

DOBBS WILL SPEAK IN DETROIT APRIL 6

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XX — No. 14

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, APRIL 2, 1956

PRICE: 10 Cents

Montgomery Freedom Fighters Appeal For Station Wagons to Build Car Pool

Cars Will Be Picked Up Anywhere in U. S.

What are the different ways in which you can help the magnificent bus protest movement of the Negro people of Montgomery, Alabama?

The following answers are from Farrell Dobbs, special correspondent for the Militant, who just returned from

Montgomery where he covered the bus protest trial. Dobbs, twice presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, is about to tour a number of Northern industrial cities where he will address meetings called to raise funds to be sent to the Montgomery Improvement Association.

The SWP leader, who studied the situation closely and talked to many MIA leaders and rank and file members, emphasizes that moral support for the protest is not enough. All unionists and opponents of Jim Crow must personally take it upon themselves to get material aid rolling toward Montgomery.

The MIA, whose efficiently organized carpool furnishes free daily transportation to 50,000, is spending over \$3,500 weekly for gas, oil, tires, repairs, traffic fines imposed by a vengeful police force, etc. There are also heavy legal expenses involved in the trials and the necessary appeals. Finally, the cars of the car pool are wearing out through constant use.

You can help by sending money and cars — especially station wagons — to the Montgomery Improvement Association, 647 Clinton St., Montgomery 8, Alabama.

Raise money among your friends, shopmates and others! Get your union local, or any organization to which you or a friend belongs, to vote a contribution for the MIA! If you have a car in good running condition that you are thinking of trading in, give it instead to the MIA and go a little further into debt. You know you're not going to get rich anyhow, so help one of the best causes in America in its hour of need. Get the workers in your department or plant to chip in and buy a station wagon in good condition (or a station-wagon type car — something with large seating capacity) for the heroic but footsore people of Montgomery.

Union locals or groups performing such acts of solidarity should send delegations to Montgomery with the cars for presentation ceremonies. If that is not possible the MIA will send a driver anywhere in the U. S. to pick up a station wagon. There are hundreds of ways of raising money and station wagons for the MIA — dances, dinners, house parties, raffles, meetings, etc. Which are you planning on?

White-Supremacist Manifesto



Sen. Walter F. George (D-Ga.) confers with colleagues from the South after he had read a manifesto on Senate floor pledging a "lawful" battle to upset the U. S. Supreme Court ruling against public school segregation. The manifesto was signed by 19 Southern senators and 77 representatives. In group above (left to right) are: Sen. Richard Russell, (D-Ga.); Sen. George; and Sen. Sam Ervin (D-N.C.).

Kutcher Speaks to 30 Union Locals in Detroit

James Kutcher, the legless veteran who is fighting to regain his job as a clerk in the Veterans Administration from which he was fired as one of the first victims of the witch hunt, has just completed a successful three-week tour of the Detroit labor movement. Kutcher arrived in Detroit after the Wayne County CIO Council, which has supported his case since it began eight years ago, voted at a general membership meeting to continue its moral support and urged affiliated locals to grant the legless veteran the floor at their meetings.

Since then many Detroit unionists have listened to Kutcher tell about the fight to win back his pension, his job and the right to continue living in a low-cost federal housing project. Kutcher appeared before thirty union meetings. At each he was greeted with expressions of solidarity. Union locals passed resolutions urging that the Veterans Administration restore him to his job and that the Federal Housing Authority drop the witch-hunt procedure under which Kutcher and his aged parents are faced with eviction. Many locals voted donations to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, which from the earliest stages of the case has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for the heavy legal ex-

penses and to acquaint the American public with the issues in his case. Some meetings took up collections on the spot for donation to the committee. Guy Nunn, the UAW news commentator, recorded an interview with Kutcher for broadcast on his program which reaches UAW and other workers as they drive to the job. In an important development in the case of Saul Wellman, disabled veteran deprived of his pension because of his Communist Party membership, the VA has backed down from its original outrageous demand that Wellman repay \$9,500 that he had received before his pension was stopped. It has also reinstated the family allotment of \$51.18 a month to Wellman's wife and two children. Wellman was disabled by a heart wound in the Battle of the Bulge. Public opinion has forced the VA — which is supposed to protect veterans! — to backtrack a bit in its shameless action. It is now necessary that public protest force the VA — as it did in the case of Kutcher, a Socialist Workers Party member — to restore the pensions both of Wellman and Robert Thompson.

Protest Attack On Daily Worker

Open Letter to Eisenhower

Dear Sir:

Responsibility for the infamous "raid" on the Daily Worker and headquarters of the Communist Party throughout the country rests squarely upon your administration and on yourself as executive head of the government. No honest person with a spark of intelligence will be taken in by the spurious pretext that the arbitrary seizure was engineered for the purpose of satisfying a government claim of unpaid taxes. The action taken stands in violent contrast to the usual procedure in delinquent tax cases and can only be construed and understood as political in intent; that is, to throttle the voice of a political opponent.

The timing of the foray on the Daily Worker to coincide with the lunch period, the attempt to refuse readmittance to employees of the paper returning from their lunch, the insistence on rapid eviction of the newspaper staff, all testify to a calculated plan to prevent publication of the paper.

The totalitarian trend has already proceeded too far in that direction. I need only recount here the recent attempts made to circumscribe, limit and curb the elementary right of the organized labor movement to participate in political affairs. The government's indictment of the United Automobile Workers Union for sponsoring a TV series in Michigan urging the election of Democratic Senator McNamara is a case in point.

If the precedent of a Treasury Department raid on the Daily Worker and Communist Party headquarters is permitted to stand, what is there to prevent the T-men from swooping down on a union in the midst of a strike, padlocking union headquarters, impounding union funds and other assets, and crippling the union — all under the pretext of failure to pay taxes or some similar flimsy excuse?

Of a piece with the methods employed by your administration to silence political opponents is the transparent technique recently used by the Democratic Senator from Mississippi, James O. Eastland, against a more formidable critic — the New York Times. Under guise of hunting "subversives" in the nation's press, Eastland's Senate Committee on Internal Security launched a smear attack on the Times for mildly criticizing the unreconstructed attitude of the Jim Crow practitioners in the South who are defying the U. S. Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

The method is the same — the difference is in degree! Because the Daily Worker is more vulnerable to attack, because it speaks for a small persecuted political group, only makes the savage blow against civil liberties more heinous.

As president of the United States you cannot disclaim responsibility for the action. If it was taken without your knowledge or consent the very least you can do is to dismiss, forthwith, the person or persons responsible.

Very Sincerely yours,

Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary and Presidential Candidate, Socialist Workers Party

Continues Fight



Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., convicted leader of the Montgomery, Ala. protest movement against segregation on the buses, is shown with his wife outside the courthouse in Montgomery where he was ordered to pay \$1,000 fine and costs or serve 386 days at hard labor. Immediately appealing the case Rev. King said the protest action would be continued "no matter how many times they put me on trial and convict me."

Court Battle Reveals Turbulent Movement That is Shaking South

By Farrell Dobbs

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 22 — This city tonight saw the climax of four turbulent days that shook the South. A vast, militant throng of Negro freedom fighters jammed the Holt Street Church to demonstrate their solidarity behind Rev. M. L. King, a leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association just convicted in circuit court of "conspiring to hinder" the local bus operations.

Responding to a thunderous ovation the 27-year-old Negro pastor vowed to continue his leading role "no matter how many times they convict me." From the throats of the assembled thousands welled emotion-charged pledges to hold firm ranks in their protest refusal to ride the city's Jim Crow buses.

The protest action, now in its 17th week, was described as "95 percent effective" in the testimony of the bus company manager during the four-day trial. Why it is effective was clearly explained by a parade of 34 defense witnesses who took the stand to relate their experiences on the buses. Most of the defense wit-

nesses and Negro spectators wore small white paper crosses bearing the words, "Father forgive them."

The witnesses poured out the grievances and demands from the Jim Crow waiting room of the South and told the world they don't want to wait any longer for justice and equality. Wave after wave of solidarity with the witnesses surged fourth from among the spectators packing the courtroom.

"Even though you feel that way," the judge told them, "you will have to be quiet in the courtroom." Yet they couldn't wholly repress themselves. Outbursts of assent, expressions of indignation, flashes of humor kept breaking through. As the Montgomery Advertiser described it, "The atmosphere is unique in a unique case involving a unique set of charges."

I have seen nothing like the rank-and-file outpouring of grievances here since my days in the rising union movement of the Thirties. Now as then, a deep well of resentment has been tapped. A burning desire to seek redress has arisen. A growing determination to get action has taken hold.

One woman began to tell her story before the lawyers could ask her any questions. Another, when asked if she had had any unpleasant experiences on the transportation system, began her answer, "In 1919..." The judge ruled testimony could go back no more than ten years.

Irritated by objections from the prosecutor, a witness turned to him and said, "I'll tell you how I feel if you'll just let me talk." A typical bit of testimony went like this:

Q. How long have you lived in Montgomery?

A. I've lived here since I'm large enough to know myself.

Q. Have you had any experience?

(Continued on page 2)

SWP Placed on Ballot For '56 in N. J. and Pa.

By Carol Lynn

March 27 — Preparations for the 1956 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party moved into high gear last week as party organizations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey filed nominating petitions for the party's national and state slates.

They designated Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President of the United States. The candidates have now been officially certified for the ballot in both states.

The nominating petition presented in Pennsylvania was signed by nearly 20,000 voters. Together with the slate of presidential electors, it nominated Herbert Lewin for U. S. Senator. Levin, a Westinghouse striker and well-known in the Philadelphia area for his union activities, is a veteran socialist campaigner. Because of provisions in the

state's election law, the Socialist Workers Party will appear as the Militant Workers Party in Pennsylvania.

The New Jersey nominating petition was signed by 1,200 voters. It designated presidential electors and also nominated Daniel Roberts for Congress from the 12th District. Roberts is Newark chairman of the SWP.

DOBBS IN MONTGOMERY

Meanwhile, Farrell Dobbs, the SWP National Committee's presidential nominee, covered the trial of the bus segregation protest leaders in Montgomery, Ala. There he was interviewed by the Advertiser, the city's leading daily and appeared on two radio programs giving vigorous support to the freedom fight being waged by Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes. Dobbs is now launching a tour of Northern industrial cities to campaign for support to their fight.

