# "We'll Keep On Even If We Have to Go to Jail!"

# Meeting Shouts Vow to Keep Up Walk for Seats

#### By William Bundy

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 5 — Tonight I attended one of the bi-weekly meetings of the Montgomery Improvement Association. This is the organization which the Negroes of Montgomery have set 9-

up to run the protest movement | can play there, but he didn't unhere against segregation on the derstand. The humming rose as the audience responded. buses.

Tonight's meeting was held in the Bethel Baptist Church on Mobile Road in a Negro resiand humid evening and it had started to rain when I arrived at the church. Though it was an hour before the meeting was to begin the hall was already packed. People crammed the aisles and overflowed off the steps into the muddy paths on the edge of the street. (There are no

large or well furnished as many neighborhoods. I had seen in the North, though it was very well kept. I estimated that between two and three thousand people were present though the place was meant to hold much less.

No one was at the speaker's stand yet, although people were seated on the platform. In the middle of the hall a man was half singing the story of his life. The audience kept time with a low rhythmic accompaniment. "Oh. Lord, I've shuffled too long, now I walk for righteousness. I'll walk for 50 years if I've got that many left. . ."

The audience responded now and then with the traditional, "Yeah," "Yes, yes," "I hear you," "Yes, Lord." The humming continued throughout, now soft, now loud.

The man sat down, the humming continued. A woman rose to tell about her child who had come home one day in tears. He had been chased away from play by a policeman, and he asked all equal. her why. She had told him it

was because only white children



can play there, but he didn't understand. The humming rose as the audience responded. The woman continued: "I broke that child's heart." Her voice SSWP Candidate ASKS Unions To Back Alabama Bus Fight

#### Autherine Lucy Fights On







Autherine Lucy (below) uses facilities of a small Alabama college with no racial restriction while she presses fight for reinstatement at Alahama II, Expelled from Alabama University

# Need \$3,000 a Week **To Operate Car Pool** In Protest Movement

The following statement was issued by Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party: The Montgomery Improvement Association, which is

conducting the magnificent pro-

segregation on the bus lines of Montgomery, Alabama, has issued an urgent appeal for funds. The money is needed to keep their car pool going.

This pool of approximately 400 cars provides the Negro community of that city with transportation. Several thousand dollars is needed every week, to pay for gas, oil and repairs.

The bulk of this money was raised until recently by the underpaid Negro people of Montgomery through voluntary conand dollars. The struggle has now found organized expression throughout the Negro community of the North and West. Some funds have been raised through mass prayer meetings on a na-

tion-wide scale to help win the fight to "ride in freedom." But the struggle to batter

down color segregation on the bus lines of Montgomery is not the concern of the Negro comalone. On unity

test movement against Jim Crow | lack of money to operate their car pool! The Negro people of Montgomery are now manning the longest picket line in the world.

It is the elementary obligation of the entire organized labor movement, regardless of political affiliation, to rally to their fight, which is the fight of all labor.

Every union local, every worker in office, factory or workshop, must make it a personal obligation to take action NOW! This is no time for passing the buck! This is the time to collect it and tributions of their nickels, dimes send it to the Montgomery Improvement Association, care of the Rev. M. L. King, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama.

## **Picket-Line** Militancy

that child's heart." Her voice grew defiant, "I ain' gon break dential district. It was a warm no more children's heart. Didn't God make all children?" "Oh yes!" the audience responded with clapping and musical cheers. "We ain' gon break no more children's heart." The woman sat down. Others rose, now here, now there. Pour-

ing out the story of what segregation means to Negroes, to of town.) The long lines of parked cars were full of people waiting for the shower to end, and more cars were arriving. way to a point just inside the section of town in contrast to doorway. The church was not as the ample electricity in white

> They told of the small things like getting your shoes full of water coming home at night because pavements stop at the white section: and they told of the big things like having to do all the hard and dirty and tedi- sissippi officially condoned anous work because of lack of other opportunities for Negroes. Negro. And to every speaker there flowed the understanding and sympathy and love of the thousands present. It flowed in the

> form of humming and musical cheers and religious words, and now and then it welled in great solidarity and strength with "God is with us!" "We are murderer who swaggered out of strong.'

> One woman told of an indig- Elmer O. Kimbell, a crony of Till nity she had suffered at the lynchers Milam and Bryant. He hands of a white person. "If one of 'em lays a hand on me again it's gonna be just me and them, that's all, just me and them, all equal!"

The people responded - musi-THREE WITNESSES cal cheers. "No more runnin', His victim was Clinton Melton Negro filling station attendant. A young man, moving through

gone to Milam's home.

(Continued on page 2)

and more cars were arriving. People politely squeezed up and made room as I made my (inc, or saying, yes, sir, and "no, sir," to people who called them "nigger," of the inade-quate electric lights in the Negro By John Thayer As the Negro people and their supporters pushed

ahead with plans for the March 28 nation-wide day of protest against the reign of terror in the South and in solidarity with the Montgomery

meetings. In large cities the large ous boycotters, the State of Mishalls have been rented for mass meetings. other cold-blooded murder of a

For example in Los Angeles he Olympic Auditorium, which seats over 10,000 has been taken Mississippi's action fittingly by Negro organizations in alliance enough took place in the same with AFL-CIO unions and other courtroom which had been the organizations favoring civil scene of the whitewash of the rights.

lynching of 14-year-old Emmett Elsewhere in California demonstrations of solidarity with the Till last September. This time the Montgomery movement will be held on March 25 in the Winterthe courtroom a free man was land Auditorium in San Francisco and the Oakland Auditorium. In New York, churches in had, in fact borrowed Milam's Harlem and the Community gun for the killing, used Milam's Church are engaged in a series car and after the murder he had of preparatory protest meetings each Sunday till the 28th when the whole movement will culminate n a mass meeting at Manhattan

#### who by error had filled Kimbell't ONE HOUR'S WAGES

gas tank rather than pultting in In Cleveland an audience of only \$2.00 worth of gas Kimbell 1,500 heard one of the leaders claims he ordered. Three witnesses of the Monitgomery struggle, Rev. - the white filling station owner Roy Bennett, give a first hand and two Negro workers - tesaccount, at a meeting on March tified that Melton was unarmed 11. Morris Riger, area director of and had tried to avoid trouble the CIO Textile Workers Union,



Striking workers at Republic Aviation Corp., main plant in Farmingdale, Long Island try to block scab-laden car. The strike over wages began Feb. 29. It involves 12,000 members of the International Association of Machinists. On March 2 another IAM strike featuring mass picketing began at the Fairchild Engine and Aviation Corp. in Bay Shore, Long Island.

Kimbell. Nonetheless the with was enthusiastically applauded jury freed the murderer on when he said every union man grounds of "self-defense." and woman in the Cleveland area As Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Negro should donate an hour's wages to Mississippi leader, has pointed the Montgomery Improvement

Association. The audience at the out, court records show that a white man stands a much greater meeting contributed \$3,274 to be sent to the boycotters. chance of conviction in Missis-Meetings have been annormced sippi if he shoots a deer out of

for Chicago. Boston, and all major season than if he kills a Negro. cities in the country. Smaller In Montgomery, Alabama cities and towns from coast to white - supremacist officials are coast are also announcing plans going ahead with their plans for for meetings, special church the trial of 100 leaders of the anti-Jim Crow bus protest under services or some form of participation in the day of protest. an old anti-labor boycott law. In Most of the rallies will not only the face of this persecution the raise voices and prayers in sup-Negro community has responded with redoubled determination to port of the courageous Negro peoceep the Jim Crow buses empty. ple of Montgomery and demand Meanwhile every Negro com- the freeing of their leaders, but munity in the country is plan- will raise funds for the Montning some form of participation gomery Improvement Association in the national day of protest set for support of the car pool and for March 28. Almost all Negro the legal expenses of the mass churches will hold prayer-protest trial.

Feb. 29 on trumped-up charges. Miss Lucy filed suit last week for readmission next Fall. Above, she is shown in the college dining room (background, right of flowers).

> Sun. — March 18 — 7:30 p. m. Meet to Aid

**Montgomery Bus Protest** 

**Eyewitness Speakers** Just Returned from Alabama Tom Kerry, Militant Staff Writer Dr. Lonnie Cross, Negro Educator

> **Militant** Forum 116 University Place

Proceeds will go to the Montgomery **Improvement** Association

It is a cause which is vital to all of the working people of this country and especially to the organized labor movement. The inspiring action organized and led by the Montgomery Improvement Association has done more to prepare the ground for the union organization of the openshop South than anything the leaders of the combined AFL-CIO have done in the past decade.

Not one single Negro in Mont-

gomery, Alabama, should be

compelled to walk because of the



FARRELL DOBBS

# **Ohio Civil Rights Rally Hears James Kutcher**

YOUNGSTOWN, March 9 - A large audience of workers and students attended a Civil Liberties Rally tonight sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. It was held at the Central YMCA

gles, he showed, aim at guaro present latest developments in anteeing democratic rights for the the whole fight for civil rights working people of the country. and the Kutcher case in par-

ticular. James Kutcher, World War II Liberties Union. "It is the great egless veteran, was the principal tradition in America that the peaker. He told about his eightear-old fight to regain his job said. "Fundamental liberties such with the Veterans Administra- as freedom of speech and press tion from which he was fired must be defended at all costs." solely because of his openly avowed membership in the Soialist Workers Party. The party Rights Assembly in Washington, had been arbitrarily listed as D. C., which he had attended.

'subversive" by the Attorney General. Kutcher's case was ergued last month before the Circuit Court of Appeals in Wash-

ington, D. C. PENSION FIGHT

Ki tcher also reported on his court fight to prevent the Newark

Housing Authonity from evicting him and his aged parents from a government housing project and made to increase the number of about the storm of public inworker and peasant delegates. dignation which forced the Vet-The results are to be found in erans Administration last January the reports of the Mandate Com- to restore his disability persior mission: "There are present at The VA had moved to take away Kutcher stressed that the struggle for civil liberties and the were interconnected. Both strug. the Civil Liberties Rally.

# Workers and Bureaucrats in the Soviet Union

#### By M. Stein and J. G. Wright as it is mirrored in the proceed-

In the first article of this series we dealt with the basic reason why the Kremlin bureaucracy was forced to repudiate the Stalin cult, namely, the growing mass of hostility to bureaucracy rule which reached the stage of open revolt in the East German workers' uprising Feb. 15). of June 1953 and the Vorkuta

General Strike of political prisoners of July 1953.

