greater part, they make no protest against the persecution of the Stalinists. The labor officials, both of the CIO and AFL, stand aside, and many even support the prosecution.

They think there is no need to worry about the Smith Act; that it is only for Stalinists. That is what the Stalinists thought when we were on trial seven years ago—that this evil and unconstitutional law is only for Trotskyists. I heard in San Francisco that a Stalinist Party speaker, harassed by an interrogator as to the relation between their trial and ours, said, "This whole trial is a mistake and a misunderstanding. The Smith Act was meant for the Trotskyists." But the Smith Act chickens came home to roost for the Stalinists, and the same thing can happen to others too.

If the Stalinists are convicted, establishing another precedent to buttress the precedent of our case, the same law can be invoked against other political organizations, against college professors, and even preachers who happen to have opinions contrary to those of the ruling powers, and have the courage to express them. It is a great error, a terrible error, to neglect this trial and refuse to protest; an error for which we will all have to pay—and they and we, and all of us, all who aspire by whatever means, or by whatever program or doctrine, toward a better and freer world through the unity and solidarity of the workers. We will all have to pay if the federal prosecutor wins this case and makes it stick with the support of public opinion. That is why we would like to see every effort made, even now while the trial is going on, to reverse the present trend, to overcome the passivity and indifference.

JOIN IN PROTEST!

It is, of course, utopian to hope or expect that a great united movement, cooperating loyally in the old days, can be formed with the Stalinists. The Stalinists cannot cooperate loyally with anyone. We offered them a united front. They refused it. Even now, when the witch-hunt and loyalty purges are directed against them, they refuse to say one word in defense of James Katcher, the legless veteran who was removed from his Veterans Administration job in New Jersey because of his political opinions as a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Because of that attitude of the Stalinists, as well as for other considerations, it would be utopian to hope for an all-inclusive united front. But the trade unions and anti-Stalinist political organizations should join together, for their own reasons, and in their own interest, to protest this prosecution. We would join and give our support to such an effort. But in any case, whether it can be done cooperatively or separately, all should raise their voices in protest against the political trial going on in Foley Square. Not for the sake of the Stalinist gang, but for the sake of free speech, for those democratic rights which the labor movement has dearly won and badly needs for its informed and conscious struggle to reach higher ground.

Judge Bars 'Confidential' Records

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Catholic church in an effort to whip the population into a frenzy of hatred against the Stalinists.

This terrific propaganda barrage has had its effect, primarily because the Stalinists have betrayed the workers so many times; and because they have always defended the gang of cutthroats in the Kremlin in their vile slander campaigns, cold-blooded assassinations and ruthless purges.

To this day Stalin's lackeys in the Communist Party in this country defend the infamous Moscow Trials of 1936-38. They are tarred with the brush of that mockery of justice in which Lenin's Central Committee and the leaders of the Red Army were lynched by Stalin. Their hands are stained with the martyr's blood of Leon Trotsky, who was brutally murdered in Mexico by Stalin's secret police.

Compare the police-state methods of Stalinism with the exemplary administration of justice under Lenin and Trotsky. In 1922, twelve leaders of the Social Revolutionaries were brought to trial on the charge of attempting arms in hand to overthrow the Soviet government in alliance with the foreign capitalist powers then attacking the Soviet Union. They were also accused of directing the assassination of the Bolshevik leader Volodarsky and the attempt on Lenin's life by Dora Kaplan.

The defendants were permitted to have as their counsel the Belgian socialist lawyer, Emil Vandervelde, and two other socialist lawyers, Theodor Liebknecht and Kurt Rosenfeld. Speaking for the defendants, Vandervelde stated that the Social Revolutionaries proudly admitted they had conducted armed struggle against the Soviet government and were only sorry they did not succeed. The entire world knew this admission to be the truth, because the Social Revolutionaries were notoriously anti-Bolshevik and had always advocated and practiced individual terrorism.

BOLSHEVIK JUSTICE
They were sentenced to death. However, when a considerable protest movement was aroused among the world working class, the Soviet government commuted the death sentence to imprisonment. It did so at a time when the young Soviet Union had not yet entirely won its life and death struggle against the military intervention of the hostile capitalist powers.

If Stalinism had maintained that scrupulously fair administration of justice, if Stalinism had maintained that careful regard for world working class opinion demonstrated by Lenin and

Trotsky, then the Stalinists in this country would have a strong basis to appeal for support against their prosecution under a thought-control indictment.

But the Stalinists have discredited themselves by their own acts of treachery and by their attempts to justify the Kremlin's brutalities, thereby alienating support they would otherwise win in defense of their civil rights.

EFFECT OF CONVICTIONS

All the more ominous, therefore, is the present trial of the Stalinists, because their conviction would be used as a cloak of official approval for every sinister device invented by the witch-hunters.

Legalization would be claimed by the Truman administration for its blacklist of organizations alleged to be "subversive." Many others like the legless war veteran James Katcher, would be fired from their jobs because they disagree with the policies of the political party in power. The purging of teachers whose ideas the capitalists dislike, already begun at the University of Washington, would be rapidly extended throughout the whole school system. Police investigations, denouncing of people by stool pigeons and all the companion evils would spread like a cancer.

The average person would be put in the state of mind described by Dr. Robert E. Cushman of Cornell University in speaking of government employees. He would feel he had better "read the right looks, newspapers and magazines, say the right things, and, considering all the risks, had probably better not join any organization or society at all, since a Communist might also join it,

and then he would become a fellow-traveler and be damned forever."

These are the dangers clearly present in the government prosecution of the Stalinists under the Smith Act. From the point of view of the civil rights of the American people, the Stalinists are correct when they say that not 11 but 140 million people are in the prisoners dock here in Foley Square.

All who cherish liberty and the right to think as they please have a vital stake in the fight to repeal the Smith Act, to defend its latest victims and to defeat on every front the government-inspired witch-hunt now going on in this country.

Detroit Celebrates Negro History Week

DETROIT, Feb. 6 — The Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated Negro History Week today with an enthusiastic meeting attended by 100 workers.

The program included speakers from Flint and Detroit on the subject, "The Negro People and Socialism." They discussed past and present problems facing the Negro people, showing how the lessons of history can guide the workers to a better world today. The SWP, it was pointed out, stands fully in agreement with the statement of Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist: "We are content with nothing for the Negro short of equal and exact justice."

A lively question and discussion period followed. Most of the audience stayed far into the evening and engaged in informal discussion. A number of interest cards were signed and an extensive amount of literature was sold.

Labor Union Trends

Stalinism and the Opposition in the UAW

By Bert Cochran

The Stalinists are again demonstrating that they are the mortal enemies of the genuine progressives in the trade union movement. At the very time they themselves are under fierce attack from the different sections

of the Philip Murray machine in the CIO, the Stalinists are continuing to undermine the authentic progressive forces now arising to challenge the labor bureaucracy in the unions.