On March 14, Myra Tanner Weiss, the SWP National Committee's vice-presidential nom-

inee, made her first public address of the 1956 campaign at Harvard University under auspices of the Social Democratic Forum. Over 175 students heard Mrs. Weiss speak on the relation of Marxist philosophy to the political problems of the world today.

At a meeting of a campaign staff made up of volunteer workers, National Campaign Chairman Arthur Sharon stated: "Putting the SWP on the ballot and bringing its program before the working people is the most effective way we have to promote the struggle for civil rights. Our spokesmen will utilize the public platform to expose the shameful record of both Republican and Democratic Party."

He appealed to class conscious workers fed up with the two capitalist parties to campaign for the SWP and support its ticket financially. "Every dollar sent in will be converted into more campaign activity," Sharon said. "We have the program. We have the will. Nothing can stop us."

Foster's Phony Balance Sheet on Stalin

By Tom Kerry

William Z. Foster, head of the American Communist Party, has called upon CP members and supporters to curb their impatience for an explanation of the 20th Congress assault on the "Stalin cult." Wait, says Foster — touted on his recent 75th birthday as an outstanding Marxist theoretician, historian and scientist — until Moscow completes its re-evaluation of the Stalin era and then we'll have all the answers.

But the be-patient-and-wait line is not meeting with much favor. A letter by a reader of the Daily Worker published in the March 23 issue, complains that Foster "seems to be suggesting that American Marxists should not themselves attempt to re-evaluation the Stalin era but should leave this to the Russians." The writer of the letter protests against the practice of accepting "automatically and uncritically" the views of Soviet leaders—who are, after all," he adds, "not without responsibility

for Stalin's errors." And, the letter concludes, "It seems all too clear that there has been a good deal too much at 'leaving it to the Russians' already."

THE DILEMMA

The leaders of the American CP are caught on the horns of a dilemma. Since the 20th Congress opened fire on the "Stalin cult" it has made front page copy for newspapers throughout the country. Motivated by internal necessity the bureaucrats in the Kremlin are proceeding cautiously. The tempo and scope of their anti-Stalin campaign is determined by the response of the Soviet masses and the degree of pressure exerted upon the Kremlin by the mounting discontent of the Soviet workers and peasants.

Thus, the nature and extent of Stalin's crimes are permitted to trickle through only in piecemeal fashion. The capitalist press pounces gleefully upon each succeeding revelation to serve its own reactionary aims. While the leaders of the American CP would prefer to wait until all the "facts" were in, they cannot and they dare not. Their own ranks, fed for years on the myth

of Stalin's infallibility, clamor for an explanation. Unless an acceptable explanation is forthcoming Foster's vaunted "Marxist science" would be exposed for what it is: a readiness to accept "automatically and uncritically" the views of those who shared responsibility for Stalin's crimes.

Foster, of course, has an explanation. With slight variations and amplifications it is repeated by his cohorts. The composite can be summarized as follows: the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union, the threat of imperialist attack, the bitter war for survival against Hitlerism, etc., justified the imposition of stringent "security measures," but Stalin went too far. On the other hand, to Stalin's credit, they assert, is his leadership in the war against Hitler, the industrialization of the Soviet Union, its growth and expansion, the building of socialism, etc., etc.

The method consists of drawing a balance of errors and achievements. By comparing the plus signs on one side of the ledger with the minus signs on the other, you get, in the words of Foster, a "more balanced pic-

ture of the role of Stalin." While this may be accepted procedure for the bookkeeping of a petty shopkeeper it can hardly be dignified by the name of Marxism. For with each revelation from the Kremlin the signs become scrambled, with minus replacing plus, with startling rapidity.

"MILITARY GENIUS"

For example, the legend of Stalin's military genius and leadership in the war against Hitlerism. In Foster's balance sheet, this myth appeared as a plus sign, on the very day that the world press disclosed that Khrushchev in a secret report to the 20th Congress flayed Stalin's 1937 frame-up purge of the Red Army General Staff headed by Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky. This crime beheaded the Red Army on the eve of the war and emboldened German imperialism in its preparation for attack upon the Soviet Union.

Subsequently, Walter Ulbricht, head of the East German CP, lashed Stalin for his failure "to prepare the country for war in the necessary manner, even though the aggression of Hitler Germany was foreseeable." Al-

though informed in advance of Hitler's impending attack Stalin refused to believe. When the blow fell it caught the Soviet people by surprise. The Red Army reeled back with frightful losses. A large part of the country was occupied and devastated. Latest figures estimate Soviet casualties at forty million. Only the most heroic resistance of the Russian workers and peasants averted the destruction of the Soviet state and guaranteed the victory.

Since the publication of his balance sheet, Foster has remained silent. Those members and supporters of the Communist Party who are seriously searching for an explanation of the events now transpiring in the Soviet Union will derive little satisfaction from the rationalizations of their leaders. What is required is a thorough-going political analysis of the origin, nature and development of Stalinism and the Stalin cult from the very beginning. Such a Marxist explanation can be found only in the writings of Leon Trotsky and his disciples whose analysis has met the acid test of Marxist science—the test of historical confirmation.

More Attacks On Stalin Cult In the USSR

By Daniel Roberts

The campaign against the Stalin cult is being stepped up throughout the Soviet Union. Reports of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party last month where the cult was denounced are being made at meetings of factory workers, collective farms, Young Communist League units, etc. Top Kremlin officials such as Mikoyan and Pervukhin addressed meetings at huge plants in Moscow attended by 50,000 workers each. Such a personal appearance at factories by top party leaders is a rare event.

These attacks on Stalin as a personal dictator made at public sessions of the 20th Congress are being reported throughout the Soviet Union. To these are added the contents of a speech made by Khrushchev at a secret session of the Congress. According to versions in the N.Y. Times and N.Y. Herald Tribune, it made the public attacks look like "milk and water."

Khrushchev denounced Stalin for the following crimes:

(1) Wholesale slaughter of Communist party members, including a charge that following one CPSU Congress, Stalin liquidated three-fourths of the delegates because they criticized him. (Continued on page 3)

Why Stevenson Lost in Minnesota

By George Lavan

The smashing victory of Senator Estes Kefauver in the Minnesota presidential primary has brought dismay to leaders of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

The top summit of the Repub-

lican Party learned from the Minnesota vote that Eisenhower's much-touted personal popularity was insufficient to stem a mass movement of small farmers, infuriated by their economic plight, from the Republican to the Democratic column. Such a shift throughout the farm belt could cost the election in November.

DEMOCRATS UNHAPPY TOO

Yet this prospect, which normally should cause jubilation in the Democratic high command, is completely overshadowed by the fact that the Minnesota primary demonstrated that its most likely candidate, Adlai Stevenson, the one who can best hold together the unholy alliance of Southern white supremacists, big city machines and labor, has little real popularity with the mass of the people. Kefauver has dealt Stevenson a stunning blow that may kill his chances for the nomination.

Why should farmers be in such a fury over economic conditions? Isn't there a boom on? Aren't food prices still high? The fact is that farmers — and particularly small farmers — have been undergoing for some years now a depression in the midst of what is advertised by the Eisenhower Administration as the country's greatest prosperity. Farm families' average income from all sources (some members of families work full or part time in industry) has dropped over 20% since 1947. Food prices remain high despite the drop in farm prices but this is because the food processing companies monopolistically keep up the prices to consumers and pocket the greater profit spread.

Farmer dissatisfaction with the decline of their income during the Republican regime impelled the switch to the Democrats. That most who crossed over, as well as those who regularly support the Democrats, voted for Kefauver rather than Stevenson is explained by Kefauver's bigger promises. His main plank was 100% parity for farmers whose income was well below \$7,000 a year. That includes all the small and a section of the middle farmers. He also denounced Wall Street.

The popular repudiation of Stevenson was not limited to farmers. Despite the backing of the liberal Senator Humphrey, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor machine and the labor bureaucracy, the anti-Stevenson trend was strong in the big cities. Kefauver carried the working-class districts of St. Paul and in Minneapolis trailed Stevenson only by slim margins.

JUST PLAIN DOUBLE-TALK

The vote is overwhelming proof that as of now the workers are uninspired by Stevenson's pro-

gram of straddling every issue in the name of "moderation." Moreover, pro-civil rights sections of the labor ranks and the Negro people, almost solidly, are disgusted by his sellout to the Southern white supremacists. Newspaper reports attributing Minnesota farmers' and workers' lack of appreciation for Stevenson's "brilliance and wit" to their uncouthness is a scurrilous version of the fact that the workers can recognize double-talk when they hear it.

Kefauver's good fortune was that he chanced to be used by Minnesota farmers, workers and Negro people as a vehicle for discontent with the economic situation, the cowardly "moderation" program of the Democratic leadership and machine-politics manipulation by discredited liberals like Senator Humphrey.

Despite Kefauver's apparent popularity, political observers almost unanimously gave him little chance of winning the Democratic nomination. This is because primaries are "eyewash" as Truman explained some years ago. The real powers controlling the two parties and their conventions are not the voters but the agents and allies of Big Business. None of these presidential-makers are for Kefauver. The Southern Democratic leaders consider the Tennessee Senator a turncoat for the limited extent he has gone on the civil rights issue. Kefauver's mild acceptance of the Supreme Court decision results from the fact that, unable to rise quickly in the Southern machine, he made a demagogic bid for Northern labor and Negro support. Yet even this weak stand looks good compared to Stevenson's pro-Southern position.

The Northern big city machines have nourished a hatred of Kefauver ever since he made a national reputation for himself at their expense by his televised probe of crime and corruption. Kefauver will in any case build up a force for himself at the convention. While it may not be able to nominate him, he will be able to trade it off in some deal assuring him of profitable results for all his handshaking and baby-kissing.

Unable to give an organizational form to their economic and political discontent because the once independent Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota was betrayed in 1939 when its leaders hitched it to the Democratic garbage wagon, Minnesota voters are now limited to a protest vote for Kefauver. An independent party of workers, farmers and minority peoples, not only in Minnesota but nationally, is the only answer to the question of how to do something effective about the situation.