Last week we reported the admissions made at the 20th Congress to the effect that under Stalin the Leninist party had been replaced by an apparatus ruled by one man; that the Stalin cult had supplanted theory, social analysis, party and Soviet history, in brief, the entire field of ideology, as Leon (Pravda, Feb. 17). Trotsky had charged years ago. The Soviet bureaucracy now admits in effect that between the workers' democracy of Lenin's day, created by the 1917 Russian Revolution, and the present-day bureaucratic regime there exin ideology is one of the expressions of the social gulf that was created by Stalinism between the bureaucracy and the Soviet masses.

This week we propose to deal tagonism between the Soviet after they had achieved such ditions and gains of the 1917 reaucracy. That it has a way of as were present at the 19th Conreaucracy and the Soviet workers bureaucracy.

ings of the 20th Congress. Khrushchev, the main reporter, party-organization work of local the most politically class con- advantage of the Russian work- personification of their socialist against the oppressor. party organs is the flagging at- scious in the world. It has prov- ers' exhaustion following a long struggle and aims. ed capable of the greatest revo- civil war to drive it off the tention paid to the regulation of party growth, especially as re- lutionary vigor. It rose up political arena.

gards the increase of the workagainst Czarist oppression as far back as 1905. Even though de- WORKERS NEED OWN PARTY ers' core in the party" (Izvestia, feated in this first attempt, the The brutality of the Stalin Russian workers did not take regime, the countless number of

Echoing this warning Suslov, member of Khrushchev's secre- long to recover from this defeat. revolutionists he had to kill only Twelve years later in Febru- proves how difficult it was for tariat, said: "It is necessary to

note that in the last two years ary 1917, they overthrew Czarthe bureaucracy to rob the workism, and within nine months of ers of political power. The Sovthe specific weight of workers and collective farmers accepted this victory they scored a new let workers today feel the need into the party has increased in and decisive victory. The Rus- of political organization more comparison to previous years. sian working class emerged as than they ever did. They need a But in many party organizations the first in history to take and party to guide them and lead hold power in its own name; to them in the struggle against the the specific weight of workers and collective farmers accepted abolish capitalist rule and un- bureaucracy's abuse of power dertake the construction of a and its privileges, a party to and the masses, was painfully into the party remains very low" lead them in the struggle for

socialist order. The Russian workers had gain- the reconquest of political power IS NEGLECT THE REASON?

ed their victories through the from the bureaucracy. This belated anxiety over the instrumentality of the Bolshevik If the Soviet workers felt that notable scarcity of workers and party to which they had rallied the Communist Party was their the party nor the state appara- resenting 6,795,000 members. peasants in CPSU ranks under- in great numbers as the party party, they would have rallied to tus with its elaborate spy system Since 1953 a special effort was expressing best their needs and it as was the case in Lenin's day. had been forewarmed of these revscores how insecure the bureaucracy feels in its seats of interests. In the persons of Lenin | The Soviet working class, to- olutionary events. They took the ists an ideological void. The void power. Khrushchev speaks of it and Trotsky the Russian work- day 48 million strong is growing bureaucracy completely by suras "a serious neglect in party- ers advanced a revolutionary by leaps and bounds, in numbers, prise, revealing its isolation from organization work of local party leadership of the highest caliber, in technical skills, in culture and the masses as its Achilles Heel. organs." He knows better. But unmatched in any other country. in self-confidence. It is profound- It revealed, on the other hand, the Congress 2.7 times more the pension because of his so The Soviet workers did not sud- ly socialist in its consciousness. that the working class has a life workers, by occupation, and cialist beliefs and affiliations. to give the real reason would only underscore the social an- denly lose interest in politics It is attached to the ideas, tra- of its own unknown to the bu- twice as many collective farmers

with this gulf between the bu- masses and the party of the singular success along the po- Revolution. The very anxiety of organizing and conducting strug- gress in 1952. Of the total numlitical road. They did not of Stalin's successors to pose as gles no matter how big and

Why aren't the workers in the their own volition depart from "Leninists," restorers of Marx- powerful the secret police. Bu-Communist Party? The Soviet the political arena. They were ism-Leninism, etc., testifies to rearcratic repressions drive the working class is not apolitical. driven out of politics by a self- the deepest attachment of the working class more and more inwarned: "A serious neglect in On the contrary, it proved itself seeking bureaucracy which took Soviet workers to Lenin as the ward and weld its solidarity

> of power and privilege, elevating that they cannot maintain themit above the working class, has selves in power by means of the party and state apparatus alone. That, too, is the political gist of their current stress of increasing the "specific weight of the workers' core in the party."

> The extent to which the bureaucracy inherent in the absence reaucracy is divorced from the of real ties between its regime Soviet masses is graphically illustrated by the composition of brought home by the 1953 up-

rising in East Germany, the unthe 20th Congress. Present at the 20th Congress rest in Eastern Europe and the

were 1,355 regular delegates rep-Vorkuta general strike. Neither (Continued on page 3)

Professor E. B. Smith discussed the work of the American Civil secution for his belief."

Nate Lee prominent civil rights leader in Youngstown, gave the rally a report of the recent Civil

Al Shipka, President of the Mahoning County CLO Council. who had been scheduled to speak on "Labor's Stake in the Bill of Rights" could not attend the meeting because of union business out of the city. The CIO Council, nowever, helped to promote the rally by asking all locals to support it.

After the speeches, there was vely discussion from the floor over "gradualism" in school integration. Most of those who spoke attacked "gradualism" as mly another name for a policy of doing nothing to end Jim Crow Upon his arrival here two days ago. Kutcher was interviewed by two TV stations. Brief excerpts of the interviews were given on evening newscasts and helped to Negro struggle for civil right: publicize the Kutcher Case and

The events of the Summer of 1953 could not be ignored by the One of the things Stalin's successors hope to achieve by their Kremlin bureaucrats. Their most repudiation of Stalin is to bridge urgent need, as they see it, is the gulf between themselves and to try to reconstitute reliable points of support among the the Soviet workers. The same Soviet masses. Their repudiation leader cult which raised the buof Stalin comes as a recognition reaucracy to its present positions

in the meantime undermined its previous base in the proletariat. SURPRISE FOR KREMLIN Th flatal danger to the buPage Two —

THE MILITANT

**Protest Leader** 

E. D. NIXON

great, I'm gonna move to Mont-

One speaker said, "I wish the

show some element of self-re-

spect . . . you say somebody

from the outside taught us that."

His voice rose. "We don't have

to have Northerners to tell us to

act like human beings. That's

what we're doing now!'

cheered.

Monday, March 19, 1956

# The Daily Worker And the Stalin Cult And the Stalin Cult **By Daniel Roberts**

The American Stalinist newspaper, the Daily Worker, stand here.' has finally broken its silence on the repudiation of the Stalin cult by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

weapons included slander, re-

Max is silent, however, about

cratically expelled from the Com-

munist Party, slandered, ostraciz-

ed and made the targets of goon-

squad attacks. That was how the

On March 12. Joseph Clark Soviet toilers. This meant destroy opened the discussion by endors- ing the revolutionary party of ing in effect a statement made the working class - the Bolshevik by Walter Ulbricht, East German | Party - and transforming it into Stallinist leader. Ulbricht had an instrument of the bureaucratic praised Stalin for persecuting the casite. A civil war was required to

Trotskyites and Bukharinites" but said Stalin had done "con- crush the working class and sidenable damage" to the Com- dispossess it politically. (See munist Party "when [he] later article by M. Stein and J. G. placed himself above the party Wright on page one.) The civil and fostered the cullt of the in- war took the form of a ruthless dividual." Says Clark: "Ulbricht | purge begun in 1923 against revolutionists organized in the also said, what was implied by the entire 20th congress, that Left Opposition and led by Leon the Soviet Communists no longer Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of consider Stalin one of the the 1917 Revolution. Stalin's 'classics' of Marxism."

Thus American Stalinism has writing of party history, jailings, demoted Stalin in conformity beatings, frame-up trials, deportawith present-day Stallinist policy tions to Siberia, executions and throughout the world. But Clark GPU assassinations. The buknows he cannot leave matters reaucracy established its position at that. "What we'd like to as a ruling caste by enthroning discuss here," he says, "is how it Stalin and his police apparatus. was that Stalin had played both That is how the Stalin cult came a positive and negative part in into being in the Soviet Union. history. . . . We are searching It was extended into every Communist Party of the world by here for an explanation of just the same bureaucratic methods one aspect of the critticism made by the Soviet Communists - the as in the Soviet Union. "We went overboard fin the U.S.] in defendabuses in the security system."

Olark's explanation runs as ing things like the idea of Stalin as infallible," says Alan Max in follows: In the course of defendthe March 13 Daily Worker, and ing itself against the attacks imperialism launched on the Soviet "in opposing any suggestion that Union, "stern and vigilant secucivil liberties were not being fully respected in the Soviet Union.' rity" was required. Evidently for He reports being "jolted" by the Clark this included the struggle against "Trotskyites and Bukha- 20th Congress and "embarrassed" rinites." However, "This did not for having defended "certain mean that the security system aspects of life in the Soviet Union could become a power unto it- which . . . the Soviet Union now self." Nor does it excuse "ex- says were wrong." "All this would aggeration and misuse of the have been avoided . . . if we whole system of security" and Marxists [he means Stalinists] "abuses which included the invenhad stood more firmly on our own tion of enemies." feet on these matters."