For 13 years, ever since the formation of the CIO, the Stalinists were the pernicious force which prevented the building of an authentic left-wing opposition inside the CIO. How could they get away with this? Because they had a big, well-knit and experienced political cadre on a national scale; and because they had the undeserved reputation of being the extreme left wingers in the labor movement.

They based themselves on this moral and material capital to take over and head the opposition inside the CIO and then to sell it out to the Murray machine. For a decade, they subverted the genuine aspirations of the most advanced elements inside the CIO for an honest class struggle policy to the class collaboration game being preached and practiced by Murray and his lieutenants.

Thus, they joined with Hillman and Dubinsky in 1936 to form the American Labor Party in New York State—not to propel the New York workers toward independent political action, but to corral the labor and radical vote for Roosevelt. Thus, they opposed and squelched all moves to form an independent labor party or run independent labor slates.

This policy of working with the capitalists was crowned with their shameful sell-outs during the war when they backed the no-strike pledge, pushed the speedup and company-union labor-management committees. It took many years before the progressives in the unions got wise to the Stalinist game, got wise to the fact that the Communist Party was not a real radical working class organization at all, but a conscienceless agency of the Kremlin; that the American labor movement was just a pawn, so far as the Stalinist leaders were concerned, in the Kremlin's international diplomacy.

It took 13 years—to be exact—before sizeable groups of progressives could free themselves from the Stalinist grip and set up their forces on an independent basis for an honest struggle for militant unionism. Such a development took place in the CIO rubber union the past year. Such a development occurred in the auto union after the 1947 Atlantic City convention where Reuther took over full control.

But the Stalinists did not greet the emergence of these new virile progressive groupings with any satisfaction or approval. Nor did they try to establish loyal cooperation with them. In the auto union they have already fully shown their hand. They are out to discredit, to bust up, to destroy this new progressive formation. Why? Do they find its program inadequate or incorrect? They are not interested in program at all. What counts for them is the fact that the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW" is not under their domination. The Stalinist policy remains "rule or ruin."

Two recent incidents in the auto union make obvious that the Stalinists are prepared to go so far as to strengthen Reuther's

hand, if it means at the same time weakening the independent non-Stalinist opposition.

The first incident relates to Briggs Local 212. Here the opposition caucus selected its slate about a month ago to oppose the incumbent Reuther-supported administration slates in the coming elections. Several Stalinist supporters fought bitterly in the opposition caucus against the inclusion on the slate of Ernest Mazey, a prominent anti-Stalinist militant. They were defeated and Ernest Mazey went on the slate.

The Stalinists thereupon ignored the caucus decision. They went into the plant and began an unrestrained campaign of slander, vilification and red-baiting until the whole slate—which up to this point had a reasonable chance of success—was so smeared as to virtually ensure the reelection of the Reuther-backed slate. In a subsequent meeting of the caucus, Ernest Mazey's name was removed, over strong opposition, from the slate, a few others declined to run on the slate in protest—and the whole opposition campaign had been turned into a shambles.

The other incident occurred in connection with Plymouth Local 51. Here, Reuther's International Executive Board placed charges against President Frank Danowski, long a supporter of Stalinist policy, and other local officers, for using the local union paper "in support of policies diametrically opposed to the policies of the National CIO and the membership decisions of Local 51."

Danowski feared that Reuther might place an administrator over the local. Members of the Stalinist-run caucus headed by Tracy Doll met, therefore, with the officers of the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW" to solicit their support against any violations of union democracy. The officers of the latter group agreed they would back in every practical way a fight against imposing an administration over the Plymouth local. The joint conference ended on this cordial and cooperative note.

The officers of the Stalinist-run Doll caucus then called a meeting of their supporters the next day, misrepresented the position of the independent opposition, lied like troopers about their statements, maintained they had refused to cooperate, declared they were "capitulating to Reuther" and spent the major part of their meeting, not in organizing the fight against Reuther, but in attempting to discredit and tear down the independent opposition.

There is method to this Stalinist madness. There is a logic in Stalinist rule-or-ruin tactics. The Stalinists—and this they have demonstrated over and over again in the past decade and more—cannot and will not honestly cooperate with any independent progressives. They must run the whole show. They must have monopolistic control just as Stalin must have sole power in Russia. The reason is this:

The Stalinists are not a genuine working class opposition with mistaken ideas. They are an agency of the Kremlin and at a moment's notice must be prepared to change their line as their master dictates. How could they sell out an opposition, how could they reverse the policy overnight, if the opposition is independently run? They could not do it. That is why they would rather have Reuther strengthen his hand, and there, if only they can smash up any independent progressive group and reestablish their own monopoly over the opposition forces. Later on, when conditions are more favorable, they hope they can again stage a comeback.

Such is the sinister meaning of the Stalinist conduct in the auto union. Let every militant in this labor and throughout the labor movement take this lesson to heart and guide his activities accordingly in the organization of progressive groups and the preparation for future struggles.

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TROTSKY

"In the less privileged capitalist countries (Russia, on the one hand; Germany, Italy and the like, on the other), which were unable to engender a numerous and stable labor aristocracy, democracy was never developed to any extent and succumbed to dictatorship with comparative ease. However, the continuing progressive paralysis of capitalism is preparing the same fate for the democracies of the most privileged and the richest nations; the only difference is in dates. The uncontrollable deterioration of the living conditions of the workers makes it less and less possible for the bourgeoisie to grant the masses the right of participation in political life, even within the limited framework of bourgeois parliamentarism. Any other explanation of the manifest process of democracy's dislodgment by fascism is an idealistic falsification of things as they are, either deception or self-deception."

— Leon Trotsky, *Marxism in the United States*, 1939.



LENIN

On The Road To Totalitarianism

Many people believed that the election of Truman would mean a new era of civil liberties and expanded democracy in this country. Now Truman's declaration of his "inherent powers"—his doctrine of sweeping presidential extra-legal authority—has come into head-on collision with the widespread illusion about Truman's democratic aims. There can be no mistaking the direction Truman is traveling. At the end of the road on which this doctrine is a guide-post lies one-man decree rule—totalitarian dictatorship.

That is not to say that Truman aspires to dictatorship. What it does mean is that Truman, as the chief governmental agent of American capitalism, is directed in the long run not by personal sentiments but by the inexorable trend of the capitalist system.

Capitalism as a world system has been in decline and decay for the past four decades. The speed and degree of its degeneration have been charted by two world wars and preparations for a third, continuous economic instability swinging between depression and inflation, unending political crises and their accompaniment of dictatorial rule.

Democratic forms have been a luxury that only the richest capitalist nations could afford. The United States is the chief example. But here too—no less than in Europe, Asia and Latin America, if at a different

pace—the cancer of capitalist decay has been at work. The palliatives and drugs of reform are proving ineffective. Harsher and more drastic treatment is in store.