THE MILITANT ARMY

An important sign of the times is the letter just received from Dick Clark who writes: "We need more Militants here in St. Louis, even though we ordered an increase only two weeks ago. So please increase our bundle again."

John Tabor reports enthusiastically from New York: "Right after the Montgomery racists ruled Rev. Martin Luther King guilty, he came up to Brooklyn to speak to a meeting of about 3,000 people. We sold nearly 800 Militants—that is, to one out of almost every three attending the meeting. Of the 26 people taking part in the sale, the high scorers were Priscilla Friend who sold 173 papers, Ann Mann with a sale of 98, and John Adams who sold 60. Bob Devon and Tom Welch were tied with 42 Militants each. The response to our salespeople and to the Militant was a warm and friendly one, especially as this issue has the big headline on the Montgomery fight being unshaken, over Farrell Dobbs' eye-witness account of the trial. Grey's cartoon got some good comments, like: "Look how easily this powerful giant is breaking through to freedom from his bonds."

About 400 copies were distributed to a meeting of the Communist Party on the 20th Congress with this same issue which carries James P. Cannon's speech on the death of the Stalin cult. About 100 copies of a previous issue was distributed to another meeting on the Soviet Congress held in the Jefferson School. At an earlier protest meeting in Brooklyn a couple of weeks ago

we sold 325 papers. The stars at that sale were Nate Weiss, 70 sold, Howard Barlow, 68, and Elaine Newby who sold 60—her first sales experience."

Both San Francisco and Seattle report excellent sales with the issues covering the Montgomery boycott, and the Twin Cities reports via Winifred Nelson: "A total of 76 papers and 40 Desegregation pamphlets at the NAACP meeting, to trade unionists and in neighborhood work. These sales were carried out by twelve salespeople."

John Collins writes from Detroit: "Eight Militant salesmen sold 130 copies of the March 12 issue at four meeting places. Special mention should be made of the fact that Ed Hamilton, Dotty Lessing and Bob Ford sold 47 copies of this issue at the Ford Local 600 Frame & Cold Header Unit meeting held March 17. This meeting was attended by 200 union members and heard Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Ala., speak. They took up a collection of \$600 for the Montgomery protest movement. On March 18 six of us sold 66 Militants at two large churches on the west side."

From Chicago: "In the past month 488 Militants and 177 pamphlets on Desegregation were sold by 18 people. The biggest single sale was 108 papers by John and Judy Wayne at an El station. We had a very friendly reception on the corner of a busy shopping district where John and Judy sold 62 papers. Kent Darrow, Ed Larsen and John Travis sold 52 papers to a meeting featuring Dr. Howard, and 45 were sold at the Pack-in-house union mass meeting for Dr. Howard by six sales people. Here we sold 50 of the Desegregation pamphlets."

(Continued from page 1)

periences where you have been mistreated?

A. All I know about is being mistreated. Evidence piled up showing that many Negroes had begun their own individual protests long before the mass protest action got under way. An elderly woman quit riding the buses in 1945 after she was put off for refusing to stoop down and pick up a penny from the floor. A girl of 26 quit riding six years ago when she said, her husband was shot by the police over an altercation on a bus. A man said he quit riding the buses "because they have nothing I want."

It was brought out that two other women had been arrested for refusing to give up their seats prior to the arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks on the same charge. Her arrest had precipitated the mass protest.

How the Negro people of Montgomery reached the boiling point was put plainly and simply by one witness. "I was ordered to get up and give my seat to a white man," she said. "I got off and walked. The farther I walked the madder I got. So I just kept on walking."

Case after case was cited where buses refused to stop for Negroes to get on, or carried them past

the point where they signalled to get off, sometimes so far beyond they had to take another bus back and pay an extra fare. Some told of being refused transfers. A woman said she was made to stand by the fare box all the way downtown, waiting for her change. A man told of being put off the bus for not having the right change.

A woman testified that she was passed up by four buses. When the fifth bus finally picked her up she sat in the next to last seat but was nevertheless ordered to yield her place to a white passenger. Another witness told of seeing a tired, elderly working woman made to stand beside an empty seat reserved for whites. She said she had never in her life seen a bus full of white people with some standing while there were empty seats in the Negro section.

Numerous instances were related where Negroes getting aboard buses at the front door were told when they started down the aisle toward the Jim Crow section, "Get out and go to the back door." It was said that the bus often pulled out after they had paid their fare but before they could reach the rear door. In protesting such abuses they pointed out that "money doesn't know white from colored."

Foul Abuse

Deep resentment was expressed because full-grown persons are called "boy" or "girl," never "Mister" or "Miss." Resentment grew to bitter anger when they voiced their feelings about being called "nigger" or "shine" or "black ape" or "black cow."

A woman testified that her blind husband, a disabled veteran, had the door slammed on his foot, injuring him, while alighting from a bus. A man told a story of humiliation, anguish and suffering involving his pregnant wife. She was near her time and they were on their way to the doctor to seek relief from the considerable pain she was having because of some unusual condition. The wife was ordered to give up her seat to a white passenger. "She looked to me, her husband, for protection," he said, "but there was nothing I could do."

A witness told of hearing a mother ordered to hush her crying baby or she would be put off the bus. Repeated cases were cited where mothers with babies in their arms had to stand over empty seats reserved for whites. In one

instance, it was said, a woman standing with a child in her arms was thrown down when the bus suddenly lurched.

Almost any selection of questions and answers on cross-examination will show how attempts to entrap witnesses into admissions of "conspiracy" tended to backfire. Here is a composite example taken from the testimony:

Q. Why did you quit riding the buses?

A. When anything happened to others I felt it also happened to me.

Q. When did you quit riding the buses?

A. We quit riding Dec. 5 because Rosa Parks was tried in court.

Q. Who is "we"?

A. The 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery.

Q. What did Rev. King say at the mass meetings you attended?

A. Let us pray.

Q. What did he say that you should do?

A. Fight for things that are right.

Try Being Colored

The feeling among the Negro people of the city seemed to have been pretty well summed up by a group of reporters by Mr. E. D. Nixon, a prominent railway union official and a central leader of the bus protest movement.

"White people tell us not to get so wrought up," he said. "I say to them: Put some shoe polish on your face and hands, go out onto the streets of Montgomery for an hour, and then come back and tell us not to get wrought up."

As the final witness for the defense, Rev. King summarized the demands of the protest movement. They are, he said: courteous treatment on the buses; seating on a first come, first served basis with no reserved seats; and the employment of Negro drivers on lines running into predominantly Negro neighborhoods. When asked who formulated these demands, he replied, "Four thousand people in a meeting at the Hope Street Baptist Church."

The prosecutor conceded in his final argument that "mistreatment had probably occurred" but

Three Out of 50,000

To the state's claim that Negroes had been intimidated out of riding buses, the defense answered that in the whole city of Montgomery only three people had been found to testify in support of the charge. Of these, it was pointed out, the testimony of one person was ordered thrown out by the judge. In the case of the remaining two people, one had been shown to be a courtesan and the other a maid in the service of Mayor Gayle's mother-in-law. The mayor had testified during the trial that he joined the White Citizens Council, an anti-Negro and pro-segregation organization, last January.

No one person started the protest movement, the defense

Resolved to Continue

Immediately upon the close of the summary arguments by the lawyers, Judge Eugene Carter pronounced Rev. King guilty. The state had elected to try him first when the defense invoked its legal right to demand a separate trial for each of the 90 defendants. The remaining 89 cases have been continued pending an appeal in Rev. King's case which will most likely go all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Stating that Rev. King "did try to keep down violence," the judge did not invoke the maximum penalty of six months imprisonment and \$1,000 fine. Instead he imposed a fine of \$500 or 140 days at hard labor, plus court costs. Rev. King was released on \$1,000 bond.

New financial burdens are now imposed upon the bus protest movement in carrying to the higher courts the legal battle

against the anti-boycott law which is just as deadly a weapon against the union movement as against the Negro people.

Funds are needed for a separate legal action begun in the Federal Courts attacking the Alabama segregation laws as unconstitutional. Aid is also required for the appeal of the conviction of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to get up and give her seat to a white man.

Meantime the Negro people of Montgomery have stated their firm resolve to continue the protest action. That means the car pool must be kept rolling. Toward that end members of the movement are making great sacrifices.

Office workers, telephone dis-

patchers and volunteer drivers for the car pool give their time without pay, asking no more than

enough aid to pay for their meals and other things they cannot do without. Yet even those modest needs add up when forces are required to transport some 50,000 people.

Friendly merchants shave the prices of things bought from them by the movement, but there are limits beyond which they cannot go without falling into bankruptcy. So considerable money is needed for gasoline, tires, car repairs and similar expenses. Since the people ride free, there is no revenue to help defray these costs.

Unusually close police supervision has resulted in about 30 traffic tickets during the past fortnight involving fines running as high as \$14 in individual cases. These must be paid.

People have been fired from their jobs for joining in the bus

protest action. Usually they find another job after a period of time. But in no case must they be allowed to go hungry while they are searching.

A key need of the protest movement is for station wagons. These are urgently required to help regularize and stabilize the operation of the car pool so the movement can maintain its staying power until the battle is won.

"If you learn of anyone who can donate a station wagon," a protest leader told me, "please tell them that we will be happy to send somebody after it, no matter where it may be."

According to official reports, it takes an iron minimum of around \$3,500 a week to keep the car pool alone in operation. On top of that there are heavy legal expenses for briefs, filing fees, court costs and similar items.

If these expenses are to be met, help must be received from all possible quarters and above all from the union movement. If the Negro people are to win their democratic rights, if the firm alliance of the unions and the Negro movement so imperative to the unionization of the South is to be forged, then the freedom fighters of Montgomery must be supported to the hilt and all the way to their final victory.

Nobody must be made to walk in Montgomery in order to stand by his principles. To prevent that added hardship to an already suffering people, the car pool must not be permitted to lack in financial sinews for its operation.

Send your contributions to the: Montgomery Improvement Association, 647 Clinton St., Montgomery 8, Alabama.