For Clark, the Stalin cult arose out of "exaggeration" of the the authentic Marxists in the U.S. blood purges Stalin conducted who did stand firmly on their against the Trotskyist opposi- own feet and denounced the Stalin tion. Frame-ups ("invention of cult in 1928. These were Comenemies") began only where the munist Party members led by Moscow trials left off according James P. Cannon who declared to his reasoning. themselves for the program of

This is weasel-worded apolothe Trotskyist Left Opposition and against the Soviet bureaugettics designed to cover up for cracy. (They later established the Kremlin dictators. By repudiating the Stalin cult, Stalin's the Socialist Workers Party.) For heirs hope to appease the Soviet their courageous stand against working class now insistently Stalinism, they were bureaudemanding economic improvements and political liberties. The dictators want to get rid of the onus of Stalin's crimes but without relinquishing the bureaucratic Stahin cult was established in the rule he headed. This rule was American C.P.

consolidated from 1923 to 1928 in the bloody struggle against the like myself [about the repudiation

ed me, "Are you with the press?" Rosa Parks, a handsome, mid-"Yes, but I'd just as soon dle-aged woman whose arrest Dec. 1 for refusing to give up

her seat on a bus precipitated He insisted, however, and with the movement. quick courtesy checked my press

I also recognized E. D. Nixon, card and took me around the president of the local organizabuilding to a small room behind tion of the Brotherhood of Sleepthe stage where I was introduced ing Car Porters. A lean, tall, to the other out-of-town visitors. dark, raw-boned man, he is an They were preachers and teach- old time civil rights and union ers and reporters and just plain fighter in Montgomery. I repeople who had come from as membered what one leader had far as Chicago, some bringing said of him: "We have many donations from organizations. fine leaders, but if it hadn't been There were only two white re- for E. D. Nixon this movement porters besides myself. On the wouldn't be where it is today.' platform was another white face. A cheer rose as Rev. Martin After our names and reason Luther King, President of the for being there had been re- Association entered. He is a corded we were ushered onto the young man, only 27, and but a platform. In front of us were short time from his Boston eduthousands of faces. Some were cation, I was told. In town only smiling, some were serious, all since 1954, he is the prominent were attentive and participating. leader of a powerful and effective On the platform beside the movement protesting segregation guests were many of the leaders itself, and this in Montgomery. of the association. There was the Alabama - "the heart of Dixie." Rev. L. R. Bennet, who is Vice "How had this all come President of the Association, a about?" I asked myself. "How gomery." tall distinguished-looking man. I did a movement like this get The n recognized the Rev. Abernathy started?'

## "Welling Up of Grievances"

A white journalist who lives | Parks got arrested that was the in Montgomery had told me part last straw. We decided to do of the answer. "That December something about it."

The Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, protest wasn't called because that on purpose. It's just that of Rosa Parks alone. That was a white man, supplied a few he doesn't know how to spell just the last straw. There had more details in an article in the Ford." Laughter. "I make a mobeen other arrests - and a long March 8 Reporter. "On Saturday tion to buy Mr. Asbell a dictionhistory of incidents. For one Dec. 3 [three days after the arary." Laughter, cheers. The rething buses here don't have a rest and two days before the porters looked nervous. fixed segregation line like they trial] a number of mimeographdo in Birmingham. Everything ed and typed circulars were disgentlemen of the press would was up to the driver, and I'm tributed in the Negro communget this . . . There is one thing telling you, if it had been com- ity calling on citizens to stage we in the South deeply resent. pany policy to be rude, some of a one-day protest by not riding And that is that whenever we those bus drivers couldn't have the city buses the day of the done worse. Sometimes they'd trial.'

Three-quarters of the Negro take a Negro's money and drive off before he walked around to riders stayed off the buses that the back door. Monday, but the judge convicted

"Why one time they even ar-Mrs. Parks anyway, and fined rested a 13-year-old girl for not her \$14. She appealed. That night about 5,000 Negiving up her seat. They handcuffed her and took her off to groes attended the protest meeting at the Holt Street Baptist

jail. "I'm told, and not by Negroes Church. Said Rev. Thrasher, . . . it appears there was a either, that some of the drivers even carried guns in their boxes." general welling up of grievances E. D. Nixon had filled the anin which the specific case of swer in further at a press con- Rosa Parks was all but forgot-

ference I attended. "Some of us ten." had tried to get something done about those buses long before grievances." I was seeing it mythis protest. We tried to talk to self in this hall, tonight at a the city officials, but they different church, and three wouldn't even listen. When Mrs. months later.

## "We Shall Not Be Moved"

I was reminded of a descrip-ion by Jack Belden of "Speak audience responded traditionally lity accelerate," proclaims the

never happen." he had said. it there." "We'll come. We'll be entire meeting. I remembered the statement "They bring proposals right bethere." Cheers.

"We're Growing Up Fast"

And E. D. Nixon had told the | large young man stood, his dark

walking back to town.

I was thirsty and wanted a

or not. I didn't take a chance. A

I stepped in a puddle and got

my shoe full of water. I stubbed

my toe on a rock because there

was no street light. I cursed the

walking in the other direction. I

late. I had to go clear down

town before I found an open

cafe next to an over-the-road

Inside I drank two soda pops

and listened briefly to a conver-

sation between two men. "Lord

knows I've always liked niggers,

cops eyed me suspiciously.

reporters: "I wouldn't want to face alive. He held out a big

of a young Negro student when fore the meeting and the people He said the Birmingham people were thinking of making a I had asked him what would there would never go for that." mass pilgrimage to Montgomery.

"We figure maybe we'll ride down to the outskirts of town some fine day and all get together and Walk, children, Walk!" There were oohs and ahs.

be the one to make the proposal. hand. I shook it hard, and pass-Faces lighted up, and cheers. We tried that once around Feb. ed on out the door and started The transportation committee 1 when we filed the suit to chalmade its report. This is one of lenge the segregation law. We the two committees in the Assobrought in a proposal to go back | cigarette, but this was a Negro ciation. The other is the financial on the buses and fight it out in neighborhood, and I didn't know committee. (Mrs. Ida Mae Cauldthe courts. But it was too late if I could go into one of the well, financial secretary of Amfor that. One woman jumped up small restaurants along the way algamated Clothing Workers Loand said, 'I'm gonna keep walkcal 490 here, is on the financial in' until I can sit in them seats prowl car showed and two white committee.)

I been standin' alongside of for real work of the Association. The all these years.' Everybody joined in with her and that was the car pool, which transports the end of that." entire Negro working population "If we got the first come first to and from their jobs every served rule, I think we could get lack as so many who lived here

day, is a complicated but effici-'em back on the buses, right over the years must have done ent apparatus. It runs on less away, but I don't know just than \$3,000 a week.

where we'd go from there. All reached the sidewalks, but it was The minister smiled. E. D. Many of the roughly 90 (no those threats and bombs and ar-Nixon looked serious, as usual. one seems to know the exact rests made people awful mad One speaker looked at the two number because of confusion of . It's too late for goin back." names) indicted as "leaders of other white reporters as he told "We've been children too long, about how the papers had rea conspiracy to boycott" were now we're growing up fast." not actually in the leadership of ported the protest leaders drivsomeone said. The crowd cheered ing around in Cadillacs. "Of the Association but had simply -a musical cheer. course Mr. Asbell is too fine a loaned their cars to the pool. journalist to make a mistake like

The collection speaker made an appeal for NAACP member- I'll be glad when things settle An efficient-looking woman in dark business suit took the ships. "Anyone who isn't a mem- down again. We always got along stand to ask for the offering ber come down Sunday and join so well. This is a polite town. I (donations). She is in the insur- ... You'll need the NAACP the don't know what they're kickin' received letters from children up us the NAACP has communists North who were worried about in it . . . that's just to scare

mother, you know."

hose too, yes me too."

She said, "I sat right down ists were mentioned). visit your mother." The crowd the overcrowded hall. Everyone quickly toward the depot. cheered.

In general, statements about perfect order. "Many whites are with us," said a speaker, and the people staying in Montgomery to fight A minister from Birmingham response of any.



**By Robert Chester** "With the cooperation of Americans in all walks of life,

since 1953. our standard of living will skyrocket, prices drop, markets ex-

mate lists it at 6%. Despite all en the unemployment lines.

another." He did not report the | it too will see a relative decline. | automated Cleveland engine plant changes that have taken place Thus, while the boom was on in three years. General Motors in 1955, workers forced out of announces over \$1 billion profit Studies by the Department of industries could still find other for 1955, while at the same time Commerce estimate an increase jobs. With a decline, the effects it projects a \$1 billion program of 4% from 1954 to 1955 while of automation, mechanization of investment in new plants and the Federal Reserve Board esti- and speed-up will quickly length- equipment. Thus the increased profits from automation serve to

ance business. She said she had rest of your life . . . They tell up such a fuss about.' either the NAACP or communand wrote them that I'm gonna! Then the collection began. The depot." I took his money and

bus depot.

stay right here and fix it so's people filed through the aisle bought the pack. He bowed you don't have to go in the back past a table in front of the slightly as he took it and said, loor when you come down to stage. There was no confusion in "Thank you, sir." and walked

moved quickly, row by row, in I turned and walked my last walk down the streets of the I rose and filed out with the polite city of Montgomery, Alasegregation received the loudest line. Mine was now the only bama, and I'm telling you - I white face. Near the door a cried.

Outside I stood smoking for a moment. The rain had stopped you buy me a pack of cigarettes in there? They got none at the

her safety. "Come on up here you off ... the NAACP doesn't and the night was clean and mother, we've only got one have anything to do with com- beautiful. A tall young Negro in

munists." (This was the only denim pants and khaki shirt ap-The audience responded, "I get time in the entire meeting that proached me. "Please, sir, will

Trotskyist Left Opposition in the of Stalin]" says Max. ". . . For Bollshevik Panty. They do not the answers to such questions, want to repudiate Stalin's fight one must either speculate or against Trotskyism.

The Stalin cult arose as an Those many members of the inevitable counterpart to the American C.P. genuinely bothered struggle against Trotskyism - by the problem of the now and not as an "exaggeration," repudiated Stalin cult do not need as Clark maintains. On Stalin's to speculate or wait. What they part, the fight had nothing to do need is freedom of discussion in with defending the Soviet Union their own party, and that means, from capitalist restoration. It had in the first place, the right to everything to do with establish- study the writings of Leon ing the power of an economically | Trotsky and the revolutionists in privileged bureaucracy over the the U.S. who defend his program.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Here is a report from Wash- | The reception to the Desegration ington, D.C.: "Over 1,000 copies pamphlet was excellent. Men and of the March 5 Militant, conwomen, colored and white, all



taining the Open bought with equal enthusiasm. Letter to the Civil From San Francisco: "We here Rights Assembly. are happy to report the sale of were distributed 160 pieces of literature at a to the delegates Negro History Week mass meet-Washington, ing. The top salesmen were Ruth D.C. The recep-Aaron with 48 Desegregation tion was friendly. pamphlets, Nick O'Las with 40 Before the mass pamphlets and Marco Thompson meeting began. with 13 Militants and six pamph wherever one's lets. Other salesmen were Beveve wandered in erly Redman. Bill Knanh. Paul

Richard Clausen, St. Louis:

'Today the weather was won-

Helen Baker, Seattle: "Enclose

And from Detroit: "Edie Mar-

the Reverend Abernathy of

again.

the huge audi-Corbett and Frances James. were outspread torium there Militants. One delegate, after reading the paper, came out to derful, the Militant was ever make arrangements to purchase better than it has been, so I 1,000 copies for distribution in have never found selling it so his home town. Others familiar easy. Please increase our bundle with the paper, particularly again by five." trade unionists from the Mid-West, smilingly remarked: 'That paper sure gets around, even ed is a check to cover our current Militant account. This was down here in Washington.'"