As German, Japanese and Italian capitalism resorted to the expedients of fascism and imperialist war, so American capitalism is driven by the desperation of its own organic malady to these same expedients. This is the direction of the system.

The monumental war budget, the advancing militarization of the country, the "cold war" growing hotter every day—these tell us Truman's real course as distinct from his pretenses. It is from these that we know for a certainty that Truman is heading, and must inevitably head, not to more democracy, but to less; not to freedom for other lands, but to repression and dictatorship at home.

Unless they understand this fact, the American people will continue to be deluded by double-talk, reaching for new illusions as old ones are shattered. Tomorrow they will fall for new lies and blandishments unless they see beyond the capitalist politicians and their words to the reality—to the capitalist system that is driving inevitably to war and dictatorship unless the working people of America abolish it, set up their own Workers and Farmers Government and establish the planned cooperative system of socialism.

The Witch-Hunt Invades Education

The witch-hunt that Truman launched two years ago with the proclamation of his "loyalty" purge of government workers and the issuance of his blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations is spreading like a deadly plague into every sphere of American life.

Now it has penetrated the blood stream of American education and threatens to destroy academic freedom, without which the schools and colleges will degenerate completely into mere propaganda agencies for reaction—that is, into graveyards of freedom of thought and learning.

The most recent invasion of education by the witch-hunt disease is the recent ousting or "probationing" of six long-time faculty members of the University of Washington as "communists."

So zealous was the Board of Regents—the businessmen and state politicians who run the university—in "protecting" institution from any threat of "communism," that they ignored the recommendations of the very faculty committee which had "tried" the six. The Regents fired one professor against whom the charges were "not proven," according to the trial committee itself.

Some self-proclaimed liberals, who otherwise profess concern for academic freedom,

are looking the other way in the University of Washington case. They are all for academic freedom—except for "communists," the term usually used by reactionaries for any persons they don't agree with.

But the virus of the witch-hunt epidemic is not selective. It spreads its destruction to every tissue of the social body where cells of free thought and even the mildest liberalism reside. That is shown by the recent dismissal of economics professor Tucker Smith, 1948 vice-presidential candidate of Norman Thomas's Socialist Party, and four other faculty members from Olivet College in Michigan. Their only "incompetency" appear to be a mild "socialist" tinge and activities in the teachers union.

The infection of the witch-hunt against free political opinion will not stop at the colleges and universities. It is seeping through the whole public school system. It is turning the teachers of our children and youth into terrorized academic serfs afraid to voice an opinion or teach any facts at variance with the propaganda and prejudices of corrupt politicians and self-seeking profit interests.

In the end, this witch-hunt, unless it is halted by an overwhelming mass resistance, will reduce all thought and opinion in this country to the single level of the police-state mind.

Criminal Silence Of Union Leaders

The Trumanite union leaders are having increasing difficulty in covering up the anti-labor character of Truman's program. They are now performing heroic contortions trying to wriggle around his new doctrine of "inherent powers"—particularly his "inherent power" to break strikes.

The AFL Executive Council, meeting in Miami, expressed satisfaction with Truman's bill to amend the Wagner Act and was especially pleased, as AFL President William Green said, that Truman's bill would deal with strikes "without specific resort to injunctions." But did Mr. Green agree, asked reporters, with Truman's assertion that as president he had the power to curb strikes by injunction or any other means in the absence of specific statutory authority? Green responded evasively that that is "a matter for the courts yet to determine."

The CIO position was expressed through its legal counsel, Arthur Goldberg. Prior to the Senate labor hearings, Goldberg had said that "repeal of Taft-Hartley is necessary before there can be consideration of points raised by the President (to amend the Wagner Act)." No sooner, however, did Truman introduce his "one package" proposition, than Goldberg told the hearing that "we do not oppose in principle" Truman's amendments, adding that he did not "think that this statute was intended to provide for injunctions."

That same evening, after Truman's declaration that he did not object to an injunction clause but thought it unnecessary because of his "inherent powers," Goldberg was called back to the hearing. Under Taft's proddings, Goldberg could only answer feebly that he did not interpret Truman's powers in the same way as Attorney General Clark.

It isn't Goldberg's interpretation, however, but Truman's that counts. Truman said bluntly the only reason he isn't asking for an injunction clause is that he already has "inherent powers" to use injunctions. Can there be any misunderstanding about where he stands?

The top union leaders, who should have been the first to speak out against this assumption of dictatorial powers, have been silent. They have thus enabled the Republicans—including the chief author of the Taft-Hartley Act, Senator Taft—to come forward at the hearings as the sole "defenders" of democracy against Truman's attempted usurpation of extra-legal powers.

A giant roar of outrage should resound from labor's ranks against the whole pack of craven union officials who, for the sake of their dirty political deal with Truman, are trying to cover up his cunning maneuvers to slip a noose of government autocracy around labor's neck.

The Two Sides of Abraham Lincoln

By G. F. Eckstein

One part of the 1948 election platform of the Socialist Workers Party read as follows:

"In 1860 William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown and Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens, personified the forces which waged merciless war against the slaveowners' attempt to perpetuate their outmoded system, halt the expansion of our economy and destroy the liberties of our people."

But in 1948 the Republican Party, the Progressive Party of Wallace and the Stalinists and even President Truman, the Democrat, all to one degree or another sought to relate their policies back to Lincoln. They are trying to fool the workers. It was not so with us. To the name of Abraham Lincoln we added Garrison, Phillips, John Brown, Frederick Douglass and Stevens. We hailed them for waging "merciless war" against the reactionary South. It is obvious that when we talk of Lincoln we are poles apart from Dewey, Truman and Wallace.

WHAT WE REMEMBER

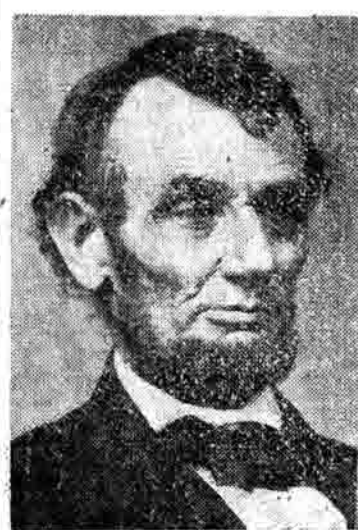
What is it that the working class must remember about Abraham Lincoln? He himself expressed it best in his second inaugural address when he said of the Civil War:

"Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

Here was the recognition at last of what the Negroes had done for America, and of what America had done to the Negroes, the determination at whatever cost to break the power of the reactionary slaveholders. All the chattering and fakery can be made to turn green and look another way, simply by asking them to explain these words of Lincoln as part of what they call the "democratic process" and "the American way."

