By G. F. Eckstein

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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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 canresume my part in the fight for civil liberties." This was James

Kutcher speaking-from his bed in the Beth Israel Hospital where liberal and veteran organization he underwent a new operation on the stump of his left leg yester-

It is too early to tell if the tours. 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

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 stitches are removed. Then the stump will have to heal before he can again attempt the use of artificial limbs.

story to him by now. Since he was fired last October. was wounded by a mortar shell in Italy 51/2 years ago, he has had a total of three operations on fight. who recognize that he is each leg.

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 address their mail to James below the knee and the other has Kutcher, Ward 201, Beth Israel no knee at all.

Kutcher made it clear today, 8, N. J. however, that he intends to be more active in the future than before: "I have received invitations to speak before labor,

it. They want to end the system 3

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 sus-

tain their own class rule. Lack-

ing to convert the revolutionary

situation into a social revolution

is a revolutionary party in the

situation is the glaring contra-

diction between the Stalinist pro-

gram and policy, on the one hand,

and the real revolutionary possi-

bilities on the other. Stalinist

program and policy are determined and governed, not by revolu-

tionary considerations, but by

'the conservative bureaucratic

needs of the Kremlin gang and by

the still meager bureaucratic in-

terests of the Chinese Stalinists

A revolutionary situation can-

not remain revolutionary for an

indefinite period. Unless the Chi-

nese ruling classes are decisively crushed and their properties ex-

propriated in the shortest possible

time, they may be able to stage

a come-back. The revolutionary

posite — a counter-revolutionary

situation. If the Stalinists were

deliberately planning a come-back

for Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuo-

mintang, they could scarcely do

it more effectively than by their

present vacillating, half-way,

compromising policy which is add-

ing to the life-span of this re-

actionary regime. Recent news

dispatches show quite clearly that

Chiang and his henchmen are

using the breathing space pro-

prepare for a counter-offensive.

situation could turn into its op

What stands out in the present

tradition of Bolshevism.

MADE POSSIBLE BY CP

By Li Fu-jen

of exploitation and oppression on flee safely and unhindered from

The situation in China is profoundly revolutionary. The

in many parts of the country. If it is at all possible, I will accept 'Militant' Office them and maybe make some

"For another thing, there will soon be a hearing on my case be-fore the Loyalty Review Board Readers' Donations want to reach the widest number of organizations and tell them about the real issue in my casethe danger to all democratic readers, it has been possible to rights that arises when the political party in power assumes the this paper's offices at 116 Uniauthority to blacklist minority parties as 'subversive' on the a fire of unknown origin Jan. 23. say-so of one man, the Attorney But thus far only a beginning has

THE VA'S ATTITUDE

fact that the Veterans Ad- a normal basis. ministration will pay for the operation, which was performed by Dr. David S. Eisenberg. But eyidently the VA did not propose to spend a cent more than it had to, denying him the use of PLANS GREATER ACTIVITY either a private or semi-private invaluable clipping morgue, badly As he lay on his bed, looking room and placing him in a tired and haggard, he was not general wardroom crowded with also being rebuilt. While the long, interested in discussing the 20 patients. The VA is the same slow task of constructing new operation or its painfulness. agency for which Kutcher work-Surgery and hospitals are an old ed for over two years before he

Those who understand the fight, who recognize that he is fighting for all of us as well as And there is no certainty that 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 Hospital, 201 Lyons Ave., Newark SWP.

Kutcher - See Page 4.

Nanking - after making the

empty gesture of placing them

on a list of "war criminals." And

after they had fled, they "order-

ed" Li Tsung-jen - head of the

Kuomintang's "caretaker" gov

ernment in Nanking - to arrest

criminals." A Kerensky entrust-

ed with the arrest of a Kornilov!

(Continued on page 3)

James Kutcher "Inherent Powers" Doctrine Menaces Democratic Rights

Reconstruction of **Proceeding Slowly** in Washington. But above all, I Still Urgently Needed

NEW YORK - Thanks to the financial response of Militant go ahead with reconstruction of versity Pl., which were gutted by been made. It will require additional funds and several more weeks before The Militant will be The local press played up the able to operate on anything like

> 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 scorched and partly destroyed, is 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"

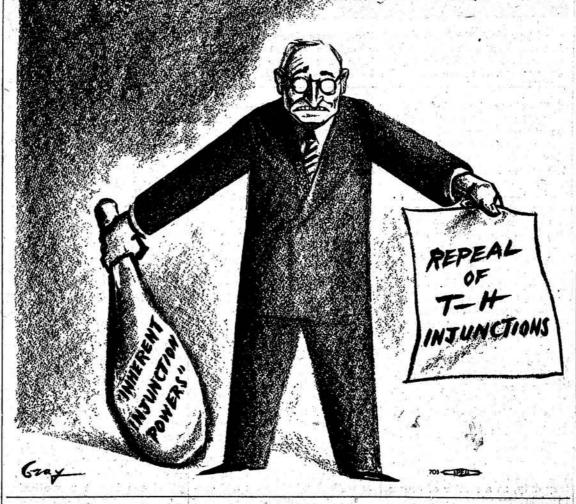
These steps have been made possible by the generous help extended by our readers. Previously reported was the donation of \$515 in cash and pledges from the New York Local of the

R.B.G. of Los Angeles wrote: How YOU can help James "What little I can spare as an 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 **SURVIVALOF KUOMINTANG** 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, overwhelming mass of the people are no longer prepared to 50c. Virtually all the contributors tolerate the Kuomintang regime or any deceptive substitute for voiced regret at not being able o send more.

The editorial and business 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 ing on juries, thanks to the use us to overcome the existing han- of Who's Who, the Social Register demand that he be given the public denunciation of the Stal-Chiang and the rest of the "war dicaps and to resume publication and similar directories in drawing under normal conditions.