John Tabor, New York: "In made possible by selling out all recent weeks the newsstands our papers." have practically sold out. At a protest prayer meeting on the shall and John Collins sold 76 of the one and one-quarter bilevents in Montgomery, 119 Mili- | copies of the Militant of Februtants were sold in a half hour | ary 20 and 27 at a mass meeting by Ben Haines, Dick Rodriguez called by the NAACP to hear and Joe LaCross."

From the Twin Cities: "En- Montgomery, Ala., tell the story are free . . . And the rest are during the Militant Weekend or- Negro people of that city. An- of that great movement . . . ganized for the express purpose other eight copies were sold by Cheers. of renewal work. In addition we Dotty and Tom Johnson at a sold 33 Militants and a number Ford unit meeting at which Jim of James Kutcher's books, The Kutcher spoke this morning. Case of the Legless Veteran, as Thirty-four copies of Desegregation! Those who did the work Winters at a forum on Civil Cheers. were Fanny and Bill Carter, Rights. I am sure we will be Helen Sherman, Ralph and Jack able to sell a large number of tion . . . We want no classes and Bring, Winifred Nelson, Paul Militants in the coming weeks castes . . . We want to see

Alice Norris, Larry on the basis of the great activity everybody free . . . " Cheers Pierson. Andrews, M. Limton, Julia Bysk, the struggle for Negro equality Jack Barry and Donald Person. is stirring here."

Bitterness" meetings by Chinese women during the revolution that ended the rule of Chiang Kai-shek. Here the bitterness await further developments. was voiced in music and religious phrases accompanying the more articulate protest.

The bitterness had welled up and overflowed that night three months ago, the night the Montgomery Improvement Association was born. Once again E. D. Nixon's

words came to mind. "We could cheers. have settled this thing long ago if the white leaders had just sat

line, though the words had been zine Business Week estimated down and talked to us, but after slightly, and the rhythm much that total expenditures will exthat first day it was too late. different. "I shall not, I shall ceed \$33 billions in 1956. With We had to go on. Our people not be moved . . . " There was all these bright prospects the just insisted. They voted to go no choir, none was necessary. NAM predictions, if correct, on with the protest until we 'I'm on my way to heav'n, I should be born out by examinagot something definite, and we shall not be moved . . . " tion of the facts. organized the association right

member the order or all the

names. I jotted down phrases:

who may grow discouraged."

need the coliseum-

"We're growing so big, we

"We'll keep on even if we

Response: "Let's ask for it."

there on the spot. Rev. King was It was overpowering. More than two thousand practiced elected President." voices singing together and with corporation giants. The speed The Rev. King was on the platform now, three months a cause to sing for. The music rolled and swelled. I started thus cutting over-all production later. He handed a sheet of pasinging myself. A few people per to the chairman, a penciled agenda. I could see the line smiled. "Just like a tree that's across the top. It said, "Mass standin' by the water . . . " A ket it can grab. Every advance flash bulb popped as someone Protest Meeting." The meeting began officially took our picture. "We shall not with a spirited prayer and a be moved."

## Asia, Africa -- Montgomery

The Rev. King spoke: "You freeing just Negroes. God is inknow whether we want to be or terested in freeing all people not, we are caught in a great

"We must never use our moment of history . . . It has reached the point where you are brother as a means but always part of this movement or you treat him as an end."

are against it . . . It is bigger He listed a number of famous than Montgomery . . . Negroes. "Is that why the white Cheers, response: "We are man should respect us? Because somebody . . . " Cheers. we gave the world great men? "The vast majority of the No that's not why. He should

people of the world are colored respect us because God made us both." Wild cheers. This was acclaimed. "Up until four or five years ago most "Each individual is important, The poor uneducated person is lion colored peoples were ex- an important person. We are imploited by empires of the west portant as individuals .

Cheers. ... " He listed the places. "India, China, Africa. Today many "There are several methods to bring about social change. One closed are 15 subs that we got of the heroic struggle of the on the road . . . We are part is damaging, violent revolution We won't use it." He spoke of passive resistance

He spoke of the Bandung conof Ghandi and of Christ. "We are using the methods of the son ference. " . . . and another section of that movement met on a of Galilee . . . his peaceful cold December evening in the methods . . . toppled the Roman well as 80 copies of Desegrega- tion! were sold by Dotty and Al Hope Street Baptist Church." Empire and split history into AD and BC."

He finished with "We're gonna "We must oppose all exploita-

off the buses!" Laughter, cheers. of Labor James Mitchell report-A young guest, a minister ed "an annual rate of increase from Chicago on the platform from 1947 to 1953 ranging from

pamphlet on automation Short speeches were interentitled "Calling All Jobs." spersed with hymns. I don't re-

There is no doubt that industry is riding high. The 1955 "1956 will be our finest hour." year-end analyses indicated it "Lord — take pity on those was a peak year in production and profits. Stocks remain at top levels, and many corporations are splitting them up after further accumulated gains.

few years. Huge investments in nev These figures are, of course, have to go to jail; why we al- plants and equipment have been the national averages. For indiready been to jail." Singing announced. General Motors, vidual industries the rate is of-Standard Oil, Ford, and U.S. ten higher. At the Washington One of the hymns I knew well. Steel have billion-dollar prohearings Otto Pragen, research I had even sung it on the picket grams in the hopper. The magadirector of the International Chemical Workers Union reported that chemical output since 1947 rose more than 50% with an increase of workers of only

1.3%. Between the middle of 1953 and the middle of 1955 the steel industry required 70,000 What stands out dramatically fewer men to produce the same is the competition between the quantity of steel, a cut in man-

power of about 15%. with which a firm can automate, Reports from the auto, electrical, telephone, railroad, mincosts and increasing output. deing and other industries showed termines how much of the mar the same trend. Productivity was rising more rapidly, while em-

announced by General Motors ployment rose at a much slower was immediately equaled by rate or declined outright. Ford. The smaller corporations,

squeezed by the leaders, struggle BOSSES' ARGUMENTS desperately to keep up.

In answer, the employers The process takes place unevenclaim that in the past new inly. While one automated plant dustries have always made up may take over part of the national production of a commodthe older ones. They cite the ity, the other plants in the chain | fact that boom times are here try to raise their levels by for the 250 large machine-tool speed-up. Statistics of increased builders, who are now producing pany speed-up drive accompany- to modernize and automate its productivity resulting from automation have not been sepa- exceeding the \$3 billion mark short work weeks forced workers and tired of being continually

rated from increased productivity annually. resulting from mechanization or one, two or all three factors.

The Federal Reserve Index of products are mainly of the "la- strike. Manufactured goods stood at a bor saving" type. Nor does it total manufacturing employment did, for example, the growth of volve the 12,000 members of UAW stood at 12,816,000. Two years the automobile industry. This ef- local 3 who are still employed at ndex stood at 139. almost the same point, manufacturing em-May, 1955 Monthly Labor Reployment stood at 13,699,000. In two years time 883,000 workers view. He concluded: "Automawere eliminated from the production lines, while production

per worker reportedly increased as have some earlier developbetween 3% to 6%. The rate of productivity per

worker is a yardstick of industrial growth. At the Washington hearings before the Senatelove everybody. Just gonna stay House Subcommittee, Secretary

"God isn't just interested in next to me said, "Boy, that's 3% by one measure to 3.6% by automation into the clerical field make the rest do the same amount plant employes 5,000.

Automation has had its most | hasten more automation, intensithese variations in figures the rapid advance in the larger in- | fying its effects on employment trend is clear. Productivity continues to rise at an ever faster dustrial establishments. As a rerate due, at least in part, to the sult the pressure on many smallincreasing introduction of auto- | er companies becomes murdermation. Leon Keyserling, eco- ous. "Small firms," comments nomic advisor to former President Truman, even predicts a 1955, "teeter between going aurate of 5% to 7% in the next | tomatic right away . . . at the | CIO Conference on Automation, risk of installing automatic equipment that will in itself become obsolete next year - and

Significantly prices have not dropped, but risen, in auto and the Consumers Report for Oct. other industries. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney commented at the April 4, 1955: "It has been pointed out that the technology of automation is likely to find waiting to see what happens in its fullest use in the so-called 'administered price' industries

and allowing the corporations to

prepare an anti-union offensive.

this field.' P. B. Wishert of Minneapoliswhere prices are notoriously in-Honeywell Regulator Company sensitive to decreases in cost." counsels smaller firms: "A for-We can conclude from this examination that the predictions of ward looking automation program can enable a small comthe NAM are not being born out. pany to cause an upheaval in its | Big Business is on the offensive: competitive field." His advice is the standard of living is not to concentrate on a few high skyrocketing, but displacement of workers is rising instead; volume items.

Many small businesses are go- prices have not dropped but ng under from the pressure. risen; the tempo of prosperity

Instead of an expanding dynamic economy with a bright proportions. The effect of auto-

mation is to speed up all the Automated plants, produce greater profits for the corpora- factors leading to the crisis rathtions. Ford expects to pay off its | er than to counteract them.