Dobbs Back from Montgomery; Opens Northern Tour in Detroit

Farrell Dobbs returned, March 25, from a five-day visit to Montgomery, Ala., where he reported for the Militant on the trial of the leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, indicted by the local authorities because of their protest struggle against Jim Crow buses. He immediately began plans for a tour of Northern cities to mobilize aid for the 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery who are engaged in the fight for their elementary democratic rights. His first stop will be in Detroit, Mich., where a meeting is being organized, April 6, to hear his report on the Montgomery struggle. The first meeting will be held at 3000 Grand River, Room 207.

"The fight for civil rights in this country has entered the stage of mass action where it belongs," Dobbs said. "The heroic struggle of 50,000 Negro people in Montgomery must be given every aid and assistance by the labor movement nationally. Our task, we who live in the North and West, is to mobilize the united support of the entire labor movement, its active aid. This is our struggle — this is our protest."

While in Montgomery Dobbs attended the four-day trial of Rev. King. On the first day of the trial he was interviewed by Joe Azbell, City Editor of the Montgomery Advertiser. Azbell, in addition to giving a personal and political account of Farrell Dobbs, quoted an exchange that



FARRELL DOBBS

said that while he could understand a problem existed, he could not sympathize with it because it was "wrong for a person to keep his foot on another person's head in a democracy and prevent that person from achieving his democratic rights."

When interviewed on radio

broadcasts over Montgomery's station WMGY, Dobbs appealed to the labor movement of Alabama to support the Montgomery Improvement Association in its fight against the anti-boycott law.

"This law," Dobbs pointed out to the radio audience, "was enacted in 1921 in an effort to prevent unionization of the coal miners in this area. On frequent occasions the Alabama State Federation of Labor, AFL, has gone on record against the law as unconstitutional. Now, in applying this law against the Negro protest movement, the authorities are shaming it for future use against the unions — just as the campaign to organize the South approaches."

"For their own self-protection," Dobbs insisted, "the unions of Montgomery and Alabama and throughout the country should have their best lawyers right there in the courtroom at the defense table ready to help the Negro defense lawyers fight off these attacks."

In his radio interviews Dobbs also explained the SWP's fight for a Labor Party in the United States as a means of giving political expression to the struggle of both Negro and white workers.

A NEW UPSURGE

Dobbs was especially impressed with the quality of the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement

Association. As one of those who organized the Minnesota labor movement in the great upsurge of the Thirties, Dobbs was struck with the capacity of this new mass movement for struggle and the tactical wisdom of its leaders.

Dobbs, who was called the "ace negotiator for the truck drivers" in the great organizing strikes of 1934 in Minnesota, ("American City" by Charles Rumford Walker), played a leading role in the drive to organize the over-the-road drivers throughout the mid-West between 1937 and 1939. As General Organizer for the Teamsters International in those years he had considerable experience with organizing problems, including states like Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, etc.

"It was in the spring of 1939," Dobbs related, "during a drivers' strike in Dallas, Texas, that I learned to the hilt what a decisive role the Negroes can play in the labor movement when unions organize on a completely integrated basis with full recognition of the right to complete equality. On such a basis labor can win its struggles. Without this principle stand the South will remain an open-shop territory."

"In the spirit generated by the protest movement in Montgomery lies the weapon that will organize the South. The labor movement must link itself to this fight for only by this means can the Jim Crow, anti-union forces of the South be beaten."

Myra Weiss Speaks at Harvard

The Harvard Social Democratic Forum sponsored a lecture on Dialectical Materialism, March 14, by Myra Tanner Weiss, the 1952 vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Marxist philosophy proved to be a very attractive subject to Harvard students. The forum was attended by 178 students, the largest turnout that the forum had experienced in a number of years.

The lecture was widely advertised with printed posters which made it clear that the subject would be handled by a Marxist. The lecture was also announced in some of the classes at Harvard, as well as in the Crimson, the Harvard student paper. The speech was recorded by the Harvard radio station for later broadcasting.

At the conclusion of the lecture dozens of questions from the students indicated their desire to learn more about the scientific method of Marxism. When the meeting was finally compelled to adjourn, the discussion was continued with a smaller group at the nearby apartment of one of the students until 4 A.M. in the morning.

A SPECIAL TARGET

Mrs. Weiss began her presentation by taking note of the fact that the term "dialectical materialism" which at one time was rarely even heard of by college students, is today encountered quite frequently, even in the daily press. As the methodology of Marxism is a special target for attacks by pro-capitalist writers, "But the fact that the term is frequently encountered today doesn't mean that it is understood any better," Mrs. Weiss said.

After outlining the origins and development of the logic of Marxism, Mrs. Weiss took up the question of the existence of objective law in social development. "No ruling class in history ever wanted or needed a scientific analysis of society," she pointed out. "Rulers only require justification for their rule. The capitalists are no exception. They want the academic institutions to defend capitalism. This is the motive of social studies in the universities today, not the dis-

power in the world in a matter of a few decades."

Marx's theory even provided the basis for the analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union, the emergence of a bureaucratic caste, the speaker explained. Since 1917 it is no longer necessary to verify Marxist theory exclusively by the consistency of its internal structure. Its views are already verified in history.

IMPORTANT WORK AHEAD

"Marxism does not enable us to answer all questions. Like scientific investigation in any field a great deal of work is needed to give us an ever more accurate concept of the social history of which we are the more or less conscious participants," Mrs. Weiss pointed out the urgent need for work in the science of Marxism and expressed confidence that the youth of this generation would make significant contributions to the further development of social science.

"Those of you who have a passion for scientific work and the courage to use your talent in the most difficult field of all, will be rewarded with the knowledge that there is no more important task than the one of resolving the social contradictions of man. The progress made in other fields of scientific endeavor cannot be put to the constructive use of society, until social problems are solved."

"However, Marx long ago discovered the laws of capitalist development," Mrs. Weiss continued, "laws as valid and demonstrable as in chemistry, physics or biology. The validity of scientific law is proven when it enables the scientist to accurately predict. Marxism has met this test."

"A century ago Marx's analysis led him to the conclusion that capitalism would be replaced with a socialist organization of production, a planned economy. The working class would bring this new social order into existence, Marx said. At that time the capitalists scoffed at the idea that the workers could take power and organize production on a planned basis. Only anarchy would result from such an attempt, they claimed. But in 1917 the workers took power in Russia. They organized a planned economy that made out of Russia the second largest industrial

power in the world in a matter of a few decades."

Marx's theory even provided the basis for the analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union, the emergence of a bureaucratic caste, the speaker explained. Since 1917 it is no longer necessary to verify Marxist theory exclusively by the consistency of its internal structure. Its views are already verified in history.

IMPORTANT WORK AHEAD

"Marxism does not enable us to answer all questions. Like scientific investigation in any field a great deal of work is needed to give us an ever more accurate concept of the social history of which we are the more or less conscious participants," Mrs. Weiss pointed out the urgent need for work in the science of Marxism and expressed confidence that the youth of this generation would make significant contributions to the further development of social science.

"Those of you who have a passion for scientific work and the courage to use your talent in the most difficult field of all, will be rewarded with the knowledge that there is no more important task than the one of resolving the social contradictions of man. The progress made in other fields of scientific endeavor cannot be put to the constructive use of society, until social problems are solved."

"However, Marx long ago discovered the laws of capitalist development," Mrs. Weiss continued, "laws as valid and demonstrable as in chemistry, physics or biology. The validity of scientific law is proven when it enables the scientist to accurately predict. Marxism has met this test."

"A century ago Marx's analysis led him to the conclusion that capitalism would be replaced with a socialist organization of production, a planned economy. The working class would bring this new social order into existence, Marx said. At that time the capitalists scoffed at the idea that the workers could take power and organize production on a planned basis. Only anarchy would result from such an attempt, they claimed. But in 1917 the workers took power in Russia. They organized a planned economy that made out of Russia the second largest industrial

Mrs. Weiss explained the laws of the dialectic, the nature of change, through the evolution of capitalist economy and political life. She showed how capitalist democracy, only one stage in the long struggle of man for freedom, came into existence, its present contradictions and its future prospects.

The lecture was received with warm applause. A number of students congratulated the speaker on her effective presentation of Marxist views.

DETROIT

Friday Night
Socialist Forum

Will Hear
FARRELL DOBBS

SWP Candidate for President
Just returned from Montgomery, Ala. trial of bus protest leaders

Speak On:
"The Unions and the Negro Movement"
Shaking the South"

Friday, April 6, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River

Rm. 207

Donation 25c.

Free for Unemployed

A Timely Pamphlet

The Suppressed Testament
Of Lenin

Including Leon Trotsky's article
On Lenin's Testament

Here is the full text of Lenin's testament in which he gave his "last advice on how to reorganize the party leadership" and proposed to remove Stalin from his post as General Secretary of the party. This document, and Trotsky's analysis of it, is now of wide interest in view of the latest development in the Soviet Union.

48 pages

25 cents

Order Your Copy from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Subscription \$3 per year:
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:
\$4.00 per year; \$2.50 for 6
months. Canadian: \$3.50 per
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.
Single Copies: 5¢ or more
copies 9¢ each in U.S., 7¢
each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 6-7466
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: ANNE CHESTER

Signed articles by contribu-
tors do not necessarily rep-
resent the MILITANT's policies.
These are expressed in its
editorial.

*Entered as second class
matter March 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York,
N.Y., under the act of March
3, 1879.

Vol. XX — No. 14

Monday, April 2, 1956

A Blow at Faceless Informers

Last October the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco handed down a decision (Parker v. Lester) declaring the witch hunt on the waterfront — the Coast Guard's screening of thousands of merchant seamen and other maritime workers out of their jobs — to be unconstitutional. This decision contained a strongly worded denunciation of the government's use of "derogatory" political information supplied by a stable of paid informers, vengeful individuals, pathological liars and mere gossips. It said a worker in private industry was entitled to due process of law including the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses against him.

The government announced it would appeal the decision but when the time limit for filing a brief with the Supreme Court was about to run out it asked for a two-month extension. Now that two-month extension has expired without the Department of Justice attorneys filing. Consequently the decision of the Appeals Court in San Francisco stands.