Judge Bars 'Confidential' Jury-Packing Evidence

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURT- etc. ROOM, NEW YORK, Feb. 9 -Official records of methods used to pack federal jury panel with Stalinists.

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 staffs of The Militant appreciate Leland L. Tolman of Chandler's both the spirit shown by these office in preparing an official study of the jury system.

The Tolman report describes the "high type of citizens" serv-Please mail your contribution to to a "pleasing young man"

distribution of the population by ment as a pretext to demand that tion. Under this doctrine there is occupation, race, income level, all testimony by Wilkerson be

Mountains of evidence showing systematic exclusion from jury panels of workers, Negroes and "subversion of the administrarepresentatives of the rich have other minorities by the invidious been barred from evidence in the method of token representation has declared he will resort to defense challenge of the jury have been submitted by the system in the trial of the 11 defense. This evidence was introduced mainly through the Henry P. Chandler, director of testimony of Doxey A. Wilkerson, the U. S. Courts Administrative director of the Stalinist Jefferson School.

The government prosecutor, John F. X. McGohey, made a big movement against the jury-packfuss about one missing pin among the hundreds of pins on the score of maps showing how jurors are concentrated in the wealthy Smith Act, neighborhoods.

PROSECUTION'S LINE

Wilkerson has sought to avoid compliance with the prosecutor's judiciary have spearheaded the names of all persons who helped inists. The capitalist press and the jury panels, and thanks also prepare the maps and charts radio have played the red-baiting showing the composition of the The Militant, 116 University Pl., engaged in drawing the panels jury panels. McGohey is obviously zenty trial has been used by the New York 3, N. Y. (Continued on page 2)

thrown out.

Characterizing defense procedure in the jury challenge as tion of justice," Judge Medina 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 ing scheme and the even more sinister thought - control indictment of the Stalinists under the

In part this lack of mass protest is due to the hysterical red-baiting propaganda. President Truman, the Congress and the theme in every key. The Minds

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 arro- 3

gate 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

He made this dictatorial claim at a press interview on Feb. 4 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" masmuch as he already has the

DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS"

Truman's enunciation of this ew and unprecedented d'octrine of "inherent power" raises an issue that transcends even the vital issue of labor relations legislano 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 assump- yet taken in this country toward tion 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 emer-

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 dissident political groups and to plunge the

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

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 socalled "subversive" organizations and the Gestapo-like "loyalty" purge among government workers. This order not only blacklists any political opposition that when he approved a memorandum Truman chooses to label "subversive" and denies them a hearing on this charge, but it subects anyone on government work, whether in federal or private emoloyment, 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-inchief 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 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 totalitariansm.

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 gents in Congress, or protest letters or even threats of mass. evictions to force the end of rent controls. They mean business are acting accordingly. The American Property Owners ssociation 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.

Trial of the Stalinist Leaders

By James P. Cannon

Socialist Workers Party at expert, as follows: a protest mass meeting held also spoke, presenting an evewitness account of the Stalinist trial to date.)

There is a widespread popular impression that the Communist years Party leaders in the dock in the federal courtroom on Foley to be brought to trial. I personally agree with that popular sentiment. The Stalinist leaders are indeed criminals, and they I learned that in school, and then should be tried for their crimes. But we don't agree with this criminals charged with the wrong vided them by the Stalinists to crime. And they are being tried

The Stalinists permitted the in the wrong court. criminal Chiang and the entire Like Comrade Dobbs, I could

(The following is the text ists on trial my services in their

I was an active member of the force and violence—is not a crime in New York Feb. 6. Farrell | Communist Party since its founda- in this country under the Consti-Dobbs, National Chairman, tion in 1919 until 1928, that is, tution. nine years. I am a student of the Stalinists are falsely accused

And, finally, I am familiar with the free speech section of the ican capitalism has no right to Square are criminals and ought United States Constitution which try them, because the crimes of provides that "Conress shall pass Stalinism have not been directed no law . . . abridging the free- against the system this court dom of speech, or of the press." had an opportunity to read it court of the international workover again and ponder over it ing class for high crimes and trial. This is a case of the right for 13 months in a federal univer- misdemeanors against the worksity at Sandstone penintentiary.

So, armed with these qualifica-

United States government by

2. The Stalinists are not even Marxist and Leninist theory. which guilty of this crime that is not the greatest criminals in history. a crime. They do not advocate of teaching. I have been a work- the overthrow of the United ing opponent of Stalinism for 20 States government by force and violence, or otherwise. 3. The federal court of Amer-

represents. The Stalinist leaders should be placed on trial before a personnel of his government to testify as an expert witness on tions, I would challenge the in- versions of Marxism to class try." It signified the renunciation

offer the lawyers for the Stalin- Stalinist Party on three grounds: imperialist government of the tional revolution; an offer of the 1. The crime charged against United States in the Second Soviet bureaucracy to comproof a speech delivered by the defense against false accusations. them-that they "conspired to World War, and including every mise with world capitalism at the National Secretary of the I have qualifications as such an advocate" the overthrow of the kind of offense against the ethics expense of the international of the workers' movement from workers' movement. That is the falsification and forgery to frame- theory from which Stalinism up and murder.

> these crimes. The Stalinists are But the present trial in the federal court of the Southern District of thousands of Bolsheviks who of New York in Foley Square is a frameup against them. They brought against them, that they advocated the overthrow of the capitalist government of the

United States. support world capitalism and not policy of collaboration with to overthrow it. Stalinism began capitalist parties and participatwenty-five years ago with the ing class of the world, and of promulgation of its basic theory the Soviet-Nazi Pact, whereby this country too, over a long of "socialism in one country," period of years; high crimes and meaning Russia. That signified, Hitler in launching the Second misdemeanors ranging from per- "no socialism in any other coun-

these questions. I hereby publicly dictment of the leaders of the collaboration and support of the of all perspectives of internaoriginated.