# for the employment declines in the older ones. They cite the

DETROIT, March 10 - A com- | of work is the way Chrysler wants automated equipment at a rate ing the recent drastic layoffs and plants. Dodge workers are sick at Chrysler Corporation's Dodge hounded by bosses. They are sick While this industry booms, its Main plant in Hamtramck to take and tired of being sent home on speed-up. The figures include larger effect is to displace more a strike vote March 8. The vote the slightest pretext. They are workers than before since the was 9,376 to 408 in favor of a sick and tired of short work

If authorized by the internahigh of 140 in May, 1955, while open new fields of industry as tional union the strike will in- of bargaining is that the union previous, in May 1953, when the fect of automation on new indus- Dodge. The rest of the local's agement wants is that we have trial expansion was analyzed by 25,000 members are laid off. The a union in name only. Walter S. Buckingham in the plant was shut down several times

last week when the company sent entire shifts home because some and our rights won during bitter tion does not promise to create workers refused to submit to as much secondary investment speed-up. Joseph Cheal, Local 3 president, said the dispute is over just what | strike!"

ments of technology." is a "fair day's work for a fair Bureau of Labor statistics

day's pay." He said management show what is happening to the workers driven out of industrial is seeking a 17% average in- corporations are general in Deproduction. They are forced into selling, service or clerical occupations, usually at lower rates In asking for the strike vote of pay, or into the ranks of the the local's executive board said: a strike to make the company live unemployed. With the entry of "Lay off half of the men and then up to seniority agreements. The

weeks and miserable welfare pay checks. . . The management idea

agree with whatever the management wants. What the man-

"We will not surrender! We will fight to protect our seniority strike battles. We will fight to protect our contract and our union. Back your union; vote

Speed-up drives and accompanying contract violations by the auto crease in output without an in- troit now. Members of UAW local crease in the number of workers. 15 at GM's Fleetwood plant here last week voted 86% in favor of

making profits do we find such future, the basis has been laid a high rate of small business for an economic crisis of major bankruptcies?"

"Why," asks the Senate Small has speeded up for Big Business Business Committee, "in a pe- but not for the rest of business riod characterized by a three or for the workers. shift industrial activity, tremendous sales volume and record



### Negro Unionists Are Speaking Out

Under prodding of Negro union leaders. mainly from Southern ports, the recent independent International Longshoremen's Association convention representing 70,000 members, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for Federal action to end "the oppression of our colored brothers and sisters in the South." While the diplomatically worded resolution was a timid step in the right direction, the really significant fact is that Negro union leaders are becoming more and more outspoken in their demand that the unions take action in support of their struggle against color discrimination and oppression.

Negro unionists have every right to expect their unions to defend the civil and democratic rights of all — regardless of skin color. To whom else shall they look ---upon whom else can they depend to give effective organized expression to their most basic needs? Certainly not upon the mealy-mouthed capitalist politicians of whatever stripe who preach "toleration" and "patience" in the face of intolerable injustice! Certainly not upon the two major political parties which are infested and dominated by Jim Crow advocates, practitioners and apologists! Lacking an independent Labor Party to champion their cause Negro unionists are compelled to seek a redress of their grievances through the powerful union movement. And organized labor would be derelict in its duty if it failed to respond.

The ILA resolution notes that the present wave of race terror and hatred

in the South is being fanned by the White Citizens Council. What is not emphasized is that the terror is not only directed against the Negro people but against any white workers who dare to solidarize with the caliber of its rank-and-file their colored brother and sister unionists. The murderous WCC are not only rabidly Jim Crow but anti-semitic and anti-labor. Their aim is to preserve the system of color segregation and discrimination as the foundation upon which rests the openshop structure of the "Right to Work" of ability and determination. in-South.

For the unions to act immediately and decisively in this situation is a matter of self-preservation. Any talk of organizing the South without a correct, uncompromising and militant policy of all-out union support to the heroic struggle of the Southern Negro workers for their elementary rights can be nothing but a monstrous hoax.

The ILA resolution, like many other union resolutions, expresses a good sentiment. However, the time has come for be impressive. Needless to say action. The struggle of the Montgomery, Ala., Negroes demands immediate and generous financial support by the unions. It would be a good practice for the union officials to look through their recent file of good resolutions on civil rights and write out a substantial check for every resolution on file and send it to the Montgomery fighters. That would do more to win support for unionism among a decisive section of the workers in the South than

any number of good resolutions.

government into crisis. Indeed, the very

same issue of the N. Y. Times (March 11)

which reports that the French in North

Africa are "harassed . . . in their search

for ways to reconcile the demands of the

Arabs for independence and of the French

North Africans for the status quo,"

declares, "Democrats worried by civil

rights issue — presidential candidates are

already facing dilemma of reconciling the

As the Negro movement gains in mili-

tancy, tens of thousands of Negro union-

ists are pressing for union aid to the

embattled Negroes in the South. This puts

views of North and South."

### **Colonial Uprisings and Civil Rights**

"Up until four or five years ago most of the one and one-quarter billion colored peoples were exploited by empires of the West.... Today many are free.... And the rest are on the road.... We are part of that great movement."

This is how Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, explained the significance of the heroic protest movement against Jim Crow buses waged by the entire Negro community of Montgomery, Ala. He spoke, March 5, to a bi-weekly mass meeting of the Association — the organization conducting the boycott — and his speech was enthusiastically cheered. (See William Bundy's story on page one.)

We in the U.S. have become accustomed

1955 Supreme Court rulings raring to go in a fight to the outlawing school segregation. finish with Jim Crow. The cur-Sparkman was Adlai Stevenrent example of the Montgomery son's running mate in 1952 protest action against segregated presidential election campaign. buses has made them prouder of Sen. Fullbright (D-Ark.), antheir people in the South than other Southern liberal, was coever before and they are highly sponsor of the "manifesto." conscious that they have powerful allies in the colored peoples of Asia and Africa. ing board members' questions So a gathering of some 2,000 but tried to ask them questions such people could not help but

Civil Rights Assembly, held here

last week, was an impressive

gathering. That does not mean

that it was effective - for the

sad truth is that it accomplished

very little in bringing civil rights

legislation any closer or in doing

anything about the situation in

the South. It was impressive be-

cause of its size and because of

One had only to look at and

talk with the delegates from the

deep South and the colored men

most of them union members, to

realize that these were people

spired with a new sense of self-

confidence. There is no gradual-

ism in their outlook. They are

get out of their control.

leaders.

women from the North,

delegates.

Moreover, a three-man delegation from the national headquaran assembly of ten or a hundred ters of the CIO Furniture Worktimes as many would have been ers Union was denied admittance much more impressive than mere on the grounds that their union multiplication would indicate. But was not affiliated with the Leadthe leaders of the National Asership Conference. It is said that sociation for the Advancement some youth delegates were of Colored People and the allied screened out, but exact figures organizations of the Leadership were not available. Conference on Civil Rights did At the opening session, Roy not want such a large gathering.

SEN. SPARKMAN (D-Ala.)

was one of 100 Southern Con-

gressmen signing "manifesto,"

March 11, denouncing 1954 and

Wilkins, NAACP Executive Sec-The principal reason appears to retary informed the delegates be that they were afraid it might that they could not present or vote on any resolutions. All they

DELEGATES SCREENED would be allowed to do was to In addition to emphasizing in work for the eight-point lobbyits call for the Assembly that ing program that had been pre pared for them by the Assembly large numbers were not wanted, leaders. The names of the chairthe NAACP leadership conjured men of the state and district up a "red scare." It warned delegations were then read off. against "Communist-front and This provoked considerable releft-wing" elements trying to sentment among the trade untake over the rally and urged ionists, particularly the auto local screening of all delegates. workers, who are used to organ-Since there is no evidence to izational democracy and don't back up their charge, it is more like to be told they can't make probable that the NAACP leador vote on motions or elect chairers were trying to create an atmen. The importance of these mosphere unfavorable for any delegates who might be tempted union delegations may be seen to get up and make proposals in the case of Michigan. This the will of those running the Henry Giniger in the March 10 different from those prepared state's delegation consisted of

peforehand by the Assembly whole Assembly), almost all auto

When the civil rights deleworkers. The union delegations were overwhelmingly Negro. gates got to Washington they were treated to an investigation. A SLAP IN THE FACE

This was directed particularly The eight-point program prethe labor leaders, too, right on the spot. against the NAACP Youth Counsented by the Assembly leaders They are fearful to give aid lest this cils and the large delegations was designed to keep the move-

#### What Did Civil Rights Assembly Achieve? far as the floor), was reenacted | wanted to take some of the pres- | at the beginning of this Con- sure off the Democrats by di- ly were not prepared to make

gress without a word being said verting it to the Eisenhower adagainst it. The last Civil Rights ministration. Mobilization in Washington had ADA SHIELDS DEMOCRATS lobbied almost exclusively for a

fight against this rule on Con-This came out in the form of gress' opening day - the only an ADAers taking the floor day it can be changed. The same liberal "friends" who were prais-President Eisenhower. Wilkins son hopes it can). ed for their promises at this Asspoke against the Attorney Gensembly, had previously promised eral proposal saying it would to fight for a change of Senate sidetrack the Assembly from its Rule 22. They sold out - didn't even introduce a motion to original purpose and that nothchange it. Yet not one word of ing would result as it had been tried many times. He acceded reproach to them was included to the Eisenhower proposal savin the official instructions for ing, however, it would take time the delegations that were to visit the promise-breaking Senators. to arrange. He got around his first day's ruling that no mo-

SOFT ON POWELL CLAUSE tions could be made or voted by Finally the Assembly leaders the delegates by saying that it played down the Powell Amend- appeared from the applause that ment — the one measure in such was the consensus of the Congress that will show who is Assembly. really for desegregation and who Apparently the ADA is so

is for gradualism, because as an fearful of Eisenhower's candiamendment it will have to be dacy that it has decided to give voted on. up, as an expensive luxury, the

While in general terms the pressuring of Stevenson it had eight-point program of the Asbeen doing, along with the sembly endorsed the principle of NAACP, in the Democratic prithe Powell Amendment, it mary fights. Now ADA feels did so vaguely. And only those every vote will be needed for delegations really on the ball the Democrats and that civil went beyond the general instrucrights pressure should be diverttions and asked their representa- ed from the Democrats as much as possible lest it do them harm secret that no one realizes when tives specifically whether they would vote for the Powell at election time.