Why did the government back down on the appeal to the Supreme Court? Why does it thus allow one of the most devastating legal denunciations of the witch hunt to stand by default? The answer is that the government didn't have a legal leg to stand on. It feared that a Supreme Court verdict upholding the lower court would make even more authoritative the condemnation of its

system of paid informers, secret unsworn "testimony," and refusal to let a defendant know the evidence and witnesses against him.

Moreover, the Department of Justice and Coast Guard have been feverishly working up a new set of "port security" regulations by which they hope to get around the Court of Appeals decision and salvage most of the waterfront witch-hunt procedure. The new setup will probably take several years of legal testing. In the meantime the maritime witch-hunters will try to continue depriving of their livelihoods merchant seamen, longshoremen and others alleged to hold "verboten" political beliefs.

The decision of the Appeals Court in San Francisco declared unconstitutional the extension of the faceless informer system from federal employment to private industry. This is an important step in preventing the whole country from being inundated by trial by secret denunciation. It has already spread to defense industries and under the name of defense, anti-labor employers have been getting sweeping security classifications for whole factories only a small part of whose production is composed of arms orders.

This unconstitutional undermining of justice and the right to a fair trial must not only be stopped from spreading, it must be destroyed at its very source. The source is the witch hunt of workers in federal employment.

French Stalinists Betray Algeria

The Communist Party leaders in the Soviet Union and the rest of the world claim to be genuine defenders of the revolutionary struggle of colonial peoples for national independence. They again made a big pitch along these lines at the recently held 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

On March 13, the CP deputies in the French National Assembly gave the lie to this claim by voting for "Socialist" Premier Mollet's program for further repressive measures in Algeria. Over 300,000 French troops — including three NATO divisions — seek to crush the Algerian revolution for national independence.

There are nine million Arabs and Berbers living in Algeria making up the Algerian people. One million French settlers and huge Paris banks exploit and oppress the Algerians and strip the country's wealth. It is to end this tyranny that the Algerian people fight for its independence. But the CP voted to keep it in bondage.

At the recent 20th Congress of the CPSU the Stalinist chiefs proposed Popular Front alliances to Social Democrats and sections of the capitalist class. This part of the Congress program was lived up to fully by the French CP leaders. Their vote for Mollet's program of Algerian repression was the Popular Front in action. It confirms the denunciation of such class-collaborationist alliances made by revolutionary socialists. It is living proof of their contention that the Popular Front is a betrayal of the interests of the working people and service to imperialism.

Also at the 20th Congress, the Stalinist leaders offered a "peaceful coexistence" pact to U.S. imperialism. Again, by voting against the Algerian people's freedom fight, the French Stalinists tops put the "peaceful coexistence" program into action. They achieved a pact of sorts with U.S. imperialism, when on March 20, U.S. Ambassador to France Dillon declared that Washington, too, endorsed Mollet's criminal course in Algeria. The next day President Eisenhower added his blessing to it. Wall Street and the Kremlin thus joined hands against the Algerian liberation struggle.

The 20th Congress is supposed to have broken with Stalinism, but the decisions that flow from it follow right in Stalin's pattern. In 1937, the French Stalinist leaders were members of the government that voted to suppress Algerian nationalist organizations. They then belonged to a French Popular Front alliance promoted by Stalin and coordinated with his "peace pact" with French imperialism.

In 1945 — when Stalin and U.S. imperialism were united in the Yalta pact — the French CP leaders sanctioned the horrible butchery of the Algerian independence struggle in which 40,000 freedom fighters were massacred.

Communist Party workers who take the struggle against the Stalin cult seriously must demand of their leaders: Break with the foul Stalinist policy of Popular Fronts and class-collaborationist deals with imperialism! Return to the Leninist policy of giving unconditional support to any colonial people fighting for national independence!

The International Automation Race Is On

By Robert Chester

Sharpening competition for the world market is the logical outgrowth of capitalist industrial expansion. The driving necessity to find larger outlets for their products led to the economic and political clashes between the major powers that resulted in two World Wars.

The present international scene exhibits a relation of forces different from previous decades. The capitalist world market has been greatly restricted by the withdrawal of China, Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe in addition to the Soviet Union. Even though the United States has unchallenged supremacy in the capitalist sector, the struggle for solvency by Great Britain, France and West Germany forces them to try to broaden their own bases, if only a little.

COMPETITION GROWS

Competition between these countries is growing. West Germany, with its highest level of modern industry, raised on the ruins of World War II, is fast overtaking Great Britain. In the third quarter of 1955 it surpassed British production of steel. It is challenging British leadership in the export of autos, machinery and other products.

International competition in automation follows a similar pattern. It was reported to the Senate-House subcommittee on the Economic Report that there are plants in Western Europe "more highly automatic than anything we have got in this country." British scientists and engineers have made advances on a par with this country although British industry has lagged in its introduction of automation.

British firms, however, are now expanding production of automatic control mechanisms to fill the needs of the European market and to compete with the German automatic machine tool industry. American-owned Ford and General Motors plants in England and Germany are planning to introduce automated lines. The Daimler-Benz plant near Stuttgart is already using automated equipment of a high order.

A striking example of American international dominance was described in the Nov. 29, 1955 Wall Street Journal: "International Business Machines Corp.

is using its subsidiaries to exploit the European and World market. . . . IBM has achieved mass production in Europe by linking factories in France, Germany, Italy, Scotland and Holland into a production network. They have been progressively taking over IBM's world market in the last two and one-half years, formerly supplied by the U.S. . . . The European plants are producing models of the 'electronic brain' the following way. The plant at Milan supplies the feed units, while IBM Deutschland supplies the counters, the calculating parts, while the French company supplies the power units." The units can be assembled in any country as the demand requires.

The greatest race, however, is between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. While Soviet automation has lagged behind this country it shows potentialities for rapid acceleration in this field. American engineers have reported that the new huge Soviet computer they saw equals the best in this country. Nevin L. Bean, an engineer of the Ford Motor Company, praised an automatic ball bearing factory in the Soviet Union by commenting, "I have never seen a better example of automation in my life."

Russian engineers and scientists have been judged highly competent by their American counterparts. What has disturbed American officials more than anything else is the way that the Soviet Union has outpaced this country in its training of scientists, engineers and technicians. At the Washington hearings it was reported that Soviet engineers are being graduated at twice the rate, and technicians at thirty times the rate in this country. This can only forecast a phenomenal increase in their industrial expansion.

The most intense race of all is in the military field. Electronic controls and computers have moved to the fore as primary components of the new weapons of war. The speed of supersonic jet engines and rockets are far too great for manual control. Only automatic controls will do. Automatic tracking and firing devices require controls of the most advanced design — far in advance of those in industrial use. Industrial advance therefore lags behind military advances.

Planning for war has become

a necessary component of the American economy. While on the one hand, the officials in Washington strive to keep the Soviet Union and its allies economically isolated, on the other hand they find it necessary to bolster the economy at home. Military spending consumes over two-thirds of the national budget. If this were cut to any great extent the economy would go into crisis immediately.

ONLY MILITARY PLANS

It is only in preparing for war that capitalism exhibits a capacity for planning. The programs of atomic energy, rocket development etc., are carried through without any concern for "market conditions." Goals are achieved at a regulated and planned schedule. This contrast between planning for war and planlessness for peace is one of the most striking contradictions of capitalism.

Government war-spending pro-

grams, the artificial stimulant to the lagging economy, counteracted the recession of 1949 with the huge expenditures for the Korean war. The spending programs after the Korean war helped reduce the recession of 1954. However the mounting national debt sustained a steady inflationary pressure that kept undermining the workers' standard of living.

Thus the steady growth in productivity of American industry has brought the country to a new impasse. It cannot reduce debts and the inflationary pressure without cutting war expenditures. But if it does it perils the economy. Productivity has reached the point where industry can produce both weapons and consumer goods and still have a labor surplus. With a slight economic decline unemployment will reach critical proportions.

The final, desperate alternative for capitalism is H-bomb war of the most awesome pro-

portions — a test of whether civilization can even survive. The capitalist politicians who bring us to the "brink of war" only to draw back in fear have found, and can find, no other answer.

All the magnificent achievements of mankind are now perverted for destruction, not progress. "Modern bourgeois [capitalist] society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such a gigantic means of production and exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. . . . the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production. . . ."

So wrote Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in their famous Communist Manifesto of 1848. Their dramatic words carry even greater truth today.

Carnegie Hall Rally Hits Smith Act Persecutions

By John Thayer

NEW YORK, March 29 — Some 2,000 New Yorkers last night applauded speakers who called for an end to Smith Act prosecutions and repeal of the odious law. This important rally, called specifically to protest the Smith Act, was sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

For the event, the ECLC had prepared a special pamphlet entitled, "The Smith Act — Its Origin, Use and Abuse." A section of it recounts the first use of the Smith Act in 1941 in the Minneapolis Labor Trial of 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and union officials.

It is of interest that the meeting's chairman, J. Raymond Walsh, referred to the Minneapolis Smith Act trial and the fact that the Communist Party, now the victim of the same thought-control law, at that time applauded its use against the Trotskyists, their political opponents.

Walsh opened the meeting by declaring that it had been called because of the exceedingly critical emergency existing in the U.S. He then described the witch-hunt atmosphere and traced its legal basis in major part to the Smith Act. He called the Supreme Court ruling upholding that law "a long step in the destruction of the First Amendment."

Corliss Lamont, a founder of the ECLC and sponsor of the Bill of Rights Fund, which gives financial support to civil liberties cases, described the "paradoxical" situation in which the government, both under Eisenhower and Truman, has been the greatest law-breaker while those persecuted have been the upholders of the Constitution. He called all subsequent witch-hunt laws, the monstrous offspring of the Smith Act.

"The ECLC," said Lamont, "will defend anybody prosecuted under the Smith Act whether they be Trotskyists, Socialists, Communists, or even fascists."

Referring to the seizure and padlocking the night before of the Daily Worker, Lamont commented: "People often say to me, don't you think the tide in civil

liberties is turning? Well I don't know, but judging by the events of the past few days, if the tide was turning, it has turned right back again."

In closing he asserted: "We move ahead firm in the faith that the cause of freedom and civil liberties can never permanently be beaten in the United States — never, never, never."