The Stalinists are guilty of STALINIST CRIMES

The practice followed from the theory: the expulsion, the frameups and mass murders of tens made the revolution and stood, n reality, for international revoare not guilty of the charge lution against all capitalist institutions; the conduct of the Stalinists in Spain, where they propped up and supported the bourgeois government at the cost The whole course of Stalinism, of mass murders of Spanish revosince its inception, has served to lutionists; the "peoples' front" tion in capitalist governments; the Stalinists joined hands with World War; the Anglo-Soviet-

(Continued on page 2)

Bill Haywood's room in

prisoners mentioned before. They

for years, were remembered,

The same with all the old half-

forgotten cases. The ILD was the

support of the Communist Party,

completely Stalinized and ex-

pelled the honest revolutionists.

The principle of the Interna-

tional Labor Defense, which made

militants, was non-partisan de-

fense without political discrimina-

When you consider all this and

The Trial of the Stalinist Leaders

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 Constitu- appeal to all workers' organization, and even by considerations of gratitude for services received supported us in our trial, to from the Stalinists, especially protest against the political trial during the war, to try them.

On the other hand, despite the as criminals on the record, we 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 for free speech and justice and prevent Congress from passing laws which would proscribe the "advocacy" of any doctrine. But this indictment under the Smith by the great protest movement Act-the same law under which victed in Minneapolis-is an in- brought to trial on trumped-up dictment 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 legitimatize the suppression of free speech and the free press.

conviction under the Smith Act theless, all sections of the labor in Minneapolis, and our subsequent imprisonment, and the to themselves and their whole refusal of the Supreme Court to future in the attempt to legitireview the case, has already set one precedent. This was a heavy labor leaders. blow at free speech and democracy in this country, and the 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 the anarchist groups and groups. us in prison for our full term It is true that these scoundrels even tried to sabotage and break from sympathetic organizations to pay the lawyers. If the Stalinists had had their way, we would not have been able to Catholic church in an effort to employ a legal defense to make whip the population into a frenzy a legal record. Their shameful conduct paved the way for their own prosecution under the same

That is all true, as has been related so graphically here tonight and because they have always by Comrade Dobbs. But that defended the gang of cutthroats cannot determine the policy of a in the Kremlin in their vile revolutionary organization, or of slander campaigns, cold-blooded any workers' organization for assassinations and ruthless that matter. Sheer self-interest, purges. for us and for every honest workers' organization, weighs more the Communist Party in this than sentiments of revenge in country defend the infamous

If the precedent established in are tarred with the brush of that our case is reenforced by another mockery of justice in which conviction in this case of the Lenin's Central Committee and Stalinists, and sanctioned by the leaders of the Red Army public opinion until it becomes were lynched by Stalin. Their accepted as a custom, the tradi- hands are stained with the tional freedoms which the work- martyr's blood of Leon Trotsky, ers' movement needs for en- who was brutally murdered in lightened advancement will yield Mexico by Stalin's secret police.

working class of the United ward 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 tions, especially to those who of the Stalinists. I think we have made it sufficiently clear that fact that we indict the Stalinists our point of view in this case is not motivated by Christian forand all other workers' organiza- giveness or soft-headedness, and tions, who have reason for neither 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.

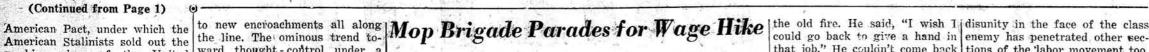
A GREAT TRADITION

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

freedom of organization. My first interest in the socialist and labor movement was aroused in behalf of Moyer and Haywood we were prosecuted and con- in 1906. They were arrested and charges of murder, but their real offense was their labor activiruptibility. They were not left case of the IWW leaders during IWW's, anarchists, Mooney and and Vanzetti. All this work of alone to defend themselves as best they could. They were leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, which was then Unfortunately, our trial and affiliated to the IWW. Nevermovement recognized the threat matize the framing - up of the

Stalinists on trial are suffering from one end of the country to the direct inspiration of the Com- we completed the plans which recall what has happened in the Administration job in New Jersey union the past year. Such a





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 about that because I participated

sought to take the lives of Moyer although it was strictly an Amerand Haywood were pushed back. ican institution in its methods to remember them all and raise The frameup was defeated by the and practices. The ILD was born money for them. We created a threat of the united workers' in Moscow in discussion with Bill fund so that \$5 was sent every

in defense of Ettor and Giovanitti, over the country. leaders of the Lawrence strike Mooney and Billings. It was true and radicals in prisons at that Vanzetti. All class conscious workers felt it to be an elementary duty, as a matter of course, to join together against the ception of the International Labor attacks of the class enemy.

ROLE OF THE ILD

proud tradition of solidarity. The persecution by capitalist law. A tremendous machinery of International Labor Defense, protest and defense was built up, which was formed in 1925 under ings with Bill Haywood. When tices of the Stalinists; when you the other, in the form of "Moyer- munist Party, was specifically were later to become reality in last 20-odd years, you must say because of his political opinions Haywood Conferences." All kinds dedicated to the principle of non- the formation of the ILD; and that the Stalinists have done of organizations, representing partisan labor defense, to the when I promised him that I would more than any others to dishonor every section of the labor move- defense of any member of the come back to America and see this tradition of solidarity. They ment and all points of view, sent working class movement, regard- to it that the plans did not remain have done more than any others delegates to these united front less of his views, who suffered on paper; that we would really to disrupt unity for defense conferences. AFL and independent persecution by the capitalist go to work in eaguest and come against the class enemy. unions, the IWW, the Socialist courts because of his activities to the aid of the men forgotten

the anarchist groups and groups I can speak with authority his one eye, rather-flashed with That terrible corruption of

will-all marched together under in the planning of the ILD, and the "Moyer - Haywood Confer- was the National Secretary from (rs, organizers, agitators, dissentences" to make a mighty move- its inception until we were ment in defense of the accused. thrown out of the Communist The ground shook with their Party in 1928. The International Labor Defense was really "born The conspirators who had in Moscow"; that I must admit.