Abraham Lincoln was a genuine democrat. When in the Gettysburg address he said "government of the people, by the people, for the people," he meant it. In those days monopoly-capital did not exist. A great percentage of the population in the North consisted of small farmers, mechanics and artisans. It seemed to many men that on the boundless acres that stretched beyond the Mississippi there was room and opportunity for everybody to acquire independence and exercise self-government from the town-meeting to the presidential elections.

But today, with a few giant corporations owning and domin-



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ating the economic life of the country and the lives of whole nations abroad; with tens of millions of workers beginning to punch the time-clock at the age of 18 with no other perspective for the rest of their lives until they are thrown out as infirm or incompetent; with press, radio, and a vast government bureaucracy controlled by a few hundred people, to talk about government of the people, by the people, for the people is a mockery and hypocrisy of the worst kind.

Lincoln and others used to say plainly that if the people were dissatisfied with the government it was their revolutionary right to overthrow it. If he had returned and said that on any platform in 1948, Dewey, Truman, Wallace and Norman Thomas would have united at once to denounce him. The FBI would have tapped his telephone and investigated him. And unmitigated scoundrels like J. Parnell Thomas and Rankin would have had him up before some House committee and tried to jail him for his "un-Americanism."

Believer in democracy and in the people, determined enemy of the slave-power, from these Lincoln drew the power which made him a great war-leader, a writer and speaker whose best efforts will last as long as the English language, a genuine national hero.

Enemy of the slave-power, a believer in the people. That was one side of Lincoln. But there was another which was widely known and commented upon in his own day.

The viciousness of the slave-power, its cruelties and its crimes, its ambition to suppress liberty all over the United States in defense of its precious hordes of slaves, these things were brought and kept before the American people for thirty years by the constant rebellions among the slaves, by the Underground Railroad, and those elements in the North among the whites who supported these revolutionary actions.

Lincoln bitterly opposed all

this. He was prepared even as President to use the power of the federal government to capture and return fugitive slaves.

One of the great chapters in American history is the Abolition movement of Garrison, Phillips, Douglass and the others who, often hounded, stoned and beaten, called incessantly for an end to slavery, denouncing it as a crime against civilization and the American people.

Lincoln hated the Abolitionists as trouble-makers, and expressed his approval of their being beaten up.

The formation of the Republican Party was a triumph of the creative power and energy of the American people. Suddenly in 1854, all over the country party units sprang into being and in 1860 it swept into victory. Lincoln had nothing to do with this. Only when it was clear that the Whig Party was doomed, did he throw in his lot with the new party.

Not only was Lincoln driven to emancipate the slaves by force of circumstances. He was ready to consider the formation of a Negro republic in Texas. He would have sent all the slaves to Africa if he could have managed it.

SHARED PREJUDICES

Thus with all his virtues he shared to the full the reactionary capitalist prejudices of his day. And it was precisely these that blinded him to the truths which the escaping slaves and the abolitionists taught the American people for thirty years. In the end he had to follow the direction in which they pointed: civil war, arming of Negroes, total emancipation, crushing of the slave-power.

Lincoln could make these mistakes and still triumph as a leader because John Brown, Garrison, Douglass and the others had to limit themselves to carrying on a revolutionary propaganda and aiding escaping slaves. Brown's isolated attempt at a slave-insurrection was doomed to failure. The workers did not have the numbers, the organization, the social power, the political experience to offer an independent road. The revolutionaries were right as against Lincoln but had no concrete program to place before the country. Thus like Lincoln, when the Republican Party came, they turned to it.

Today we live in an entirely different situation. The enemy is plain — monopoly-capitalism, the modern slave-holders. The class that is to be emancipated is the working class; the workers with the poor farmers and their allies, the great majority of the nation. The party that is to be formed is a great mass party of the proletariat, that will do for American society today what the Republican Party did in 1860-1865. The revolutionaries today

ELEVEN YEARS AFTER DEATH OF LEON SEDOV

Eleven years ago this month, Leon Sedov, son of Leon and Natalia Trotsky and an outstanding leader of the Fourth International, died in Paris, a victim of the Stalinist GPU murder machine. The memory of his short life remains a fresh and vital inspiration to revolutionists today, and above all to the youth he so splendidly represented.

Sedov was only 32 years old when he died on Feb. 16, 1938. Yet he had lived through titanic events and earned a leading place in the ranks of the great fighters for humanity.

Born in 1906, year of Czarist repression against the leaders of the defeated 1905 revolution, he saw the overthrow of capitalism in Russia. He knew and loved the Bolsheviks who led the workers to victory in 1917. When only 12 years old he joined the Komsomol (the Communist youth), working tirelessly through the difficult years of civil war.

When Trotsky organized the struggle against the mushrooming bureaucracy in 1923, Sedov became an important link in the distribution of the documents of the Left Opposition. The struggle for safeguarding the program and tradition of Bolshevism-Leninism became his very life. Though the Stalinist regime succeeded in crushing the party of Lenin, young Sedov continued in exile the struggle against the gravediggers of the Russian Communist Party. His activity made him a major target of the Kremlin's hatred. He was named with Trotsky as the two principal defendants in the Moscow frame-up trials.

are those who will carry on the traditions of Garrison, Douglass and John Brown — a brutal statement of the facts, refusal to pretend that there is any way out except by the destruction of capitalism, struggle for the independent action of the masses, refusal to compromise on principles. We can do this and do this better than they did, because we have before our eyes the mighty power of the American proletariat and behind us the great traditions and experiences of Bolshevism.

That is our attitude to Lincoln. Let Governor Dewey talk about the principles of Lincoln—Dewey could not recognize a principle if it were magnified a million times. The Stalinists carry on their demagogic, unprincipled campaigns of using Lincoln, Jefferson



LEON SEDOV

It was Sedov who did much of the work of exposing the fraudulent "evidence" cooked up by the prosecutors. He unearthed irrefutable facts that proclaimed the innocence of the defendants, and thereby he became one of the most hunted men on Stalin's list. Working under severest hardships and constant poverty, trailed by professional GPU killers, Sedov was finally reached by the assassins as he lay helpless on a hospital bed.

Beneath the red flag of the Fourth International, Sedov was buried beside the heroic Communards of 1871. His name and his work live on, in the movement that carries forward his battle for a socialist world.

son and Washington as cover for their unending twists and turns, their consistent attempts to corrupt the intelligence and knowledge of the workers in order to misuse them. We on the other hand take a Marxist view of Lincoln.

We pay him the tribute due to him as a great historical figure, with a place in the struggle for human emancipation. But for us he is no model. Rather, in the failures of his career and particularly in the men who were so consistently right against him, we find the points of departure to struggle for the unity, not only of North and South, but of all the nations of the world, for the emancipation not only of chattel-slaves but of the vast majority of the peoples of the world, the workers, farmers and all the exploited and oppressed.

CP Permits Kuomintang Survival

(Continued from page 1)

But this is not the worst.