Among messages read to the meeting, one from the Catholic Worker protested the padlocking of the Daily Worker as a violation of freedom of the press and declared that had the Communist paper been unable to publish, the Catholic Worker would have gladly offered its limited facilities.

Another, from I. F. Stone, an official of the ECLC and publisher of I. F. Stone's Weekly, denounced the government's padlocking of the Daily Worker on a tax pretext. Stone's message drew laughter from the audience when he suggested that perhaps soon "Stalin's mummy" would be dragged out of its mausoleum and sent to Attorney General Brownell for enshrinement in the Department of Justice.

In introducing the final speaker, the distinguished historian, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the chairman told how the Negro scholar had recently been denied the right to deliver a scheduled lecture in Levittown, a huge, lily-white, suburban development outside of New York. The ECLC had thereupon offered Dr. DuBois its platform for the speech he had intended to deliver.

Chairman Walsh then added: "Dr. DuBois is one of those who recognized the profile of the Smith Act from the first moment it was put on the statute books. When it was applied to the Minneapolis Trotskyists he helped form the Civil Rights Defense

Committee which raised funds for their defense. No summer soldier he in this war!" The audience gave Dr. DuBois a standing ovation.

DuBois compared the civil liberties situation prevailing in this country to the days of the Spanish Inquisition. He stated that the fight of the Negro people for their civil rights is inextricably bound up with the fate of liberty in America.

He said that the Southern ruling class is being told not to be alarmed or to act rashly because the North has no intention of enforcing the school desegregation ruling. In a masterful historical sketch, this dean of American historians, showed how Northern capital since 1876 had made peace with the Southern ruling class at the expense of Negro rights. The South was given the right to evade the law in return for promising not to touch Northern industry's pocket book by repudiation of the national debt or tariff revision. Northern capital is again telling the Southern properties classes: "We still stand willing to let you evade the law as long as you do not touch our money."

Referring to the heroic bus protest movement in Montgomery, DuBois emphasized the significance of the Negro people there choosing this type of action. "Led by clear thinking," he said "they have discovered that their race problem was at bottom an economic problem. Unwittingly they have discovered Karl Marx."

He predicted: "This protest beginning on buses will rise and spread to other areas. You cannot stop it." He also foretold the coming together of white and Negro labor in the South in a victorious struggle for economic and social emancipation.

Phila. Audience Hears Bus Protest Leader

By Joseph Grandy

PHILADELPHIA, March 25 — The mighty groundswell surging through the mass of the Negro people was given voice today in Philadelphia by Dr. Solomon S. Seay dean of the militant section of the Montgomery, Ala., Negro ministers.

A movement has developed in the Negro churches here to aid the Montgomery fighters for equality. Today's meeting at the AME Zion church was for the purpose of uniting these forces. The principal speaker, Dr. Seay, a native of the Montgomery area, not only shook all present with his electric presentation, but gave evidence that the mass militancy of the Negroes was forcing new concepts into the consciousness of the Negro clergy.

Many times he exhortated the Uncle Tom preachers, who, as he put it, "in exchange for second hand clothes," served as stooges for white supremacists, acting to stifle the bursting indignation of the Negro masses at their Jim Crow status. He related the terrible difficulties and dangers to those who, like himself, had fought back through the long years. He warned that those who undertook that fight have to be prepared to give their life if necessary.

Furthermore, he pointed out that the Montgomery struggle was not a spontaneous outburst and not to expect similar fights unless dangerous and hard work in preparation had preceded it. "Montgomery, a hot bed of social unrest, is an eruption of mass discontent." He related many incidents that had occurred over the years in Montgomery — of the insults and brutality, and the courageous work to rouse resist-

ance, until "the people of Montgomery got sick and tired and fed up and decided to do something."

He related how he had met an old grandmother walking to a visit five miles away in her bedroom slippers. She told him, "I'm walking now, so that my grandchildren will have a better day."

The Militant was warmly received at the meeting. Dr. Seay had bitter words for distortions appearing in the capitalist press, but when approached by a representative of The Militant calling attention to William Bundy's article on the bus protest, his face lit up. He eagerly asked for a copy of The Militant. (Bundy wrote on-the-scene accounts of the Montgomery struggle in the March 12, 19 and 26 issues of The Militant.)

Today's meeting at the AME Zion church, attended by 500 people, is one of a series organized by the Montgomery Relief Society. Over \$1,000 in cash was contributed. The audience raised it for those who "have the courage equal to their words and resolution." The next meeting will be held April 12 at 3800 Germantown Ave.

To Subscribe

To subscribe to The Militant send your name and address to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Enclose \$3 for one year's subscription or \$1.50 for 6 months. And while you're about it, why not take out a subscription for a friend? Help spread the truth by widening the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly.

... Attacks on Stalin Cult Mounting in the USSR

(Continued from page 1)

"He kept us all in terror," Khrushchev is quoted.

(2) Undermining the strength of the Red Army and placing the Soviet Union in mortal peril. Khrushchev charged that the 1937 "treason" case against Marshal Tukhachevsky and other high-ranking Red Army men, leading to their execution, had been fabricated; that 5,000 army officers had been killed in the purge; and that the executions brought the Soviet Union to the brink of disaster when Germany attacked in 1941, because the Red Army was almost overwhelmed.

(3) Ignoring advice from Churchill in June 1941 that Hitler was about to attack. This, Khrushchev charged, led to catastrophic losses for the Soviet population (40 million according to one estimate).

Only isolated reactions of the Soviet working class to the junking of Stalin have been reported in the capitalist press. The foreign correspondents in Russia have no contact with the workers. Yet the workers are precisely the ones whom the bureaucracy seeks to appease with the anti-Stalin measures as well as economic concessions.

The March 27 N.Y. Times reports an account in the Baku Worker, newspaper of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, of a meeting called of oil workers, who heard a spokesman denounce

the "cult of the personality."

"Quite right!" F. Guseinov, a machine operator is reported to have interjected. "This [the cult of the personality] led to something of which even our republic was an example. Bagirov also fancied himself as leader, glorified his personality in every way, surrounded himself with toadies and acted lawlessly and arbitrarily." Another machinist, Muraliyev, broke in angrily to declare: "And he destroyed old revolutionaries, honorable Bolsheviks who fought for Soviet power in Azerbaijan."

The anger of the workers is understandable. For years the monstrous Stalinist dictatorship was justified to them as absolutely necessary to defend the Soviet Union and assure its economic growth. Gritting their teeth, they submitted. Now the CP leaders tell the workers what they knew to be true all the time — namely, that the nightmarish tyranny brought the workers' state to the verge of destruction.

To try to lessen the anger over frame-ups and liquidations of old revolutionaries, the Kremlin has released from prison a number of the former leading Bolsheviks purged by Stalin or vindicated their name, where they had been liquidated. The latest Old Bolshevik to be freed from prison is Andrei Bubnov, member of the party's Central

Committee in 1917 and an active participant in the October insurrection. According to Leon Trotsky's biography of Stalin, Bubnov was purged because he refused to subscribe to Stalin's falsified version of the Russian Revolution. In this version Stalin denied Trotsky's role as the organizer of the overturn and ascribed the function to himself.

Meanwhile, the Soviet government itself implicitly exposed the frame-up character of the Moscow Trials. On March 27, a Soviet official, the deputy director of the Kirov Museum, told Jack Raymond of the N. Y. Times that "it was not known yet who was responsible" for Kirov's assassination in 1934. (Kirov, a Stalin appointee, was chief of the Leningrad section of the party at the time.) But in the Moscow Trials Zinoviev, Kamenyev and other close associates of Lenin "confessed" to the crime and implicated Trotsky. Then they were shot. The "confessions" supplied the only "evidence" for acts of "terrorism," "sabotage" and "espionage" they and Trotsky had allegedly committed. Now Kirov's death is no longer officially ascribed to Trotsky and others but to unknown "enemies of the people." This rips to shreds the "confessions" in the Moscow Trials and the treason charge leveled against its victims. It confirms the 1938 verdict of the International Commission of In-

quiry, headed by Prof. John Dewey that Trotsky and the other defendants were not guilty. Although the working class welcomes the repudiation of the Stalin cult and participates in its destruction, it has no tender feelings for Stalin's heirs. "With the limited propaganda materials at their command," reports the March 19 N.Y. Times, "the party workers [at factory and other meetings] were unable to answer such questions as: What were the present leaders of the Communist party doing during the years of Stalin's misrule and crimes?"

This question over which party leaders choke is an expression of non-confidence in the present Stalinist rulers, whom the workers correctly associate with Stalin's crimes. The question also rivets attention on their present deeds and prompts a demand for effective measures which would really wipe out the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste. Through this mechanism of accepting the liquidation of the Stalin cult but surrounding Stalin's heirs with the deepest mistrust, the political revolution that will wipe out Stalinism root and branch is set in motion.

In only one part of Russia have there been reported pro-Stalin expressions among the masses. This was in Georgia in the Caucasus. The N. Y. Times and other capitalist newspapers

British Barbed Wire in Cyprus



Children of Nicosia, trouble center of Cyprus, watch British soldier standing guard near barbed wire barricade set up to seal off a block in the city. Despite recently stepped-up British repression Cypriotes are fighting militantly for their freedom from imperialist oppression and the right to become a part of Greece.

The Negro Struggle

Lucy, We Salute Thee!

(The passionate solidarity felt by the people of Asia for the Negro struggle in America is vividly illustrated by the following poem which appeared in Samasamajist, published in Ceylon. Samasamajist is one of the newspapers of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, a Trotskyist organization and the leading working-class party of Ceylon. It has elected a strong bloc to Ceylon's parliament and the mayor of Colombo, the capital, is a member of the LSSP. — Ed.)

Fight on brave heart altho' the tempests
roar,
Your cause will be espoused from shore
to shore.
You symbolize the trials of your kin,
Whose crime is in the pigment of your
skin.
Time was when haughty whites bestrode
the earth,
And sacked and plundered what was ours
by birth;
For them the power, the sceptre and the
throne,
For us the right to suffer and to mourn.