movement. The great Bill Hay- Haywood. The old fighter, who wood, of beloved memory, was was exiled from America with war prisoners. Every Christmas right when he spoke to the first a 20-year sentence hanging over time we raised a special fund for great mass meeting of 200,000 in him, was deeply concerned about their families. The Centralia Chicago, who greeted him on his the persecution of workers in IWW group, almost forgotten release from jail, and said: "We America. He wanted to have owe our lives to your solidarity." something done for the almost The same solidarity was shown forgotten men laying in jail all There were over 100 men of 1912; and in the defense of labor organizers, strike leaders

to a considerable extent in the time in the United States the first World War, and in the Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti, solidarity had the backing and cases of Debs and of Sacco and McNamara and Schmidt, the Centralia prisoners, etc. In dis- but that was before it became cussions there in Moscow in 1925 we worked out the plan and con-Defense as a non-partisan body which would defend any member of the working class movement, The Communist Party itself regardless of his opinion or

in prison-the old lion's eyes --

that job." He couldn't come back tions of the labor movement too. because he was an cutlaw in the The Social Democrats do a great-United States, not for any crime deal of pious moralizing about he had committed but for all the the Stalinists, but their conduct good things he had done for the isn't much better, if any. For American working class. Up to the greater part, they make no the end of his life he continued protest against the persecution to be an active participant in of the Stalinists. The labor ofthe work of the II.D by cor- ficials, both of the CIO and AFL, stand aside, and many even support the prosecution. NON-PARTISAN DEFENSE

They think there is no need to The plans for the International worry about the Smith Act; that Labor Defense as a non-partisan it is only for Stalinists. That is defense organization, made there what the Stalinists thought when we were on trial seven years ago were carried out in -that this evil and unconstitupractice during its first years. tional law is only for Trotskyists. There were 106 class war prison-I heard in San Francisco that a ers in the United States-scores Stalinist Party speaker, harassed of IWW's, members railroaded by an interrogater as to the in California, Kansas, Utah and relation between their trial and other states under the criminal ours, said, "This whole trial is a syndicalist laws. We located a mistake and a misunderstanding. couple of obscure anarchists in The Smith Act was meant for the Rhode Island; a group of AFL Trotskyists." But the Smith Act coal miners in West Virginia; chickens came home to roost for two labor organizers in Thomasthe Stalinists, and the same thing ton, Maine - besides the more can happen to others too. prominent and better known

If the Stalinists are convicted, establishing another precedent to added up to 106 people in prison buttress the precedent of our case. in this land of the free at the same law can be invoked that time for activites in the labor movement. They were not against other political organizations, against college professors, criminals at all, but strike leadand even preachers who happen to have opinions contrary to those ers-our own kind of people. Not of the ruling powers, and have one of these 106 prisoners was a member of the Communist Party! the courage to express them. It But the ILD defended and helped is a great error, a terrible error, to neglect this trial and refuse to protest; an error for which we The ILD adopted as its policy will all have to pay-they and we, and all of us, all who aspire by whatever means, or by what month to each of the 106 class 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. publicity was given their case That is why we would like to see and efforts made to help them. every effort made, even now while the trial is going on, to reverse the present trend, to overorganizing center of the great come the passivity and indifworld-wide movement of protest for the two anarchists, Sacco

JOIN IN PROTEST!

It is, of course, utopian to hope or expect that a great united movement, cooperating loyally as in the old days, can be formed with the Stalinists. The Stalinists cannot cooperate lovally with anyone. We offered them a it so popular and so dear to the united front. They refused it Even now, when the witch-hunt and loyalty purges are directed was once the exponent of this affiliation, if he came under tion. The principle was solidarity. against them, they refuse to say one word in defense of James I never-will forget those meet- compare it with the later prac- Kutcher, the legless veteran who militant unionism. Such a developwas removed from his Veterans ment took place in the CIO rubber as a member of the Socialist

> the Stalinists, as well as for the labor movement has dearly reach higher ground.

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 hand, if it means at the same the CIO, the Stalinists are continuing to undermine the authentic progressive forces now arising to hallenge the labor bureaucracy Briggs Local 212. Here the opin the unions.

For 13 years, ever since the formation of the CIO, the Stalnists 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 slate. 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 for an honest class struggle policy to the class collaboration game being preached and practised 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 oposed and squelched all moves to form an independent labor party or run independent labor slates. policy, and other local officers, This policy of working with the for using the local union paper capitalists was crowned with "in support of policies diametrictheir shameless sell-outs during ally opposed to the policies of the the war when they backed the National CIO and the memberno-strike pledge, pushed the speedup and company - union abor-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 Comcal working class organization at 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 union after the 1947 Atlantic City convention where Reuther Because of that attitude of took over full control.

But the Stalinists did not greet other considerations, it would be the emergence of these new virile utopian to hope for an all-in- progressive groupings with any clusive united front. But the satisfaction or approval. Nor did trade unions and anti-Stalinist they try to establish loyal copolitical organizations should join operation with them. In the auto together, for their own reasons, union they have already fully and in their own interest, to shown their hand. They are out protest this prosecution. We to discredit, to bust up, to destroy would join and give our support this new progressive formation. to such an effort. But in any Why? Do they find its program case, whether it can be done co- inadequate or incorrect? They methods of Stalinism with the ex- this country would have a strong fellow-traveler and be damned operatively or separately, all are not interested in program at should raise their voices in protest all. What counts for them is the These are the dangers clearly against the political trial going fact that the "Committee for a on in Foley Square. Not for the Militant and Democratic UAW" sake of the Stalinist gang, but is not under their domination

Two recent incidents in the won and badly needs for its in- auto union make obvious that formed and conscious struggle to the Stalinists are prepared to go so far as to strengthen Reuther's

time weakening the independent non-Stalinist opposition.