An Associated Press dispatch from Shanghai on Jan. 24 stated that "thousands of units of President Chiang Kai-shek's 'personal troops' were streaming southward from the Shanghai-Nanking-Hangchow area, presumably bound for Chekiang province, where President Chiang is in retirement." And according to Nanking reports, Chiang has withdrawn his air force to Formosa, Canton, Hengyang and other southern bases. Also, sizable military forces commanded by Chiang's General Pai Chung-hsi in the Hankow area have been withdrawn to South China. All this without any attempt at interference by the Stalinists.

Any plea that the Stalinists could not arrest Chiang and his government will not hold water. It may be true that swift capture of Nanking was not possible for military reasons, but there were and are other forces available for this job — the Chinese workers. A revolutionary party, with the first signs of the crumbling of the Kuomintang regime — which were apparent months ago — would have appealed to the city workers to arm themselves, to smash the organs of Kuomintang administration, disarm the Kuomintang police, set up Soviets to take over power.

Hating the regime that for them has been nothing but a source of misery and brutal oppression, the workers would have responded with alacrity to such an appeal. They would have won over to their side the Kuomintang garrison troops, together with their arms. Chiang and his government would have been placed under arrest and the power of this hated regime broken decisively in the strategic centers of its rule.

The troops of both Chiang Kai-shek and Pai Chung-hsi have been moved southward on railroads. An

appeal to the railroad workers, who are strong in revolutionary traditions, would have resulted in stalling these counter-revolutionary troop movements. With their withdrawal stopped by paralyzing strike action of the railroad workers, it is certain that many if not all of these troops, like their comrades in North China and Manchuria before them, would have deserted to the Communist Party banners. The complete and irrevocable collapse of the Kuomintang would have been swiftly achieved.

Far from inspiring the workers to such revolutionary actions, the Stalinists have been blaring forth radio propaganda to the cities of a quite opposite kind. The theme has been consistent: "preserve order," "don't interrupt production," "await the arrival of the Red Army." This is in full conformity with the half-way, reformist program of the Stalinists, which in turn is a product of their fear of the workers. They are determined, if they can, to confine the upheaval within limits safe for themselves and their Kremlin mentors.

Thus, while carrying out a policy of "land to the peasants," they proclaim themselves the protectors of capitalist private property. They aim to rule China in coalition with the bourgeoisie, if possible, on the basis of a satisfied peasantry, with capitalist property relations left intact. According to the AP's Peiping correspondent (Jan. 25) a typical "Communist" poster appearing in that city reads: "Long live the Chinese Communist Party. Private enterprise will be protected but bureaucratic capital will be confiscated." (By "bureaucratic capital" is meant the private fortunes of the Kuomintang officials.)

The irony and the paradox of a "Communist" party making itself the guardian of capitalist private property reveal the

depths of degeneration to which the Stalinists have sunk, their contempt for the proletariat. Unless the proletariat creates a new revolutionary leadership, and wrenches the whole direction of the insurgent masses from the hands of the treacherous Stalinists, in order to carry the revolution to the end, the paradox could be translated by the further course of events into the catastrophic tragedy of counter-revolution—1927 all over again.

Unwilling to appeal to the workers for revolutionary action, the Stalinists lamely complain that the Kuomintang, under cover of a pretended interest in "peace" negotiations to end the civil war, is actually playing for time. The Stalinist radio, according to a Nanking dispatch Jan. 26, charged that Li Tsung-jen was "being used as a cover here to give the Kuomintang three months to build up 'several tens of divisions' in South China." Yet the self-same Li Tsung-jen was expected to arrest Chiang Kai-shek!

A GREAT DANGER

The Kuomintang is only able to play for time because its Stalinist opponents are permitting it to do so. A Nanking dispatch Jan. 28 reported that "topmost diplomatic authorities believe Chiang plans to resume civil war leadership at Canton, to which the Nanking Government is speeding as fast as transport facilities permit."

The great cities of South China are the mainstays of Kuomintang power, the strategic centers of bourgeois rule. Swift action by an aroused proletariat, armed with a revolutionary program, would convert these props of reaction into veritable generating stations of revolutionary power. Without that, and if there should come an unfavorable turn in the military situation, the cities could become rallying points of Kuomintang resurgence. It is not excluded that, given such a

turn of events, the American imperialists might again come to the aid of the Kuomintang.

But even if a Kuomintang come-back proves impossible, a prolongation of the civil war is likely as a result of Stalinist policy. For a people already bled white by long years of war and civil war, this perspective means more tragic suffering. Nor, with the reformist policy of the Stalinists, is any bright road opened to a revolutionary transformation of Chinese society. Thus once again is revealed the poisonous, stultifying influence of Stalinism, the urgent need to remove this obstacle from the path of the socialist revolution.

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The Mindszenty Case

By Art Preis

The bureaucratic police mind, routinized and unimaginative, sticks to a pattern. Thus, the Stalinist trial of Cardinal Mindszenty could not fail to evoke in all minds the past staged trials with their inevitable "confessions" that have become a trade-mark of the Kremlin and its agents.

There is no institution more authoritarian and reactionary than the Roman Catholic hierarchy. But the methods of Stalinism are so repugnant as to give weapons to reaction. In the Mindszenty case, the Stalinists have given the Catholic priest-caste an opportunity to arouse, in the name of "democracy," a veritable lynch hysteria against anyone the Church labels "communist." The Stalinists have fed fresh fuel to the witch-hunt, purges and frame-up trials being staged in this country.

We must be careful, however, not to let our complete rejection of Stalinist methods in this case as in everything else lead us into support of the campaign of the Catholic hierarchy and U. S. imperialism which represents itself as a defense of "democracy" and "free institutions." Their indignation is not directed at Stalinist methods. It was not Stalinism but Catholicism that invented the system of "heresy" and "inquisition."

We cannot say whether Mindszenty is guilty of the specific acts to which he confessed. But what could he confess that could be any worse than the facts long known about him and the role of the Vatican in Hungary? It is a matter of historical record that the Hungarian hierarchy has been the chief supporter of monarchism. It was Mindszenty himself who negotiated the Vatican's concordat with Regent Horthy, the bloody dictator of Hungary, in return for state support of the Catholic Church. Mindszenty from the beginning has been the bitterest opponent of the redistribution of Hungarian land, since the Vatican was the largest land-owner in Hungary, exploiting tens of thousands of virtual serfs on its 1,500,000 acres.

Those who are now so loud in their "moral indignation" about the imprisonment of Mindszenty, this Prince of the Church, never uttered a peep about the outrages of Horthy, supported by Mindszenty and the Vatican, who murdered thousands of workers and peasants opposed to his regime. They have never said, nor do they say today, one word in "moral indignation" against the continued daily executions of anti-fascist workers and peasants in the "Catholic Kingdom" of Dictator Franco to whom Pope Pius XII a few weeks ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and where were their outcries, their demands for U. S. intervention, when Stalin was carrying through his Moscow Frame-up Trials? It makes a difference to these "democrats" and "moralists" whether Stalin persecutes Bolsheviks or a Prince of the Roman Catholic Church.