Amendment. Indeed, in the reports on the visits with the Congressmen, there was covering up on this issue. For example, Roy Reuther, UAW leader and chairman of the Michigan delegation, reported to the Assembly that Senator McNamara was 100% for the civil rights program. Yet McNamara had straddled on the Powell Amendment by telling the Michigan delegates that homeland. Their plan was to gitimate" pilgrims sell their serhe would be for it if it didn't parade before hurt the chances of the passage Assembly, where the Mollet govof the school aid bill. It is pre-ernment was demanding full cisely on the cowardly grounds that it will cause the Southern- However, cops and troops were ers to vote against and thereby defeat the school aid bill, that and 2,700 were arrested. Throughmost Northern liberals in Con- out France the day was marked gress oppose the Powell Amend- by a surprise work-stoppage of ment

FEDERAL TROOPS ISSUE Demands that could really put in the Paris region alone. Most the heat on the politicians were of the demonstrators were "young raised only negatively or against poorly dressed workers," reports show. For example, Charles A. 600 delegates (one-quarter of the Zimmerman, a vice-president of a young Algerian woman brandthe International Ladies Gar- ishing the green and white nament Workers Union, who brief- tionalist flag" and "formed a

ed the Assembly for its visits silent procession six to eight to the Capitol Hill, said that abreast." some people advocated sending

federal troops to Mississippi to ALGERIANS in the French enforce the Constitution but that army are deserting continuously of the Soviet Union - has been "we" don't believe in using to the Algerian National Liberathat is, force and violence to fight vio- tion Army fighting in the moun-

The NAACP leaders apparentsuch a quick turn. Moreover, they are under the direct pressure of the Negro masses who want to see some action on civil rights. Wilkins repeatedly emnhasized that the civil rights with motions for delegations to issue could not be kept out of visit the Attorney General and the 1956 campaign (as Steven-

> On the heels of the flurry made by the ADA proposals, an auto worker delegate got the floor and inquired whether the leadership had considered the next step since nothing tangible was going to come out of the lobbying. Specifically, he asked if a March on Washington, the mere threat of which had been so successful in winning the wartime FEPC, was under consideration. Wilkins evaded this question by replying: "I'm only one-tenth of a strategist but know enough to know you don't announce your plans from the housetops in advance." This brought a laugh from the audience and Wilkins quickly recognized another delegate and then adjourned the session. Afterwards the delegate was overheard to say, "Perhaps they're planning a secret March on Washington. Hope it isn't so

it's taking place."

World Events

TEN THOUSAND ALGERIAN | organize pilgrimages to Mecca, WORKERS demonstrated in then turn the pilgrims over to Paris, March 9, in support of the Saudi Arabian police who sell Independence revolution in their them as slaves. Some rich "lethe National vants while in Arabia to make expenses. U.S. and British oil companies who control Arabia. powers to put down the revolt. pay royalties only to the decadent Arabian rulers who buy slaves - hence the increase in hurled against the demonstrators the trade recently. Popular commodities in this country, whose government is recognized by the U.S. State Dept. as part of the Algerian workers that coincided with a Moslem prayer day. Several "free world," are: girls under hundred thousand Algerians live 15 at \$550 to \$1,000 per head, men under 40 at \$400 per head, and older women at \$105 per head. Greenidge's report estimates there are 500,000 slaves in N. Y. Times. They were led "by

Arabia King Saud, agent of the U.S. oil interests, is named as Saudi Arabia's foremost patron of slavery.

THE STALIN CULT - repudiated last month at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party further undermined by the following moves reported since the close of the Congress. (1) March 5 was the third anniversary of poser Serge Prokofieff. In the Soviet Union Prokofieff's memory was honored, but no official notice was taken of the anniversary as far Stalin was concerned. (2) Stalin's biography has disappeared from a newsstand at the Metropole Hotel and a Stalinsponsored "Short Course" of the Soviet Communist Party history is now unavailable. (3) Correspondents on a trip with American churchmen visiting the Tretyakov Art Gallery (Moscow's largest) report that about 25 portraits of Stalin hanging in the gallery before the 20th Congress have all been removed. (4) The Soviet Communist Party is carrying out a campaign to restore old Bolsheviks to official flavor. Most of these were victims of Stalin's purges. Pravda, the party organ, printed a letter, March 11, from 137 old members who participated in the 1905 revolution. The list included G.I. Stalin "Short Course" as a "Trotskyite" and M. M. Skrypnik, mplicated in the 1937 purge trial of Marshall Tukhachevsky.



#### THE MILITANT

to watching from afar how the impact of the colonial struggle has thrown first France, then England in crisis. Now something similar is happening in this country. The powerful surge of the Negro people to win their democratic rights — a movement inspired by the successes of the colonial struggles, as Rev. King testified is shaking the equilibrium of U.S. politics. And this at a time when the Big Business rulers of the country had hopes that things would keep going their way indefinitely.

Just consider: Economic prosperity continues. The labor bureaucrats are in full control in the unions, stifling militancy. Labor has no party of its own. The top labor leaders have bound labor to the Democratic Party, and there is no important movement in the ranks demanding that labor strike out now on an independent political road.

Yet increasingly in the last few weeks, the civil rights issue has plunged the Democratic Party into crisis. It has done so in the same way that, for instance, the Algerian question has plunged the French

disrupt their alliance with the Democratic workers Union Party. Yet they cannot ignore the pressure with the best record of anti-Jim of such a large section of the rank and file. Crow struggle in the South.

However, of even greater significance than what the Negro struggle does to the Democratic Party and the Democratic- heels in the waiting room while labor coalition, is the impact of a move- they were individually screened. ment such as the Montgomery anti- They were barred from all sessegregation protest on the thinking of a large section of militant white workers.

By lining these militants up on the side of civil rights, the Negro struggle forces them to sharpen their working-class consciousness. It forces them to draw the conclusion — even before they themselves planation. have to break with the Democratic party because of their own demands - that the effective or in reality not aimed Democrats are as much an agency of Big Business as the Republicans.

Support for the civil rights struggle will unite the white workers with the Negro admittance. These were three workers as they jointly gain understanding of the political tasks that confront them. And this will speed the preparation of white and Negro militants alike for the momentous showdown between labor and capital that must inevitably lead to a Labor Party in this country.

ment within "safe" ineffective-channels. They were demands for much-needed legis-

lation but legislation which can-Most Packinghouse delegates not be passed in this Congressspent the first of their three days in Washington cooling their as the Assembly leaders themselves were to admit from time to time. The roadblock to passage is the Southern Democratic stranglehold on Congress. This it down, a number of delegasions 'till they had been prowas deplored but no official pronounced clean. Needless to say, posal was made on how to break lobbying activity. these delegates bitterly resented it. Indeed, Congress had dealt the treatment and later held a the Civil Rights Assembly a con- it became apparent that the caucus at which they passed a temptuous slap in the face by Americans for Democratic Acmotion of protest and empowered

a delegation to visit the NAACP electing the unspeakable racist, tion was playing an unusually in New York and get an ex-The screening was either introls all civil rights bills, the

at "Communist-front and leftdelegates began arriving in not over the amount of pressure wing" elements. Of some 90 Washington. Packinghouse delegates only four Despite this the delegates were bly - both were in agreement delegates were finally refused sent to visit their Senators with- in keeping the pressure within out any special blast for those women office workers of the union - the technicality was that as liberal "friends" of the Negro the pressure should be directed.

people and of labor who had The NAACP leaders wanted to office workers they belonged to the office workers union and not failed to lift a finger against keep what pressure was generatto the UPWA which had sent Eastland's confirmation. Similarly with the filibuster. Democratic controlled. The ADA, them. The fourth was a UPWA

Senate Rule 22, which permits apparently made desperate by District Director who was kept out for "contempt of court" - | filibustering civil rights legisla- | Eisenhower's recent announcehe refused to answer the screen- tion to death (if it ever gets as ment that he would run again

lence. Nevertheless some delega- tains. They take rifle and ammunition with them. Amid the tions asked their Senator pointblank where they stood on send- French forces in Algeria are the deaths of Stalin and of coming troops. This happened at some 45.000 Algerian Moslem least in the cases of the Ohio troops. Reporting a recent inand Illinois delegations. Similar cident at Sebabna the March 3 ly with the Powell Amendment Economist reports, "These Moslem soldiers in the midst of battle — though the leadership played joined hands with the guerrillas, tions emphasized it in their fired on their French fellow soldiers and departed with arms As the Assembly progressed,

and ammunition. . . . The sergeant who led Algerian troops to the other side had served in Indo-China." According to Michael Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, large role in the running of the Clark's report in the March 1 head of the powerful Senate Ju- affair. Moreover, there appeared N. Y. Times, "French security diciary Committee, which con- to be some disagreement beforces have not yet been able to tween the ADA and the NAACP very day before the civil rights leadership. The difference was

wrest the initiative from blands of nationalist rebels infesting Algeria's western frontier." to be generated by the Assem-French imperialism has over 200, 000 troops in Algeria. \* \* \*

"safe" limits - but over where FRENCH COMMUNIST PAR-TY DEPUTIES in the National Assembly voted, March 13. to give Socialist Premier Guy Mollet full ed on Congress - which is military powers to try to crush the Algerian independence revolution. The Mollet plan calls for Teodorovich, denounced in the increasing French troops and stepping up military operations on the one hand, while also trying to bribe a section of Algerians with economic "reforms." The



can slave trade will be presented

to the UN in April. French Gov-

ernment sources admit that

slaves are hunted in the French

"protectorate" of Cameroons.

French West Africa and French

Equatorial Africa. Arabian slav-

**Desegregation!** Labor's Stake In the Fight For Negro Equality By Jean Simon

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New York 3, N. Y.



Workers and Bureaucrats in the USSR

#### (Continued from page 1)

1956.)

As against less than one-third of the delegates engaged in industry and agriculture, more than one-half, 703 delegates represented the party and government functionaries. "Present at the Congress are 506 party workers, 177 Soviet [govern- BUREAUCRATS' MODEL ment] workers, 12 trade-union workers, and 8 youth workers." (Same source).

Out of every 100 delegates at the 20th Congress. Among the from the mass of the workers. the 20th Congress only 18 rep- delegates selected to take the resented industry and transport floor was N. M. Kuzmin a lathe as against 52 delegates who rep- operator at the machine building the reluctance of party members resented the party and state ap- factory Krasni Proletari (Red to associate themselves directly 15 delegates were divided among body.

"trade and also cultural workers, and Navy.")