The first incident relates to position caucus selected its slate about a month ago to oppose the incumbent Reuther-supported administration slate 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

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 advanced elements inside the CIO 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 ship decisions of Local 51."

Danowski feared that Reuther might place an admistrator over the local. Members of the Stalinist-run caucus headed by Tracy Doll met, therefore, with the officers of the "Committee for a munist Party was not a real radi- | Militant and Democratic 'UAW' to solicit their support against all, but a conscienceless agency of any violations of union democracy. The officers of the latter group agreed they would back in every practical way a fight against imposing an administratorship over the Plymouth local. The joint conference ended on

this cordial and cooperative note. The officers of the Stalinistrun 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 n 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 naster 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, here 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 union 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.

New York Public Forum on "STALINS'S PROPOSED

PEACE PLAN" Does it mean a New Turn for the Communist Parties? Speaker

George Clarke Editor, Fourth International Sun., Feb. 20, 8 P. M. Question Period at BEETHOVEN HALL 210 E. 5th St. New York City

up our Defense Committee, to prevent it from raising funds from raising funds from raising funds from raising funds Compare the police-state Trotsky, then the Stalinists in and then he would become

(Continued from page 1)

of hatred against the Stalinists. This terrific propaganda barrage has had its effect, primarily because the Stalinists have betrayed the workers so many times;

Moscow Trials of 1936-38. They

leader Volodarsky and the attempt on Lenin's life by Dora Kaplan. To this day Stalin's lackeys in The defendants were permitted to have as their counsel the Bel-Kurt Rosenfeld.

Speaking for the defendants. Vandervelde stated that the Social Revolutionaries proudly admitted gle against the Soviet governdid 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

They were sentenced to death.

If Stalinism had maintained that scrupulously fair administra- say the right things, and, contion of justice, if Stalinism had sidering all the risks, had prob- and engaged in informal discusmaintained that careful regard ably better not join any organ- sion. A number of interest cards for world working class opinion ization or society at all, since a were signed and an extensive

emplary administration of justice basis to appeal for support forever." under Lenin and Trotsky. In 1922, against their prosecution under twelve leaders of the Social Revo- a thought-control indictment.

in hand to overthrow the Soviet acts of treachery and by their view of the civil rights of the those democratic rights which or ruin." government in alliance with the attempts to justify the Kremlin's American people, the Stalinists foreign capitalist powers then brutalities, thereby alienating are correct when they say that attacking the Soviet Union. They support they would otherwise not 11 but 140 million people are were also accused of directing win in defense of their civil in the prisoners dock here in the assassination of the Bolshevik | rights.

EFFECT OF CONVICTIONS

All the more ominous, theregian socialist lawyer, Emil Van- Stalinists, because their convicdevice invented by the witch- in this country. Legalization would be claimed

they had conducted armed strug- its blacklist of organizations alleged to be "subversive." Many ment and were only sorry they others like the legless war veteran James Kutcher, would be fired from their jobs because 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 investiga- and present problems facing the tions, denouncing of people by stool pigeons and all the companion evils would spread like a

by Dr. Robert E. Cushman of government employees. He would and exact justice." feel he had better "read the right demonstrated by Lenin and Communist might also join it, amount of literature was sold.

CHICKENS TO ROOST

present in the government proselutionaries were brought to trial But the Stalinists have dis- cution of the Stalinists under the on the charge of attempting arms credited themselves by their own Smith Act. From the point of for the sake of free speech, for The Stalinist policy remains "rule-Foley Square. All who cherish liberty and the

right to think as they please have a vital stake in the fight to repeal fore, is the present trial of the the Smith Act, to defend its latest victims and to defeat on dervelde, and two other socialist tion would be used as a cloak of every front the governmentlawyers, Theodor Liebknecht and udicial approval for every sinister inspired witch-hunt now going on

DETROIT, Feb. 6 - The Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated Negro thusiastic meeting attended by

Socialism." They discussed past 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 Dougput in the state of mind described lass, the great Negro abolitionist: "We are content with noth-Cornell University in speaking of ing for the Negro short of equal

looks, newspapers and magazines, period followed. Most of the audience stayed far into the evening

Of the recently expired subs, | \$5 for the enclosed five one-half 164 had actually expired a month year subscriptions to The Milior more ago but were kept from tant," writes S. G., literature lapsing by the Philadelphia agent from Lynn, Mass. "Once branch. The branch paid for the we finish going back to readers extra copies of the paper that with expired subscription, to find were sent to the Philadelphia area out if they want to renew, we so that these readers could be are planning a sub campaign. visited for renewals while they With a little luck plus some hard were still receiving the paper. work we hope to be able to send The experiment proved quite you a number of subs regularly fruitful. Over 50 renewals of each week." the 25c special election campaign

MILITANT ARMY

Dotty S., of New Britain, Conn., has sent in \$4 for 2 new and 1 Thursday morning cannot be prorenewed subscriptions. She writes that "our new literature agent, Hannah S., will handle subs in the future. I understand she has some ideas for sub campaigns so perhaps we'll add our share in keeping you busy." Literature agents, new and old, should not hesitate to let us know of their plans so that other branches may profit

subscriptions and 19 renewals of

regular subs were obtained by the

Philadelphia branch in a short

time. Last week the plates of

"Enclosed find money order for

and the time they are received not renewed were withdrawn the best possible service, subscriptions should be sent to the business office as soon as they are obtained. Subs received after cessed in time to begin with the issue dated the following Monday.