Do you want to know what the Catholic hierarchy and the capitalist statesmen really think about frame-ups? Read what they said about those "atheistic anarchists," Sacco and Vanzetti, when these working class fighters were framed and executed by the ruling class of Massachusetts during the wave of anti-red reaction in the 1920's. What did these champions of the abstract principles of "justice" in the Mindszenty case have to say about the frame-up and imprisonment of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders during the war? What do they say about the persecution and frame-up trial of the 12 American Communist Party leaders today? Supporters of the crimes of Horthy, Franco, Mussolini and the frame-ups perpetrated in this country are utterly disqualified to pass judgment on the crimes of Stalinism.

No class conscious worker who understands Stalinism, of course, will take the slightest responsibility for any Stalinist-run trial, no matter who is in the dock. But neither will he give a penny's worth of credit or support to the Catholic hierarchy's attempt to whip up a lynch hysteria against "communism" around the "martyrdom" of Mindszenty.

Repeating Our Warning

By Albert Parker

The filibuster system is a serious obstacle to the passage of civil rights legislation, and so it is natural that most attention is devoted at present to the maneuvers of both parties to dodge responsibility for maintaining the filibuster. Nevertheless, there is another move on foot by the enemies of civil rights which is just as important even though it hasn't received much notice.

In a careful speech made in the House of Representatives on Feb. 2, Rep. Brooks Hays, Arkansas poll-tax Democrat, asked for a "compromise" on civil rights. He admitted that the Southern Democrats had been "inaccurate" in their tirades against Truman; that "on the question of segregation views sometimes attributed to the President are not contained in his message at all" (unlike the report of his famous committee which came out against segregation).

Southerners may be willing to go along with Truman's civil rights program, he stated, if a "compromise" is made. And these were the conditions he laid down:

1. "If we could agree . . . that no legislation should be adopted on the subject of segregation, it would be the first step in a proper compromise."
2. In return, the Southern Democrats could accept an anti-poll tax bill if it was adopted as a constitutional amendment, requiring approval by 3/4 of the states.
3. They could accept a federal anti-lynching bill if the federal government would have jurisdiction only in states where state officials "willfully" failed or refused to prosecute lynchers.
4. They could even accept an FEPC bill if it did not provide "legal sanctions" for enforcement.

In short, they would accept civil rights bills

if all the teeth were extracted from them — if Negroes could still be barred from the ballot by other means than the poll tax, if the federal government could not intervene in lynchings so long as state officials put on an act of trying to punish lynchers, if no employer was forced to stop racial discrimination in employment.

After Hays finished speaking, he was congratulated by several other Representatives. Not a single one got up to denounce his arrogance in offering a "compromise" that would give the Jim Crow artists everything they want. But most important is the fact that, according to the N. Y. Times, the speech "had been weeks in preparation with the knowledge, at least, of Speaker Sam Rayburn." Translated, that means it had the approval of Rayburn, which in turn means that it was a feeler put out by the White House itself.

Ever since Nov. 2 The Militant has been warning against just such a trick. It would enable Truman to say, "See, I kept all my promises to the Negro people." It would enable the liberals like Humphrey to go around saying: "See, the Democratic Party is the only party for the Negroes." It would enable the white supremacists to be happy too. The Negroes — well, the Negroes would still be second-class citizens.

Every fighter for civil rights should be aware of the dirty deal being worked out behind the scenes, and should spread the word far and wide. It is better to have no civil rights bills at all than to have ones that don't mean anything. The capitalist parties are not going to grant equality to the Negro people. Equality will be won only by fighting for it — and that means a fight against the Trumanite fakery as well as the Dixiecrats.

Gilding the Warmonger

With a tremendous ballyhoo, the capitalist press is now launching the second volume of the memoirs of Winston Churchill, *His Finest Hour*. The powerful Luce magazine *Life*, with 20 million readers, introduces it with a front-cover splurge and costly color photos. The N. Y. Times publishes it serially, as do other important papers in 51 countries. It has already been acclaimed Book-of-the-Month Club selection for April. The fanfare is equalled only by the hullabaloo over the preceding book in Churchill's five-volume project.

It is no accident that the capitalist press wants Churchill's history to be read in every home. It is super-propaganda for Anglo-American imperialism's war campaign against the Soviet Union. And this of course is why it is vital to understand the author and his works.

In the February issue of *Fourth International*, G. F. Eckstein explores the background of "Winston Churchill, Tory Watch-dog," and his role through four decades of history. The arrogant Churchill who proclaims with false modesty "I have not always been wrong" is shown in his true proportions — as an erratic and adventurist politician in peacetime, again and again losing government post because of his irresponsibility and wrong appraisals — and as the unanimous choice for the role of ruthless war-leader.

At every critical juncture of British imperial-

ism's troubles since 1906, Churchill had cried for war as the "solution." Both his abilities and his faults were obvious.

"Every British politician knew him and his Napoleonic complex," Eckstein shows, "his preoccupation with war and war preparations, his extraordinary capacity for making a fool of himself on critical occasions." Long before the Second World War began in 1939, Churchill "had established himself as the most discredited, the most untrustworthy and the most irresponsible of all the senior politicians in England."

Yet they turned to him — as they do today — for the special talents that make him the outstanding warmonger.

"His famous sense of history is nonsense. He has none. . . . What he does have in his head," Eckstein says, "is the writings of the great British historians and the speeches of the great British orators. This and his single-mindedness, his operative consciousness of playing a great role in historic conflicts, enable him at times to rise to great heights of rhetoric."

It is when "men want to hear words of resolution and single-minded devotion to the conflict, to hear the greedy, bloody, bestial business glorified and made to look like something noble and uplifting," that "the stage is set for Churchill."

This is the man whose "wisdom" is extolled by the war-bound capitalist press.

Notes from the News

FAST WORK — Nominating petitions for Myra Tanner Weiss, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles, were filed on Feb. 7. The 1000 petitions, the maximum number that may be filed, were collected in five days, although 20 days are allowed. 500 valid signatures are required.

NOT EVEN VOTERS? — "One of his own cabinet officers, an Easterner, observed regretfully not long ago that 'The President just doesn't like anybody from New York.'" (William Walton in the Feb. 7 New Republic.)

HE NEVER KNEW — On hearing at a Senate committee session that almost 30% of American workers earn less than \$40 a week, Sen. Flanders (R., Vt., elected with CIO-PAC support) said: "Incomes as low as that are just incredible to me. I want to know more about these people and their earnings. I want to know why they get that way, who they are, and where they are."

FITTING AND PROPER — Victor Riesel, Social Democratic "labor" columnist, has departed from the N. Y. Post and is now working for Hearst's N. Y. Daily Mirror.