The Mandate Commission gave to maintain the same pace over with the decisive sectors of pro- sest to the workers are the first from the bureaucracy. The Rusber of the regular delegates at no breakdown of the actual com- the next five years. He coupled duction. For example, in the coal to feel their hostility. It is no sian workers will not stop short the Congress 438 are directly engaged in production, of these gates "directly engaged in in- icisms of "the organizational about 90,000 Communists, but shy away from contact with the political power. agriculture." (Pravda Feb. 17, of the administrative and tech- tem." He was "stormily applaud- over three million party memnical personnel.

From the official figures it therefore follows that the number of "workers by occupation" remained rather small at the 20th Congress, even though there were three times as many as had attended the 19th Congress.

It can be stated with certainty speech, as well as his presence, that the genuine voice of the Soviet workers was not heard at isolation of the bureaucracy

The isolation of the bureaucracy is further aggravated by

The burden of his speech was nificant section of Communists, robbed. This is the source of the bureaucratic regime. and representatives of party or- his record in production: "25 who work in these branches, oc- suspicion and conflict between ganizations in the Soviet Army yearly quotas during the last cupy their time with activities the workers and the bureaucracy. this was not a voluntary pay-Five-Year Plan" and his pledge which have no direct connection Communist party members clo- ment. That it has been wrung

A second s

gaged in production, or these dustry and transport." Included shortcomings in the operation of only 38,000 work in the mines. workers. and transport; and 187 work in this category were members the factory and its supply sys- In the rural districts there live There is an additional reason

ed" as a model for the Soviet bers and candidates but less than difficult to keep party members ago while the wholesale food half of them work directly in in production. Even when it does workers (Pravda Feb. 20). In giving him an ovation the the collective farms, Machine and recruit members engaged directassembled bureaucrats may have Tractor Stations and state ly in industry or agriculture, it momentarily felt close to the farms.

mass of the Soviet workers but Delegate Kuzmin represented REASON FOR GAP

In this impulsion of bureauonly a thin layer of the Soviet crats away from production is labor aristocracy, the recordbreakers and pacesetters. His expressed the very nature of the caste as a parasitic formation. only served to underscore the The bureaucracy occupies its commanding position in the So-

a key to advancement, cushy

jobs and privileges.

The Kremlin bureaucracy counts on the repudiation of the Stalin cult to give it entry into the working class. It wants to be accepted, to be popular. The viet Union not by virtue of any workers for their part will, no specific role in the process of doubt accept the repudiation of production but by robbing the the tyrant with jubillation. But working class of the power it it will not accept this concession had conquered for itself in the as a gift from the bureaucracy. paratus. (Of the remainder 15 Worker) in Moscow. He shied with the process of production. 1917 Revolution. It is this act of The repudiation of the Stalin delegates out of every 100 rep- away from touching on any of Khrushchev said: "It is abnor- political expropriation which has cult will be accepted as a payresented agriculture and another the political issues before the mal that in a number of branches created the gulf between the ment for the indignity and abuse of the national economy a sig- robbers and those who have been the workers suffer under the

The Russian workers know

States Ball in the

are less than 2% under a year price index is down 12% in the same period, according to the Dept. of Agriculture and the Wall recruits primarily careerist ele- Street Publication, Dun and

ments to whom a party card is Bradstreet.



Food prices at the retail level why the bureaucracy finds it so

NEW YORK



116 University Place

# The Negro Struggle By Jean Blake

#### What Is A Boycott

The 50.000 Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., who are in a struggle against Jim Crow on the buses of that city, regard their movement as a deep protest against segregation in all its forms. By their specific method of action in the bus battle they have raised the whole question of boycott as a tactic in the Negro struggle.

A boycott, according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, is a "combining to withhold, or to prevent others from holding, business or social relations with a tradesman, employer, etc."

To boycott means "to subject to a boycott" or "to refrain from the use of; keep aloof from."

The Encyclopaedia Britannica tells us a little more about the word put into recent newspaper headlines by the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama.

Boycott, says this authority is "the refusal and incitement to refusal to have commercial or social dealings with any one on whom it is wished to bring pressure."

"The word was first used in Ireland," the Encyclopaedia tells us, "and was derived from the name of Capt. Charles Cunningham Boycott (1832-97), agent for the estates of the earl of Erne in County Mayo. For refusing in 1880 to receive rents at figures fixed by the tenants, Captain Boycott's life was threatened, his servants were compelled to leave him, his fences torn down, his letters intercepted and his food supplies interfered with. It took a force of 900 soldiers to protect the Ulster Orangemen who succeeded finally in getting in his crops. Boycotting was an essential part of the Irish nationalist plan of campaign, and was dealt with under the Crimes act of 1887. The term soon came into common use and was speedily adopted into many foreign languages."

But the couragous Irish nationalist struggles for independence and freedom from oppression by absentee landlordism is only part of the glorious tradition inherited by the Montgomery protest movement.

The boycott of British goods, especially tea, was one of the most important methods of mobilizing the people in the first American revolution. The word

"boycott" would not be heard for another 115 years, but in 1765 nine colonies sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress in New York to organize the protest against "taxation without representation." Within a few months British imports in the colonies reached their lowest point in thirty years.

VOLUME XX

Early in its history the labor movement began to support unions on strike by urging the public not to patronize sellers of non-union products. It was the Case of the Danbury Hatters' Union (1903-1915) that made the term "boycott" famous throughout the U.S. This was the case in which the organized employers used the courts to call a boycott by labor a crime under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which had been passed to restrain abuses of Big Business monopoly.

· In the Thirties the boycott was introduced as a weapon in the Negro struggle for equality. "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" was what it was called. In Negro communities throughout the North and West colored workers organized picket lines and campaigns to stop patronage of stores which refused to hire Negroes.

After the Supreme Court ruling of May, Hillsboro, Ohio, a group of Negro parents decided to boycott Jim Crow. They refused to send their children to the segregated spirited demonstration of labor Lincoln School, tutoring them in their solidarity, 3,000 workers, repreown "Freedom School" until they are admitted to integrated public schools.

On Dec. 5, 1955, the term, boycott, gained new significance: 50,000 Negroes began the demonstration of its power as a strike leaders and back local weapon "to refrain from the use of" and union 107, United Electrical Work-"keep aloof from" the Jim Crow bus system of Montgomery, Alabama.

The power of the boycott in Montgomery — just as in colonial America, in Ireland in 1880, in trade union struggles through- an injunction against picketing out labor's history — lies in the fact that it is based on mass solidarity against oppression and on willingness to sacrifice families of desperately needed some material thing or convenience for a principle. -- Alfrida d

# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, MARCH 19, 1956

# **Company Helped By Westinghouse Mediation Plan**

NUMBER 12

husband back too.

every way we can!"

COULD END QUICKLY

He scurried away when a mili-

tant GM worker challenged him:

"Wihat do you mean, go back to

intil they get a decent contract

Amother rank and filer emptied

the capitalist - controlled govern-

ment, radio, press and TV are

lined up solidly behind the

wealthy Westinghouse Corpora-

ion and its union-busting attack.

Gwilym A. Price, president of

Westinghouse, told 650 top utility

executives of the Southeastern

Electric Exchange, meeting at

Swank Boca Raton, Florida, March

12, that support for the company

from industry was building up

and "sooner or later they [the

pointed to the report of the

mediation board as a favorable

Financial contributions must be

supplemented. It is time for the

labor officialdom to bring the

direct support of the mighty

AFL-CIO to the IUE and UE

picket lines and speed a favorable

wide protest against Westing-

Seven billion dollars will be

handed out as interest on the

house's uinon-busting drive.

He

strikers] must give in."

development.

work? They're not going back

#### By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, March 12 - The proposal of a federal mediation board to end the strike of 55,000 workers against the Westinghouse Corporation was firmly rejected by the striking unions this week. Both the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, and the United Electrical Workers, independent, have remained solid in the five-month strike.

The proposal attempts to saddle the strikers with a five-year contract. It refuses to reinstate

# After the Supreme Court ruling of May, 1954, declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, those seeking immediate enforcement of the law dis-covered how slow, costly, unreliable and demoralizing legal action alone can be. In

LESTER, Pa., March 9 - In a backing the strike. Even though caught the spirit of the meet-James Carey, president of the ing when he pointed out that International United Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO has waged cut wages 20% in the Lester senting more than 25 unions in constant warfare against the UE, plant and also break down the the Delaware Valley area, over-IUE locals have come out in sup-

flowed the Columbus Circle audiport of local 107. torium in Lester, Pa., to protest The mass meeting was organized and sponsored by the a real onslaught against the labor the jailing of 26 Westinghouse Delaware County Joint Labor Council, AFL - CIO. Representatives from the IUE, auto, steel- admiration for the millitant leaderers, in its 147-day-old strike.

Judge Henry G. Sweney of workers, carpenters, oil workers, transport workers, shipyard work. in the past, never failed to help Delaware County fined the union ers, textile workers, communicaleaders \$27,000 on March 7 in tions workers and other unions They reiterated the theme of the contempt of court for violating from the Philadelphia, New Jersey | meeting: "If picketing is a crime, and Wilmington, Delaware areas you may be next." brought by the company. Rather than exhaust their depleted treaswere on the platform.

A State Representative, who is ury and deprive the strikers' benefits, the union leaders went to jail. Judge Sweney admitted he introduced and passed in the the \$27,000 fine; united labor striker's rejection of the govthat he could only punish unions House, has been bottled up for support, moral and financial, to ernment proposal. General sentiand workers under existing law which did not provide the means of coercing the company. exercise a great deal of pressure the Delaware County Court at the ment." REAL SOLIDARITY in Harrisburg, and that it was

Although the United Electrical Westinghouse, after the 1946 poration." Workers Union is independent, strikes, that was responsible in having been expelled from the the main for taking CIO in 1949 for allegedly being ment benefits away from strikers adopted families of the imprison- the women strike-fund collectors savings bonds. Banks, corporaunder "Communist domination," ed leaders for the duration of by shouting at them: "Why don't tions, and insurance companies in Pennsylvania. unions in the area are James UE

immediately 36 strikers dis-tback to work - and send your charged for militant activity. It

offers no effective safeguards against company efforts to introduce a back-breaking speed-up in its plants through a time-study clause The strikers are particularly

and we're going to help them aroused over the time-study item, for they fear it would result in fresh victimizations of those who his change into the collection pail and said jokingly, "When are you resisted or were unable to meet the new speed-up requirements. people going to end this thing? Th Westinghouse corporation's You're getting me broke."

hasty acceptance of the mediation board's proposal, after months of

The truth of the matter is that arrogant refusal to mediate, is a the strike could be ended quickly clear indication that it is biased in the company's favor. There can and favorably for the Westingnouse strikers only if the full be no question that the IUE veight of the labor movement is strike committee was completely ustified in rejecting the proposal. allied behind them. However, this action by the Otherwise it is bound to be a government seriously cuts across tough battle, for it is clear that

the mounting support and sympathy for the striking unions. Even the liberal New York Post which had "sharply criticised"

Westinghouse's previous refusal to mediate has editorially denounced the IUE. They call the union "dead wrong in rejecting the 'package' settlement. . .'