Sub blanks for The Militant giving the new rates (see coupon on this page) are being printed. They will be ready for distribution to salesmen in a few weeks. Until these new blanks are received it would be well to utilize the old blanks by making the necessary corrections on them in ink.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY Six Months

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and 12 monthly issues of

BOLSHEVIK JUSTICE

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 capital-

cancer. The average person would be

by the Truman administration for Detroit Celebrates Negro History Week

they disagree with the policies History Week today with an en-100 workers. The program included speakers from Flint and Detroit on the subject, "The Negro People and

those subscribers who still had from the files. A lively question and discussion

There is an appreciable time lag between the time some subs are received by Militant salesmen in the office. To give subscribers

from their ideas and experiences.

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tors do not necessarily rep-

resent The Militant's policies.

These are expressed in its

Signed articles by contribu-



"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 expended 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 ruletotalitarian 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 angencies 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 Regentsthe 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

Criminal Silence Of Union Leaders

The Trumanite union leaders are having increasing difficulty in covering up the antilabor 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 throught 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 and Wendell Phillips, 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

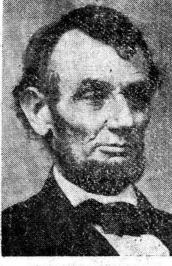
WHAT WE REMEMBER What is it that the working class must remember about Abraham Lincoln? He himself expressed it best in his second inaugural address when he said of the Civil War:

"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 chatterers and fakers 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 emocrat. 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 artisans. It seemed to many men government from the town-meet-But today, with a few giant tions.

corporations owning and domin- | Lincoln bitterly opposed all 1865. The revolutionaries today paigns of using Lincoln, Jeffer- ploited and oppressed.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ating the economic life of the country and the lives of whole nations abroad; with tens of millions of workers beginning to the Whig Party was doomed, did punch the time-clock at the age of 18 with no other perspective party. 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 na-

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 The viciousness of the slave-

power, its cruelties and its crimes, its ambition to suppress liberty of small farmers, mechanics and defense of its precious hordes of

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

ELEVEN YEARS AFTER

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.

his approval of their being beaten

The formation of the Republican inspiration to revolutionists to-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 he throw in his lot with the new

Not only was Lincoln driven to emancipate the slaves by force in Russia. He knew and loved the of circumstances. He was ready Bolsheviks who led the workers to consider the formation of a to victory in 1917. When only 12 Negro republic in Texas. He would | years old he joined the Komsomol 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 Leninism became his very life. end he had to follow the direction in which they pointed: civil war, arming of Negroes, total emancipation, crushing of the slave-

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 population in the North consisted all over the United States in is plain - monopoly-capitalism. the modern slave-holders. The slaves, these things were brought class that is to be emancipated that on the boundless acres that and kept before the American is the working class; the workers stretched beyond the Mississippi people for thirty years by the with the poor farmers and their road, and those elements in the formed is a great mass party of Republican Party did in 1860- demagogic, unprincipled cam- workers, farmers and all the ex-

DEATH OF LEON SEDOV Eleven years ago this month, Leon Sedoy, son of Leon and Natalia Trotsky and an outstanding leader of the Fourth Interna-Lincoln hated the Abolitionists tional, died in Paris, a victim of as trouble-makers, and expressed the Stalinist GPU murder machine. The memory of his short life remains a fresh and vital

for humanity.

day, 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

Born in 1906, year of Czarist repression against the leaders of the defeated 1905 revolution, he saw the overthrow of capitalism 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-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 Protsky as the two principal his work live on, in the movedefendants in the Moscow frame-

this better than they did, because

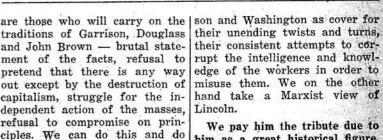
we have before our eyes the

mighty power of the American

proletariat and behind us the

reat traditions and experiences

That is our attitude to Lincoln.



LEON SEDOY

It was Sedov who did much of

he work of exposing the frau-

dulent "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 hard-

ships and constant poverty, trail-

ed by professional GPU killers.

Sedov was finally reached by the

assassins as he lay helpless on

Beneath the red flag of the

Fourth International, Sedov was

buried beside the heroic Com-

munards of 1871. His name and

ment that carries forward his

battle for a socialist world.

a hospital bed.

We pay him the tribute due to 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 Let Governor Dewey talk about to struggle for the unity, not only there was room and opportunity constant rebellions among the for everybody to acquire independence and exercise selfroad and those elements in the dependence and exercise selfroad and those elements in the formed is a creat mass party of North among the whites who sup- the proletariat, that will do for it were magnified a million times. slaves but of the vast majority ing to the presidential elections. ported these revolutionary ac- American society today what the The Stalinists carry on their of the peoples of the world, the

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 have been swiftly achieved. southern bases. Also, sizable military forces commanded by Chiang's General Pai Chung-hsi in the Hankow area have been this without any attempt at interference by the Stalinists.

government will not hold water. t may be true that swift capture military reasons, but there were 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 over to their side the Kuomintang garrison troops, together with their arms. Chiang and his government would have been placed hated regime broken decisively in the strategic centers of its rule.

The troops of both Chiang Kaishek and Pai Chung-hsi have been itself the guardian of capitalist of Kuomintang resurgence. It is

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

Far from inspiring the workers to such revolutionary actions, the Stalinists have been blaring forth radio propaganda to the cities of has been consistent: "preserve order," "don't interrupt produc-Any plea that the Stalinists tion," "await the arrival of the could not arrest Chiang and his | Red Army." This is in full conformity with the half-way, reformist program of the Stalinof their fear of the workers. They and are other forces available for are determined, if they can, to to arrest Chiang Kai-shek! confine the upheaval within limits safe for themselves and their Kremlin mentors.

Thus, while carrying out 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 an appeal. They, would have won Chinese Communist Party. Private enterprise will be protected but bureaucratic capital will be confiscated." (By "bureaucratic capital" is meant the private under arrest and the power of this fortunes of the Kuomintang officialdom.)