THE THREAT SOUNDS IDLE — The Joint Committee on Civil Rights, representing 21 national organizations headed by the NAACP, threatens to wipe out the Democratic majority in Congress in 1950 unless the Democrats stop deferring to the Dixiecrats and take action to stop filibusters. How will they do that — by supporting the Republicans who also refuse to abolish filibusters?

MAKING IT LOOK BETTER — The Supreme Court has changed its mind and decided to give a rehearing to the appeal of Carl Marzani, ex-State Department employee convicted of "perjury."

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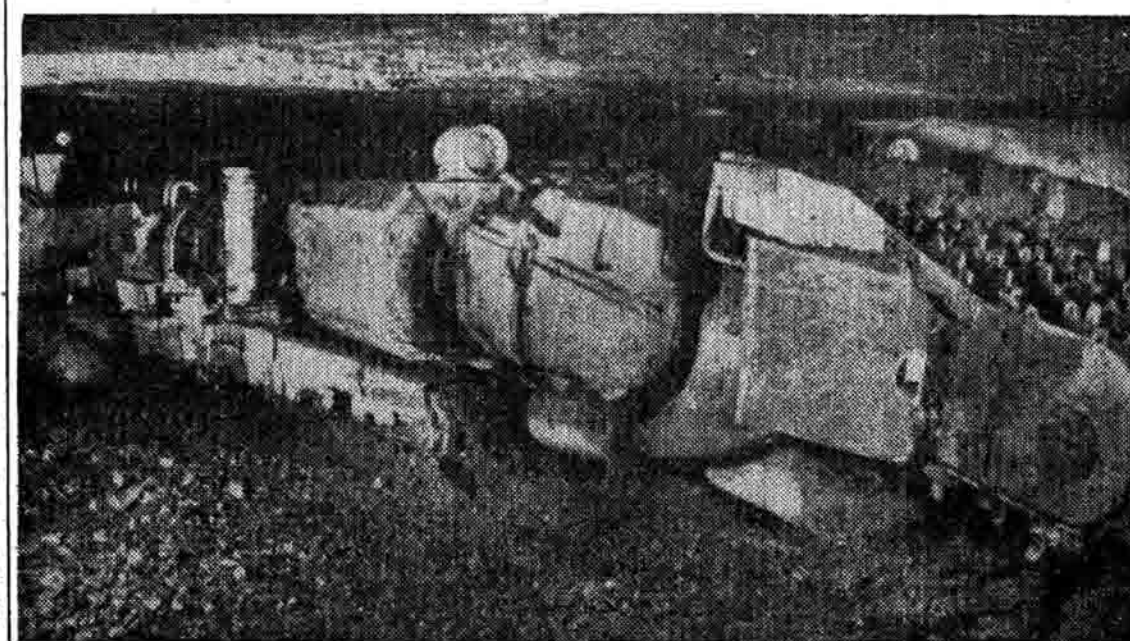
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1949

NUMBER 7

THE MILITANT

Kutcher Committee Launches Nation-Wide Petition Drive

Joy Loader Brings Gloom to Miners



A long shadow of unemployment is cast by the continuous Joy loader, latest in mechanical miners. A small crew operating the long, alligator-like machine can mine two tons of coal a minute, simultaneously loading the coal on conveyors. Miners fear that unemployment, already on the rise in their industry, will be seriously aggravated by the introduction of this new machine. As always under capitalism, improvements in technique benefit the capitalists and are used to undermine the conditions of the workers. New machinery is needed, but so is workers' control of industry to bring some of its benefits to labor.

4 Million Decline In Jobs Since July

The U. S. Census Bureau reported on Feb. 4 that total employment in January was 57,500,000. This is a drop of 2,000,000 in one month and is 4,000,000 below the peak figure of 61,500,000 last July.

However, the Census Bureau lists an increase in unemployment of only 700,000 for January, claiming that the 2,000,000 decline in jobs included a large percentage of those who had entered the labor force "temporarily" and are not considered "unemployed." Even an increase of 700,000 unemployed in a single month is one of the highest on record.

The Census Bureau reports a great increase in part-time employment.

Frank Barnes Is Still Penalized

By J. L. Hawkins

SANTA MONICA, Calif., Feb. 1 — High hopes have prevailed hereabouts that the election of Truman would mean a let-up in the oppressive government pressure on the Negroes and their leaders who have civil service jobs. These hopes were especially high following the Truman victory when Frank H. Barnes was acquitted by the Post Office Loyalty Board after six months' suspension from his letter carrier's job.

Barnes had been persecuted because of his militant leadership of the NAACP Branch in its fight for hiring equality at the local Sears & Roebuck store. Under heavy pressure the Post Office finally informed Barnes that his case had been acted on "favorably" and he was returned to his job at the first of the year.

Now it appears that there is a joker in the deck. Barnes was cleared of disloyalty, or so it would seem, but gets no back pay for the time lost through no fault of his own. He also loses six months out of his seniority and as a result has already lost a pay raise and a vacation due him.

According to the simplest idea of justice, either a man is innocent or guilty. But in answer to protest by Barnes, the Post Office states that it regards the matter entirely closed. The NAACP dare not let such a dangerous precedent stand, for it means that the federal government will continue to punish Negro leaders of this type as much as it can get away with. The lesson is plain enough. Truman is double dealing with the Negro people. The trickery of Barnes' treatment should serve as a warning that the Negroes dare not sit back and expect a civil rights program to drop in their laps. Important gains can be made; but only by keeping up the pressure on the government and by keeping down their trust in the man in the White House.

READ

Fourth International

SEATTLE SWP SUPPORTS PROTEST MOVES AGAINST COLLEGE WITCH-HUNTS

By John Black

SEATTLE — Protest is mounting against the dismissal of three professors at the University of Washington. The Board of Regents dismissed Ralph H. Gundlach, Herbert J. Phillips and Joseph Butterworth as "communists," and placed three other staff members on humiliating probationary status at the recommendation of Dr. Raymond B. Allen, university president.

Petitions condemning the Regents' actions are being circulated, and a newly created Student Organization for Academic Rights called a mass protest rally, Jan. 28. The meeting, addressed by faculty members and students, attracted an overflow crowd of about 1,000 students. Fear over the threat to academic liberties was the universal note of all the speakers.

SWP POSITION

The leaflet issued by the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party was well received by the audience. It expressed solidarity with the fight to maintain academic freedom and attacked the grounds given for the dismissal.

"We condemn the totalitarian acts of the Board of Regents who dismissed our professors on the pure and simple grounds of their radical political beliefs, declaring them on these grounds to be incompetent to teach the objective truth. That scores of professors who take their political stand as champions of capitalism also teach at the university is passed over in silence. Their objectivity remains unquestioned. Only those who hold views on the left are placed under attack."