#### **BOSS PROPAGANDA**

In addition, the labor move ment has been bombarded by Big Business propaganda on TV, radio and in the capitalist dailies, denouncing the strikers' refusal to accept the government's mediation proposal. The effect has been

confusion and uncertainty on the part of the rank and file of the labor movement. A four-point resolution was At a General Motors assembly unanimously adopted by the plant in this area, for example, also an IUE member, revealed assembled unionists: release of plant gate collections fell off settlement by launching a nationthat an anti-injunction law, which the imprisoned leaders; rescind sharply after the news of the

months in the State Senate. He the strike; and, a blast against ment was expressed in comments also revealed that Westinghouse the "vicious union - busting acts as "I don't know. These, people and the Pennsylvania Railroad carried out against local 107 by won't even listen to the govern-

behest of the Westinghouse Cor-This confusion emboldened rightwing elements in the plant to Financial support for local 107 openly denounce the strikers. ordly needed. Many unions have

national debt this year according to the President's budget message. Less than .004% (four thousandths of one per cent) will go A known McCarthyite harrassed to individuals who bought U.S.

circulated around the plant. a production worker at a General Motors assembly plant. During that time he

the problems of a home "owner" that were He found out that a down payment on

grant a 19c. increase to 12,000 workers, members of the International Association of Machinists.

Fellow strikers carry Mrs. Dottie Wilson from strike scene

at Farmingdale, Long Island plant of Republic Aviation Corp.,

after she was knocked down by a scab's car. The company

cleared over \$14.5 million in net profits last year, but refuses to

Victim of Company Greed

if Westinghouse is permitted to conditions that workers built up over many years of struggle, then

this would mark the beginning of novement as a whole.



married, and now has a wife and infant son to support. When you add to this financial burden the purchase on the installment plan of various household items and a car, you begin to wonder how he was able to save enough for a down payment on a house. But Bill did just that.

Ever since his discharge from the army

following the Korean war, Bill has been

By working at odd jobs he was able to pick up outside the plant, skimping on personal "luxuries," and collecting his veteran's bonus for overseas service, he accumulated the necessary amount.

He was in the process of looking for a suitable house in which to invest his savings when something happened which brought his plans to an abrupt halt.

Rumors of a cutback in auto production caused him to reflect that maybe hed better hold on to his savings. When more than a thousand workers were laid off in his plant he felt he'd made a wise decision — especially when he learned about a house did not confer ownership, that there were such things as taxes, mortgage payments, repairs, etc.

He heard the story about the young woman worker who was visiting a sick relative in her suburban housing development home. On the wall in the living room was a sign saying, "Bless Our Mortgaged Home." When she commented with some amusement on this sign, a neighbor who had stopped by said cynically, "Oh that's nothing unusual. Every house in the favorable response. Southerners neighborhood has one of those!"

The other day a worker was kidding Bill. "Hey Bill, when are you moving into your new place?"

Bill turned to the worker next to him and said, "I'm not in too much of a hurry to get a house now. Who knows I might get caught in the next layoff. I'm going distribution. to save up enough money so that if I get laid off I can meet the mortgage payments for at least six months or a year."

#### leader, their imprisonment. you go back to work? Yeah. Go get the rest

#### Get "The Southerner Campaign to he

By George Lavan

When Don West and the Church of God of the Union Assembly started publishing The Southerner early in 1955, the paper met with an immediate

of labor and anti-racist views were delighted to see such a paper being printed in the Deep South. Within a year it had some 5,000 Southern subscribers, Around the Dalton, Ga., area it was sold on the counters of grocery stores. Supporters of the

employe belonged, who their about. friends in the plant were, etc. The situation became so threat-

fired. by firing all its Church of God grand jury which was soon to employes. Protests to the NLRB meet could deal with the situaand to the Senate Subcommittee | tion. Nonetheless violence flared affiliation showed how far the its plateglass window. paper took bundles for sale and chenille mill owners were pre-

pared to go. The paper's line was militantly The two newspapers of Dalton pro-union. It championed civil libenties, making the national witch hunt a main issue. At the same the religious firings though the bor violence in Dalton. The lattime it did everything it could to encourage inter-racial solidarity and to break down Jim Crow prejudices. West featured such stories as an inter-racial congrepages and editorial columns for grand jurors soon had the treat gation of the church in Kentucky and the harmonious relations with-Don West, editor of the South- sonality of the red-baiting world. in it; its services; how the Neerner. gro worker in a textile mill in

SMEAR CAMPAIGN South Carolina had early been 100% solid for the union drive and how the great majority of West of being "subversive." Re- mission, famed for his charge white workers in the plant had ports about him going back as that the Girl Scouts engaged in recognized this and insisted that far as 20 years from the records red propaganda.

in the contract the Negro workof the House Un-American Acers benefit. Moreover, there was tivities Committee's files was a great deal of general education against racism, as well as articles on the reactionary roots of anti-Semitism and the hard fact they are about as trust- the name of Don West. It imlot of the Cherokee Indians in worthy as the Hearst papers. nearby Tennessee.

The great upsurge of Southern Williams, former New Deal of- fore in a conversation with two ficial and well-known Alabama friends who were doing underlabor manifested in the telephone liberal. and Dr. Alva Taylor, 80- cover work for the FBI in the and railroad strikes last year year-old former professor of So- | Communist Party, West had been and increasing sentiment for unions in the Dalton area made cial Ethics at Vanderbilt Univermentioned, Bundy testified, as a sity, was printed. West had sethe pro-labor coverage of The "dangerous man." This meager Southerner far from abstract cured the names of both Aubrey and too-coincidental information education. Rather it soon became Williams, a friend, and Dr. Tay- was padded out with a bloodan organizing instrument in the lor, his old college professor, for chilling lecture on the dangers the masthead of The Southerner of Communism.

as contributing editors. From the first attack. West The situation in Dalton's un-From the opening blast the organized chenille industry behad publicly declared that he mill owners' newspapers in Dal- was not a Communist, that the came so hot by mid-summer that the CIO Textile Workers Union ton did not cease to scream about purpose of the whole investiga-West. The local veterans organi- tion was to smash the union sent in a crew of organizers. zations sprang into action. The drive. He was aware that if he VFW called a meeting on "un- testified about political beliefs,

UNION-BUSTING DRIVE

mills.

The mill owners' counterattack desirable characters" in the com- associates, etc., he would thereby was then launched. Wages were munity-devoted to West. It had surrender his privilege under the increased seven and eight cents the drafter of Georgia's new Fifth Amendment and would above the absolute legal mini- anti-Communist law, which pro- have to answer all questionsmum of 75 cents an hour. Next vides penalties up to 20 years, thus becoming a stoolpigeon -

a questionnaire demanding to talk of a "visit" to take care of cided not to answer such ques- by the American Legion and the know to what church each West some night was bruited tions and before the grand jury VFW, at which West, The South-

Those answering Church of God ening that the editor of the two politics, unions or friends. of the Union Assembly, were Dalton newspapers felt constrained to warn against lynch vio-

being smashed. Fake bombings Another big mill followed up lence-giving assurance that the of the lawns of management personnel were used as the excuse scab-herding work. This was on Constitutional Rights availed up in the form of a midnight done over considerable local CIO and West were denounced nothing. Open, unabashed firing attack on the office of The protest, not only of the Church as "Communists," "Negrophiles," of workers for their religious Southerner and the smashing of of God and the union, but of "mongrelizers," etc. other elements in Dalton, in-

BUNDY COMES TO TOWN

The grand jury took its cue (both owned and edited by the and promptly began an investisame men) made no mention of gation of subversion and of ladraw the troopers, who had not been requested by the local story was carried in many pa- ter is accounted for by the fact authorities. But to no avail. The pers throughout the country. In- that a small strike had broken connections of the mill owners stead they devoted their energies out in a plant making rubber and the local newspapers with and a large part of their front backing for chenille rugs. The the corrupt, racist Talmadgethe next six months to attacking of a visit from a national perstrike was broken. This was Edgar C. Bundy, a leader of the McCarthyites in

Illinois, and head of the Ameri-They started off by accusing can Legion's Un-American Com-

convict them.

Bundy arrived before the ATTACK CONTINUES grand jury with a wondrous tale. Bundy returned to Dalton on printed. These were passed off | He was just passing through, he his way back from the Amerion the reader as being an un- said, when he happened to glance can Legion Convention in Miami. impeachable source — while in at the paper and his eye lit on where he had scored a personal victory by passage of a resolumediately "rang a bell" in tion condemning UNESCO as Similar material about Aubrey | Bundy's memory. Some years be-

un-American. He addressed a

one of the big mills circulated | come to town, to speak. Open | or be held in contempt. He de- | public meeting, jointly sponsored cited the Fifth Amendment when erner and the union were dethe questions came around to nounced. This speech was later broadcast several times on the Meanwhile the small strike was local radio.

A follow - up was the mass mailing to Dalton workers of a racist, anti-union paper and a to bring in state troopers for radio series of broadcasts by a professional labor baiter. The

To the steadily mounting camcluding a Baptist minister. A paign of the mill owners' press, citizens' delegation from the the agitation of the Legion and chenille center went to Atlanta | VFW, the record-breaking durato ask Governor Griffin to with- | tion of the grand-jury investigation, now was added a new ingredient, borrowed from the arsenal of the White Citizens Councils, an economic squeeze on the pro-labor church.

(Second of a series.)



**BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY On the Soviet Union and Stalinism** 

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**Down Payment on a House** 

By Ben Haines

What accounts for this self-admitted bankruptcy of the Kremlin bureaucracy? The answer can be found in the writings on the subjects listed by Mikoyan that the Stalinist bureaucrats have suppressed — namely, the works of Leon Trotsky.

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