The irony and the paradox of moved southward on railroads. An private property reveal the not excluded that, given such a

appeal to the railroad workers, | depths of degeneration to which | turn of events, the American imthe Stalinists have sunk, their perialists might again come to contempt for the proletariat. Un- the aid of the Kuomintang. less the proletariat creates a new revolutionary leadership, and wrenches the whole direction of the insurgent masses from the hands of the treacherous Stalin- policy. For a people already bled ists, in order to carry the revolution to the end, the paradox civil war, this perspective means could be translated by the further course of events into the the reformist policy of the Stalincatastrophic tragedy of counter- ists, is any bright road opened to revolution-1927 all over again. a revolutionary transformation of

workers for revolutionary action, is revealed the poisonous, stultithe Stalinists lamely complain that the Kuomintang, under cover of a pretended interest in "peace" negotiations to end the civil war, withdrawn to South China. All a quite opposite kind. The theme 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' of Nanking was not possible for ists, which in turn is a product in South China." Yet the selfsame Li Tsung-jen was expected

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 liplomatic authorities believe Chiang plans to resume civil war leadership at Canton, to which the Nanking Government is speeding as fast as transport facilities

The great cities of South China are the mainstays of Kuomintang ower, 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 "Communist" party making cities could become rallying points But even if a Kuomintang

come-back proves impossible, prolongation of the civil war is likely as a result of Stalinist white by long years of war and more tragic suffering. Nor, with Unwilling to appeal to the Chinese society. Thus once again fying influence of Stalinism, the urgent need to remove this obstacle from the path of the socialist revolution.

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2-9845.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Discus

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 priestcaste 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

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 "in-

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

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 today, one word in "moral indignation" against the continued daily executions of anti-fascist worker's and peasants in the "Catholic Kingdom" of Dictator Franco to whom Pope Pius XII a few weeks ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we week ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we week ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we week ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we were well as the weeks ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we were well as the weeks ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we were well as the weeks ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we were well as the weeks ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we were well as the weeks ago again sent his "blessings." Yes, and we were well as the well-weight which we were well-weight which we wer 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

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"

Repeating Our Warning

- By Albert Parker .

Gilding the Warmonger

Notes from the News

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 no-

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' funlike 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 % 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

With a tremendous ballyhoo, the capitalist

press is now launching the second volume of the

memoirs of Winston Churchill, Their 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 hullaballoo over the pre-

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 imperial-

ism's war campaign against the Soviet Union.

And this of course is why it is vital to understand

In the February issue of Fourth International,

G. F. Eckstein explores the background of "Win-

ston Churchill, Tory Watch-dog," and his role

through four decades of history. The arrogant

Churchill who proclaims with false modesty "I

have not aways been wrong," is shown in his

true proportions - as an erratic and adventuristic

politician in peacetime, again and again losing

government post sbecause of his irresponsibility

and wrong appraisals - and as the unanimous

At every critical juncture of British imperial-

FAST WORK - Nominating petitions for Myra

Tanner Weiss, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of

Los Angeles, were filed on Feb. 7. The 1000 peti-

tions, the maximum number that may be filed,

were collected in five days, although 20 days are

NOT EVEN VOTERS? - "One of his own

cabinet officers, an Easterner, observed regret-

fully not long ago that 'the President just doesn't

like anybody from New York." (William Walton

THE NEVER KNEW - On hearing at a Senate

allowed. 500 valid signatures are required.

choice for the role of ruthless war-leader.

the author and his works.

ceding book in Churchill's five-volume project.

if all the teeth were extracted from them -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 officals 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 Still Penalized will be won only by fighting for it - and that means a fight against the Trumanite fakers as well as the Dixiecrats.

ism's troubles since 1906, Churchill had cried for

faults were obvious.

standing warmonger.

great heights of rhetoric."

the war-bound capitalist press.

Hearst's N. Y. Daily Mirror.

abolish filibusters?

war as the "solution." Both his abilities and his

Napoleonic complex," Eckstein shows, "his pre-

occupation with war and war preparations, his

extraordinary capacity for making a fool of him-

self on critical occasions." Long before the Sec-

ond World War began in 1939, Churchill "had

established himself as the most discredited, the

most untrustworthy and the most irresponsible

- Yet they turned to him - as they do today -

for the special talents that make him the out-

has none. . . What he does have in his head," Eckstein says, "is the writings of the great Brit-

ish historians and the speeches of the great British

orators. This and his single-mindedness, his op-

eratic consciousness of playing a great role in

historic conflicts, enable him at times to rise to

It is when "men want to hear words of reso-

lution and single-minded devotion to the conflict,

to hear the greedy, bloody, bestial business glam-

orized and made to look like something noble and

uplifting," that "the stage is set for Churchill."

cial Democratic "labor" columnist, has departed

from the N. Y. Post and is now working for

THE THREAT SOUNDS IDLE - The Joint

Committee on Civil Rights, representing 21 na-

tional 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

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 "per-

This is the man whose "wisdom" is extolled by

"His famous sense of history is nonsense. He

of all the senior politicians in England."

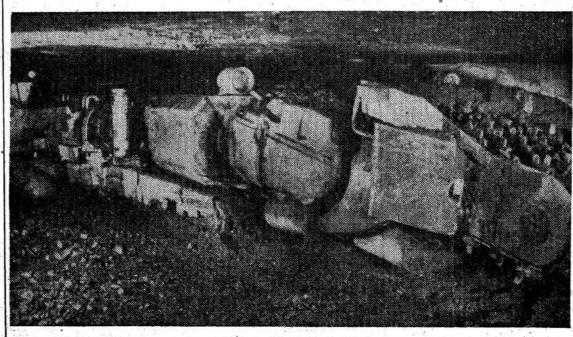
"Every British politician knew him and his

Mindszenty and the Vatican, who murdered thousands of workers and peasants opposed to his regime. They have never said, nor do they say

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1949

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 nnemployed in a single month is one of the highest on ecord.

The Census Bureau reports a great increase in part-time

By J. L. Hawkins SANTA MONICA, Calif., Feb.