The SWP leaflet also linked the Washington case with the purge of reformists like Tucker P. Smith, Norman Thomas' running-mate, at Olivet College; with the Kutcher case; with the case of the twelve indicted Communist Party leaders; and with the blacklisting of "subversives" initiated by the Boeing Aircraft Corp. after last year's long strike.

All the more shameful by contrast is the support given the witch-hunt by conservative union leaders. One of the regents, David Peck, AFL Teamsters vice-president and scab leader during the IAM strike at Boeing Aircraft, flew in from Chicago to vote for the purge. AFL State Secretary Edward Weston supports both the Board of Regents and the Canwell UnAmerican Activities Committee which initiated the campus persecutions.

A new angle was introduced into the picture when the State Supreme Court ruled last week that the three professors dismissed and three others were to be brought to trial for "contempt" of the Canwell legislative committee because they refused to answer questions whether they were or ever had been members of the Communist Party.

No measures were taken to prevent non-members from voting at the packed meeting. Ballots were passed out to anyone without checking on eligibility to vote. The chairman of the nominating committee admitted he had changed the unanimous report of the balloting committee on Griffith's advice before sending the ballots to the printer.

In addition, a city police detail, which lined the side aisles of the church where the meeting was held, had been summoned by Griffith before the meeting started. When a member not connected with either faction protested their presence and stated the organization is capable of appointing its own sergeant-at-arms to maintain order, Griffith arbitrarily ruled him out of order.

A STEP FORWARD While the organization of an opposition caucus to Griffith

NEW YORK — The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee this week announced the launching of a nation-wide petition campaign to reinforce its efforts to win justice for the legless veteran, James Kutcher. The petition is addressed to President Truman who issued Executive Order 9835 under which Kutcher was discharged. It urges the President to revoke Kutcher's dismissal; to restore him to his job in the Newark Veteran's Administration; and to grant a public hearing to the Socialist Workers Party so that he can clear his name of the stigma placed upon it.

Following its endorsement of the committee's work, the California National CIO-PAC has authorized the circulation of these petitions to all CIO locals throughout the state. Its executive officers have agreed to do all that they can to bring the Kutcher case by this means before the CIO members in California.

John A. Despol, secretary-treasurer of the California CIO-PAC, is in charge of the campaign for the southern part of the state while Tim Flynn, director of the San Francisco regional office, will supervise the petition work in Northern California.

Early returns on the petitions have already been received from Minneapolis and Detroit. At a district meeting of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, members of this large fraternal order collected \$15.75 and numerous signatures on the Kutcher petitions.

Workers for the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in the Twin Cities collected funds and signatures from members of Local 209 of the AFL Sheet Metal Workers in St. Paul as well as from workers belonging to Foot-board Lodge 804, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Both these rail unions have endorsed the Kutcher case.

RAIL UNION AID

Local 325 of the CIO Rubber Workers in Portland, Oregon, sent a donation and endorsement to the Kutcher committee. In Los Angeles, two UAW locals — Studebaker 255 and General Motors 216 — voted donations for Kutcher's defense as evidence of their solidarity in his fight for civil rights.

Local branches of the KCRC which have been organized in many large cities are planning to circulate the petitions in union locals, veterans organizations, religious and civil liberties groups, in the universities, factories and neighborhoods. They will combine the securing of signatures with the collection of contributions to the defense fund for the victimized veteran for which provision is made on the petitions.

Militant readers who are interested in assisting this campaign can obtain petitions to circulate among their friends and shopmates by writing the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Plant Police on Strike At Westinghouse Unit

EAST PITTSBURGH, Pa., Jan. 31 — Westinghouse Electric plant police here have voted unanimously to turn their continuous meeting into a strike, reportedly the first of its kind in CIO United Electrical Workers history.

The action was taken after the company refused to arbitrate or otherwise settle satisfactorily the demand of the plant police for pay for time spent standing roll-call before starting their 8-hour shift. Instead, the company proposed a schedule change which would eliminate long-standing working conditions and cause loss of jobs, favoritism and discrimination.

A meeting called by police of all shifts elected a negotiating committee to demand continuation of present schedules and over-time payment on a retroactive basis for roll-call time. The company refused to negotiate unless the meeting disbanded and the men returned to work. When the committee reported this, the strike vote was taken. No picket lines were set up, however.

This walkout has gained the sympathy of the production workers, but they have been discouraged from taking any direct supporting action by the UE Local 601 leaders although the latter are giving moral backing to the strike.

STALINIST SABOTAGE

The Stalinist-controlled International has refused to approve the strike and through its representative, Edward Matthews, has supported the company demand for a return to work before negotiations. The grievance had already been "in the mill" for 21 months.

This refusal to authorize the strike has the appearance of a Stalinist maneuver to embarrass the local leaders who replaced the recently-ousted Stalinist local officials. Meanwhile, the company is filling the plant police jobs with lieutenants and captains who are part of management.

The Local 601 rank and file are fearful that the International's conduct in this case will mean similar treatment in the future against the production workers.

HEATED CONTEST MARKS NAACP ELECTION IN L. A.

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES — The recent Los Angeles NAACP elections aroused more interest than the Negro community has seen in years. This is one of the largest chapters in the country and will be host to the national NAACP convention next summer.

Incumbent President Thomas L. Griffith Jr. was elected for his fifteenth consecutive term. The legality of the election is being challenged on the ground that undemocratic procedures and disregard of the election manual were employed by the Griffith administration to defeat the opposition.

The loosely-organized caucus opposing Griffith was led by a group of well-known community figures who called themselves the Committee for the Preservation of the Los Angeles NAACP. They charged that the decline in branch membership has been due

to "the negligent attitude adopted under the presidency of Thomas L. Griffith and others who have controlled the association for the past 14 years."

As a result, they said, the Los Angeles NAACP "has failed to safeguard your rights as a citizen . . . to protect you against police brutality . . . to build up youth branches and college chapters . . . to build up adequate financial strength . . . to hold regular monthly meetings as laid down by the constitution . . . to help the veterans of the community."

Actually, much more than that could be charged against the local administration. It has not led a single concrete struggle in this community in years.

The Griffith clique did rouse itself sufficiently to consummate a block with the Stalinists and fellow travellers and utilize every type of trick to ensure its election.

represents a step forward in the development of a local leadership; a number of serious weaknesses in the opposition were revealed:

1. It failed to provide for labor representation on the executive board in the slate it proposed.

2. It failed to provide a militant and aggressive candidate for president, proposing a minister with no particular qualifications for dynamic leadership as the alternative to Griffith.

3. It failed to organize a broad, democratically controlled caucus capable of mobilizing mass support in the community and of providing competent floor leadership at NAACP meetings.

4. It failed to denounce the most serious threat to the future of the NAACP as an independent organization of the Negro people — the submission by the nominating committee chairman of the names of all candidates to the FBI for screening.