Ah yes! to mourn a parent or a child,
A wife, a brother or a sister mild,
Whose precious lives were sacrificed to
make
The filthy lucre for their masters' sake.
No power can now resist the rising tide
Of truth and justice that is on the side

Of coloured millions who have broken free
Of bonds that held us in our slavery.
From proud resurgent China's martial
strand
To reawakened India's hallowed land,
From Indonesia on to Africa's coasts
Will rise the tidal wave of coloured hosts.

So fearless and with courage face the mob
Of savage beasts who will your freedom
rob.
From stones and missiles, Lucy, do not
flinch,
We will avenge you, — you, they dare not
lynch.

Yet should you fall a martyr, in your pain
Know that your blood has not been shed in
vain;
You'll symbolize the triumph of your race
O'er men whose hearts are blacker than
your face.

Mervyn Casie Chetty

Easter Monday, 1916

By John Black

Great social earthquakes are often preceded by smaller tremors. In 1916, one year before the Russian workers overthrew the Czar, the workers of oppressed Ireland struck a heroic blow at their British national oppressors in the midst of the first imperialist war in the historic Easter Rebellion. They proclaimed a Republic.

When the imperialist war engulfed Europe the labor bureaucracy of the Second International hastened to jump on the war chariots of their respective imperialist governments. James Connolly, Irish Marxist, labor organizer and inspirer of the Irish Socialist movement stood with the handful of steadfast internationalists, Lenin, Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg to characterize the slaughter as being "a war of nation against nation in the interest of royal freebooters and cosmopolitan thieves, . . . a thing accursed."

The war put the blight of class collaboration on the Socialist parties of Europe. But the workers of Dublin, tempered in the bloody strike struggles of 1913 set themselves the task of striking a blow against their English overlords and for the world workingclass. Connolly wrote: "Starting thus, Ireland may yet set the torch to a European conflagration that will not burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture are shriveled on the funeral pyre of the last war lord."

The greater part of the Irish nationalist leaders who had stood at the helm of the fight for independence buried the hatchet with the traditional enemy as soon as England found itself at war with its German competitor. There was a section that understood that England's difficulty was

Ireland's opportunity but it was Connolly and his Citizen's Army that pushed the preparation for an uprising.

What was the Citizen's Army which spearheaded the Easter Rebellion in 1916? During the strikes of 1913, which tied up the city of Dublin, Larkin and Connolly, leaders of the Transport Workers Union organized a Defense Guard of union men to provide protection against the bloody assaults of the police.

As the struggle deepened, Larkin addressed a mass meeting of the striking workers from the windows of Liberty Hall, headquarters of the Union. He told them that the struggle against the powerful forces arrayed against them, demanded courageous action, training and discipline in self defense against the class enemy.

It was at this public meeting that the Irish Citizen's Army was born and a few days later the capitalists of Ireland and the British rulers saw the first public parade of the workers' army in their dark green uniforms and slouch hats. Arms were acquired and training was given by professional military men who volunteered their services to the labor movement.

It was at the head of this army of labor that three years later Connolly and his brave associates fought their unforgettable battle. The Easter Rebellion, though drowned in blood, inspired the Irish masses to begin preparation for the great rising which won Irish independence. British imperialism showed that it understood the importance of Connolly even in defeat when it carried the twice-wounded man to the execution ground to be shot in the company of 14 of his fellow rebels.

BOOK BARGAINS

(Use this ad as your order form)

- THE PHILOSOPHY OF HEGEL** by W. T. Stace — the best exposition of the Hegelian dialectic from the idealist point of view. Out of print for decades. cloth \$3.95 □ paper \$1.98 □
- DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE U.S.** — edited by Herbert Aptheker, 2 vols. (originally \$9.00) \$3.95 □
- JACK LONDON — AMERICAN REBEL**, His Social Writings, by Philip Foner. Contains excellent biography. (originally \$3.50) \$1.95 □
- GEOGRAPHY OF HUNGER** by Jose de Castro. A famous scientist gives the facts and causes of mass poverty throughout the world. (originally \$5.00) \$1.25 □
- THE NEGRO FAMILY IN THE U.S.** by E. Franklin Frazier. A brilliant social study. (originally \$5.00) \$1.95 □
- THE SIN OF THE PROPHET** by Truman Nelson. Novel of abolitionist Boston and the deportation of fugitive slave Anthony Burns. (originally \$4.00) \$1.00 □
- THE BENDING CROSS** by Ray Ginger — best biography of Eugene V. Debs. (originally \$5.00) \$1.00 □
- INTERVIEW WITH INDIA** by John Frederick Muehl — travel book — social study of modern India. (originally \$3.50) \$1.00 □
- TWO FRIENDS OF MAN** by Ralph Kohn — William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. (originally \$5.00) \$1.00 □
- THE IRON HEEL** by Jack London. His outstanding socialist novel. \$2.00 □
- THE NEGRO GHETTO** by Robert Weaver — a study of segregated housing. (originally \$3.75) \$1.00 □
- KARL MARX AND THE CLOSE OF HIS SYSTEM** by Bohm-Bawerk, with a reply by Rudolph Hilferding — the ablest economic criticism of Marxism and a Marxist's answer. (originally \$3.50) \$1.25 □
- THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN** by James Kutcher — the story of one of the most important test cases against the witch hunt written by the victim. paper \$1.00 □
- THE JEWISH QUESTION — A MARXIST INTERPRETATION** by A. Leon — the pre-eminent book on the subject. cloth \$1.50 □ paper \$1.00 □
- HOMAGE TO CATALONIA** by George Orwell — a vivid account of revolution and counter-revolution in Loyalist Spain. paper \$1.25 □
- THE LOGIC OF MARXISM** by William F. Ward — popular study course on Marxist philosophy. (mimeographed, 73 pages) \$1.00 □
- WHAT IS ECONOMICS?** by Rosa Luxemburg — first English translation. (mimeographed, 54 pages, stiff covers) \$1.00 □
- Books by Leon Trotsky**
- STALIN — A BIOGRAPHY** cloth \$3.50 □
- THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMINTERN** Vol. I (cloth only) \$3.50 □ Vol. II (paper only) \$3.00 □ Both for \$6.00 □
- THE LIVING THOUGHTS OF KARL MARX** cloth \$1.50 □
- THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED** cloth \$2.50 □
- IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM** cloth \$2.50 □ paper \$2.00 □
- THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION — FROM OCTOBER TO BREST-LITOVSK** paper \$1.00 □
- THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY** by James P. Cannon. cloth \$2.50 □ paper \$2.00 □
- HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM** by James P. Cannon. cloth \$2.75 □ paper \$1.75 □
- THE FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY** by Karl Kautsky. (originally \$5.50) \$2.50 □

(Add 15c. per volume for mailing)

Make checks and money orders payable to
Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.
You can order books of all publishers through us.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX

MONDAY, APRIL 2, 1956

NUMBER 14

Westinghouse Corp. Settles

UE Signs Up; Lester, Pa. Local Still Out

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, March 29 — Yesterday the independent United Electrical Workers announced that they had reached agreement with the Westinghouse Corp. on a contract essentially the same as the one agreed to by the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO) last week. One difference is that so far no UE workers have been victimized because of strike activity. It will be recalled that the IUE settlement submitted to arbitration the cases of 36 workers fired by Westinghouse for their militant activity during the strike.

The signing of a national agreement by UE however has not affected local 107 which is continuing its strike against Westinghouse at Lester, Pa.

There the Westinghouse Corporation is trying to jam a 20% pay slash down the throats of the 6,000 members of local 107 who have been manning the picket line since Oct. 14 following a company lockout. At that time the company refused to operate the plant under a supplementary agreement while a new contract was being negotiated and forced the workers out on the street.

Since then local 107 has been standing firm in the face of a vigorous union-busting attempt by Westinghouse.

Following are some of the weapons used in this attempt:

When the company attempted to herd scabs through the picket lines with the aid of local cops the resultant violence led to the arrest of 26 strike leaders. In a strikebreaking decision, Judge Sweeney sentenced them to an "indefinite" term. He said afterwards, "I'll have to see how they comport themselves in prison and how the rest of the union comports itself."

The line in the capitalist press was that the strikers "deserved jail."

In addition the capitalist dailies are carrying full-page ads deliberately distorting the issues in the strike. Radio and TV time purchased by the company has spewed forth a union-busting line since the strike began.

The federal government bolstered Westinghouse's "morale" by awarding it government contracts worth more than \$11,000,000. The U.S. Navy brass also offered "aid and comfort" to Westinghouse by granting it contracts in excess of \$22,000,000.

When we add to this a scurrilous red-baiting attack by the federal government directed against the independent UE the strike of local 107 takes on heroic proportions.

It must also be said that the role of the official leadership of the AFL-CIO in relation to the independent union was treacherous during the Westinghouse strike. IUE president, James Carey, refused to enter into joint negotiations with the UE despite the fact that the two unions were confronting a common enemy.

However this did not prevent the labor movement in the Philadelphia area from rallying to and supporting local 107.

When the 26 leaders of the UE were convicted and sentenced to "indefinite terms," a mass meeting of more than 3,000 rank and file unionists heard representatives of 71 AFL-CIO unions in the area bitterly denounce Westinghouse and its supporters. What is more important the meeting pledged support to local 107 for the duration of the strike. This has been forthcoming in the form of aid on the picket line and financial contributions. Some locals have even "adopted" hard-hit strikers' families.

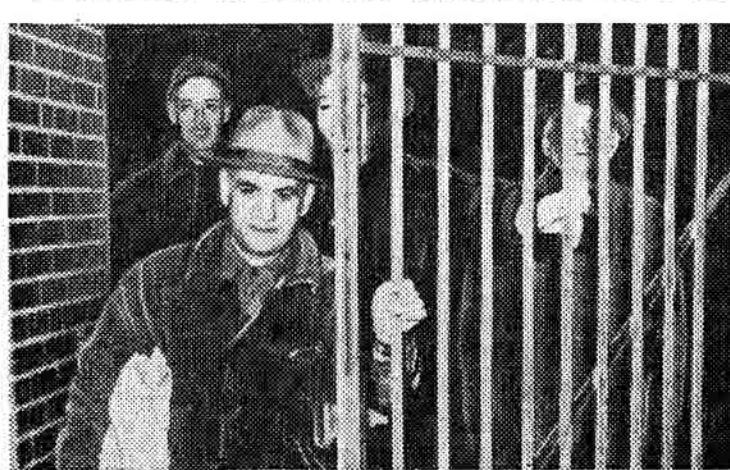
More of the same support is needed as long as 107 remains on strike. There is a grave danger that Westinghouse will follow up its failure to bust the national UE and IUE by attempting to smash local 107.