- High hopes have prevailed hereabouts that the election of SWP POSITION Truman would mean a let-up in ers 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

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 ioker 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 | the Washington case with the 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. FITTING AND PROPER - Victor Riesel, So- | 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

PROTEST MOVES AGAINST **COLLEGE WITCH-HUNTS** ning-mate, at Olivet College; with the Kutcher case; with the case SEATTLE - Protest is mounof the twelve indicted Commun-

SEATTLE SWP SUPPORTS

ting 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 Regent's actions are being cir-

By John Black

culated, 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 speak-

The leaflet issued by the the oppressive government pres- Seattle Branch of the Socialist sure on the Negroes and their lead | 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 your 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

ist Party leaders; and with the blacklisting of "subversives" initiated by the Boeing Aircraft Corp. after last year's long

PROFESSORS PROTEST

The discharged professors are taking their grievances to the American Association of University Professors, whose local chapter and national organization have taken the stand that political affiliation alone is not to be considered grounds for issued individual or collective action. One professor here has tendered his resignation to Allen in spite of complete political disagreement with the purge victims, and a Harvard professor decided to turn down a post offered him here. The local chapter of the ADA has likewise condemned the Regents' action. All the more shameful by con-

trast is the support given the witch-hunt by conservative union leaders. One of the regents, David Beck, AFL Teamsters vice-presi- pay for time spent standing rolldent and scabherder during the call before starting their 8-hour IAM strike at Boeing Aircraft, shift. Instead, the company proflew in from Chicago to vote for posed a schedule change which the purge. AFL State Secretary would eliminate long-standing the Board of Regents and the of jobs, favoritism and discrimina- 21 months. Canwell UnAmerican Activities tion. campus persecutions.

into the picture when the State tion of present schedules and the recently-ousted Stalinist local Supreme Court ruled last week over-time payment on a retroac- officials. Meanwhile, the company that the three professors dis- live basis for roll-call time. The is filling the plant police jobs missed and three others were to company refused to negotiate with lieutenants and captains be brought to trial for "contempt" unless the meeting disbanded and who are part of management. of the Canwell legislative com- the men returned to work. When mittee because they refused to the committee reported this, the answer questions whether they strike vote was taken. No picket conduct in this case will mean of his own. He also loses this six purge of reformists like Tucker were or ever had been members lines were set up, however. P. Smith, Norman Thomas' run- of the Communist Party.

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 D 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-treasarer of the California CIO-PAC, s 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

RAIL UNION AID

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

Workers in Portland, Oregon, is made on the petitions. sent a donation and endorsement to the Kutcher committee. In Los Angeles, two UAW locals -Studebaker 255 and General Mo- among their friends and shoptors 216 - voted donations for mates by writing the Kutcher Kutcher's defense as evidence of Civil Rights Committee, 19 West their solidarity in his fight for 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Newark CIO Council Cooperates in Fight

The Greater Newark CIO Council, formerly controlled by the Stalinists, has now been reorganized and among its first steps was action to cooperate in the civil rights fight of James Kutcher, the Feb. 7 issue of the national CIO News reports.

"Among the resolutions adopted was one strongly urging the reinstatement of James Kutcher to his job with the Veterans Administration," the CIO News says. "Legless veteran of World War II, Kutcher was discharged from his government post because of alleged membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Appearing before the group, he won immediate support for his cause, as well as a \$100 contribution."

The only factual error in this report is that Kutcher's SWP membership is not "alleged" -it is and always has been proudly admitted and avowed by him.

A few days after his appearance before the Newark Council. Kutcher was taken to the hospital for an operation (see story on page 1).

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, n the universities, factories and neighborhoods. They will combine the securing of signatures with the collection of contributions to the defense fund for the victim-Local 325 of the CIO Rubber | ized veteran for which provision

Militant readers who are interested in assisting this campaign can obtain petitions to circulate

dismissal. Many professors have Plant Police on Strike statements against the Regent's At Westinghouse Unit

EAST PITTSBURGH, Pa., Jan. | sympathy of the production workously to turn their continuous 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

Committee which initiated the A meeting called by police of all shifts elected a negotiating A new angle was introduced committee to demand continua-This walkout has gained the against the production workers,

31-Westinghouse Electric plant ers, but they have been dispolice here have voted unanim- couraged from taking any direct supporting action by the UE meeting into a strike, reportedly 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 Edward Weston supports both working conditions and cause loss already been "in the mill" for

This refusal to authorize the strike has the appearance of a Stalinist maneuver to embarrass the local leaders who replaced

The Local 601 rank and file are fearful that the International's similar, treatment in the future

HEATED CONTEST MARKS NAACP ELECTION IN

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES - The recent Los Angeles NACCP 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 op-

The loosely - organized caucus opposing Griffith was led by a group of well-known community branch membership has been due tion.

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

safeguard your rights as a citizen . . . to protect you against police brutality . . . to build up youth branches and college chapters . . . to build up adequate inancial strength . . . to hold regular monthly meetings as laid down by the constitution . . . to help the veterans of the community."

Actually, much more than that single concrete struggle in this organization is capable of apcommunity in years.

The Griffith clique did rouse figures who called themselves the itself sufficiently to consummate arbitrarily ruled him out of order. Committee for the Preservation a block with the Stalinists and of the Los Angeles, NAACP, fellow travellers and utilize every They charged that the decline in type of trick to ensure its elec-

prevent non-members from voting at the packed meeting. Ballots were passed out to anyone without checking on eligibility Angeles NAACP "has failed 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 concould be charged against the local nected with either faction protested their presence and stated the pointing its own sergent-atarms to maintain order, Griffith

A STEP FORWARD

While the organization of an opposition caucus to Griffith FBI for screening.

No measures were taken to represents a step forward in the development of a local leadership; a number of serious weaknesses in the opposition were

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

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."

in the Feb. 7 New Republic.)