CLEVELAND

Farrell Dobbs

SWP Candidate for President
Will Speak on:
"Labor and the Negro Movement in the South"
Dobbs has just returned from Montgomery, Ala. where he covered the trial of the bus protest leaders for the Militant
Wednesday, April 11, 8:00 P.M.
10609 Superior Ave.
Auspices: The Militant Forum

STRIKERS BACK AT WESTINGHOUSE



One of the longest and most bitterly fought strikes in the history of the country ends as Westinghouse workers return to work after 156 days. Al Thomas, a picket captain is seen entering the same gate at the Pittsburgh plant where formerly he carried on picket duty.

Buffalo Strikers Pose Questions to Officials

BUFFALO, March 25 — Out of 40 locals represented on the Westinghouse Conference Board two locals voted against the settlement: Buffalo, N. Y. and Bloomfield, N. J. The vote of the Buffalo delegation

was without significance. This local has great weight in the international union on the basis of its militant tradition. In 1951, it engaged in a 13-week magnificent struggle against the Corporation and won most of its demands. In this year's strike the workers kept the plant shut as tight as a drum. High pressure efforts of foremen and supervisors to drag some workers to scab proved to be a complete flop. And this in spite of hundreds if not thousands of phone calls to strikers and their wives.

The militant elements in the local which has about 4,000 workers foresaw the coming developments and passed a motion instructing their delegates to vote against the five-year contract and a percentage increase. The percentage increase favors the higher paid workers at the expense of the lower paid groups which are the overwhelming majority of the workers. It also sows division and discord among the workers.

To fight this company method of divide and conquer, delegates at the IUE National Convention made sure to pass resolutions for across-the-board increases and against the percentage method. But somehow the top IUE bureaucrats found a way to get around the resolution passed at the Convention. It was, therefore, with good reason that the local instructed their delegates on this issue as well as the five-year contract.

NO MEMBERSHIP MEETING

While the local conducted itself in a splendid manner throughout the strike and this made itself felt at the Conference Board and during negotiations with the company, the same thing can't be said of the local officials, particularly Ted Weirzbec, the local president. During the course of the entire 156-day strike he refused to call a membership meeting of the workers. In this way he stifled the initiative of the members and gave a false impression that hardly any struggle existed in the key Buffalo area. The real reason for Weirzbec's failure to call a membership meeting was

his fear of the militancy of the rank and file.
Weirzbec called a membership meeting only after the Conference Board voted for the settlement. Then it was safe to call one. No actual vote could be taken at the meeting on the contract because a two-third vote of the Conference Board actually terminated the strike and made the settlement binding on the membership.

The clause in the IUE Constitution permitting the Conference Board to terminate a strike without membership approval is undemocratic and has been opposed by the Buffalo local and many others. At the membership meeting the local President was bombarded with questions such as "Why didn't you call a meeting during the strike?" and "What is the difference between the settlement and the original proposal?"

In the mind of many of the members the worst feature of the settlement was the disposition of the cases of the 36 workers originally discharged. The settlement provided that each local would take care of its own. This is comparable to letting each department in a plant decide for itself on a grievance.

To most workers in the Buffalo plant, the Westinghouse Corporation appeared much weaker than the union. This was made plain to all by the eagerness of the supervisors and foremen to be super-friendly our first day back to work. They greeted each with a handshake and a smile. The machines were spotless and in some cases were painted in three-tone colors. New equipment was available and old equipment was repaired.

There was no cracking down on words of discipline to the workers by the supervisors, individually or collectively. This was due to the fact that militancy was very high. In general the workers feel the union made gains and actually had the corporation beat. That more was not won is the fault of weak leadership.

Winter 1956 Issue of Marxist Quarterly

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Contents

- The New Precedents in the Kutcher Case
An Editorial
The Debs Centennial
by James P. Cannon
Nationalism and Economic Life
by Leon Trotsky
The Workers' Stake in Bourgeois Culture
by Trent Hutter
Early Years of the American Communist Movement
Origins of the Labor Party Policy
After the 1924 Elections
The Beginning of the Degeneration
by James P. Cannon
Books:
On the Politics of Outer Mongolia
by Joseph Hansen
How Honest is Honest Weight?
by Paul Abbott
Labor Leaders on Automation
by Robert Chester
35 cents a copy \$1.25 a year

Order from
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Sharon, Pa. Strikers Force Company to Back Down on Suspensions

By J. Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN, March 23 — Local 617 of the IUE-CIO at the Sharon, Pa., Westinghouse plant refused to follow the decision of the union's Conference Board when it agreed to end the strike of the electrical workers. The local refused to return to work because the nine strikers who had been given indefinite suspensions at the local plant weren't assured that they would be re-hired.

Because the strikers refused to return to work even though the picket lines were removed, the local union was able to force management to modify the company's "disciplinary" action to the extent that eight of the nine involved will carry suspensions of from 30 days to one year and one striker was fired for alleged picket line violence. The union still is not satisfied and will continue its fight to reduce these penalties further.

This is the kind of militancy that was developed throughout the country in this union which conducted the longest strike in a major industry in the last 20 years. And it was because of this militancy that the union got as good a settlement as it did on all the issues that were in dispute. It was this kind of unionism that forced the Conference Board and the leadership of the union to reject the federal mediators' proposals a few weeks ago. It was this kind of solidarity that convinced Westinghouse that it could not break the union in this strike.

That was the kind of militancy that was developed throughout the country in this union which conducted the longest strike in a major industry in the last 20 years. And it was because of this militancy that the union got as good a settlement as it did on all the issues that were in dispute. It was this kind of unionism that forced the Conference Board and the leadership of the union to reject the federal mediators' proposals a few weeks ago. It was this kind of solidarity that convinced Westinghouse that it could not break the union in this strike.

THE TWO ISSUES
The strike was caused over two issues. One was wages and the other was the matter of time studies. No other issues were negotiable according to the 1954 contract. But the company wished to take the union on and decided to break the 1954 contract. It insisted that the contract be reopened and made into a five-year contract, claiming that it had to have this because its competitor, General Electric, also had a five-year agreement.

On the matter of wages, the company countered the 15 cent demand of the union with a package offer of 24 cents for the next five years. On the matter of time studies, management insisted that it had the sole right to determine the time-study problem and could not delegate any of this right to the union.

The agreement compromised most of the differences. The company got its five-year contract with the modification that in 1957 the contract can be reopened on non-economic issues, and in 1958, it can be reopened for supplemental wage payment clauses similar to the GAW. On a local level, the contract can be reopened with the right to strike on wages. (This is not much of a concession since huge corporations can lick the union in these one-at-a-time fights.)

On the much disputed time-study problem, the Corporation agreed that it would not put over 1,600 on production standards, outside of Buffalo, whereas originally Westinghouse insisted that all of its 20,000 could be so covered. In addition, the Corporation agreed not to change conditions of work as to standards and classifications, without the union having some voice.

On wages, the union and the company agreed to a wage pack-

age under which the workers would receive at least a five-cent-an-hour raise each year, and that the raises would be about 3% per year.

As for the disposition of the fired 93 workers, management agreed to take back 57 immediately and wanted to have the remaining 36 cases of fired workers processed through grievance procedure with arbitration. The union insisted that they should not be discharged so they were suspended indefinitely. At the Sharon plant even these indefinite suspensions were reduced.

A BITTER WAR
The strike from the beginning became a bitter war of attrition. The company, one of the first major companies to try it, started a back-to-work movement in December, about two months after the strike began. The union, on its side, received financial aid from the labor movement and the Corporation received the customary support from the government and other corporations. But the labor movement, because of its timid leadership, refused to give more militant support that would have helped to shorten the strike. The mere mention of a one-day sympathy strike by the rest of the CIO in Columbus terrorized the labor bureaucrats. But it was just such action that was necessary to aid the strike. Rather than do that, the leaders were appealing to the capitalist politicians and to the stockholders, as if they would help to win the strike for them.

Past policies of the union officials also weakened the strike. The union leadership previously agreed to incentive plans—designed for speed-up purposes. The union fought for higher incentives and the hourly wage rate as a result remained relatively low. Now when the Corporation wanted to remove many workers from the incentive plan, the workers would have taken a great cut in take-home pay.

The union bureaucrats furthermore helped the witch hunters penetrate the union and split the ranks. This crime against union democracy and solidarity considerably weakened the fighting power of the union.

The strike at Westinghouse was often termed the first automation strike because the time-study problem was the direct result of new automated devices used at the plants. At the Pittsburgh plant alone there has been so much automation installed that a worker has to have 13 years seniority to even hold a job in the plant. But the settlement did not provide for full solution of the automation problem. The fight for more incentive plans is in the opposite direction. This brings on more speed-up and not less. The call for a shorter working week with no loss in take-home pay would have been a more realistic answer to the automation problem.

The Westinghouse workers again demonstrated that these corporations cannot break the powerful labor movement in this country without a terrific struggle; they have demonstrated that even with a weak leadership they will not be defeated. But they have also demonstrated what a terrible price—five and a half months of strike to gain so little—the workers have to pay for the false and weak leadership of the labor movement.

Now Available!

Bound Volume of 1955 Militant

An invaluable permanent record of the year's major national and international developments reported and analyzed from the Marxist viewpoint:
The Southern strike wave . . . auto "wildcat" strikes . . . the school desegregation fight . . . the Emmett Till lynching and protest movement . . . automation developments . . . informers recant . . . the Kremlin rehabilitates Tito . . . the "Geneva spirit" . . . the Yalta papers . . . the Bandung Conference and rise of the colonial struggle . . . and many other important events are treated.

Order Your Copy Now! From The Militant

116 University Pl., New York 3, New York

Price: \$6.00