

President Uses Racist Formula To Fight Rider

By Herman Chauka

FEB. 1 — At his Jan. 25 press conference, President Eisenhower threw the weight of his office behind the formula that school desegregation must be achieved "gradually." This is the argument used by the white supremacy defenders throughout the South to defeat integration. Eisenhower lined up with the racists in opposition to an anti-segregation amendment proposed by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) to the school construction bill. The rider would bar federal aid to states maintaining segregated schools.

GRADUALISM

When a similar amendment was offered last year to the military reserve bill, Eisenhower opposed it on the pretext that it was "extraneous" and that it would defeat the "urgently needed" measure. He was more brazen about his opposition to the anti-Jim Crow school rider. School building, he piously declared, must begin "now," but the Supreme Court anti-segregation decision "must be implemented gradually."

In its original decision in May 1954 the high court flatly declared Jim Crow schools to be unconstitutional. In its implementing decision the following May, the court made a major concession to the white supremacists by refusing to set an early deadline for compliance. Instead, it passed the buck to the federal district judges — who in the South are under immediate pressure of the racists — and charged them with seeing to it that the ruling was enforced "with deliberate speed" (a purposely vague phrase).

Eisenhower has now interpreted the ruling for the district judges. "The Supreme Court... provided, and specifically provided, there be a gradual im-

plementation, and referred it back to the district courts, so that it should be gradual," he told the press. The President thus made common cause with all Jim Crow apologists who proclaim the need for the South to work the race problem out "gradually" for itself — even if it should take a few hundred years.

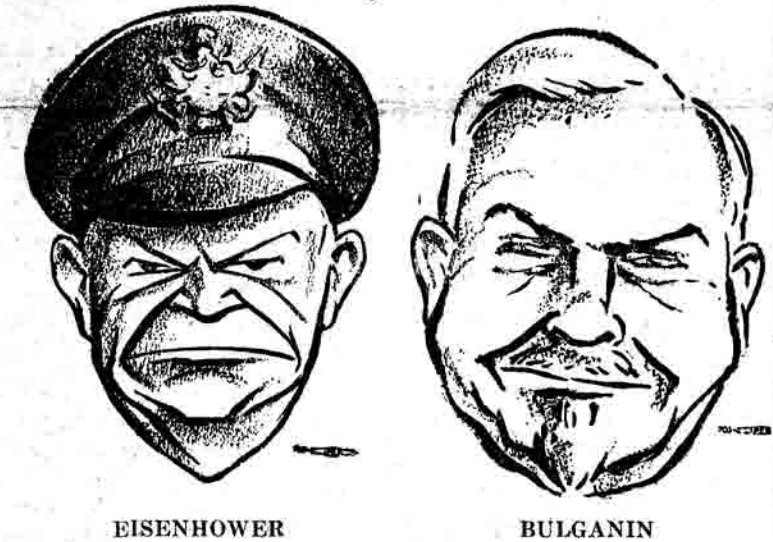
DEMOCRATS' POSITION

Appeasement of Dixiecrats on the desegregation issue is not confined to Eisenhower and his party. Northern liberal Democrats and their supporters in the union officialdom are attempting to alibi their shameful failure to support the Powell amendment with these two arguments: (1) the time-worn "lesser evil" plea, that the amendment might defeat passage of the school aid bill; (2) the rider is really unnecessary since the government already has power to bar aid to states that defy the Supreme Court ruling.

The struggle to abolish Jim Crow is one of the most crucial issues confronting the labor movement today. The Powell amendment offers the one immediate opportunity in Congress to deliver a stinging blow to the racists. To pass up the chance to strike such a blow on any account — and especially for the many school aid bill presented by the Administration — is a cruel betrayal of the Negro people.

In Hillsboro, Ohio, Negro mothers and children picket the Jim Crow school every morning, then go home where the children (Continued on page 2)

Exchange Letters



EISENHOWER

BULGANIN

Why Eisenhower Said "No" to 20-Year Pact

By Myra Tanner Weiss

President Eisenhower received a letter from Soviet Premier Bulganin, Jan. 25, proposing a 20-year treaty of "friendship and cooperation." Four days later the American people were informed of its contents and at the same time told that the U.S. answer was "no." Eisenhower, as President, has the power to make treaties only with the consent of the Senate. Presumably he doesn't have to get that consent to reject a treaty offer.

Even if Eisenhower had consulted with the legislative branch of office, the answer would have been the same, for the Senate is just as upset by Soviet peace offers as the Administration. But if the American people had been consulted — fairly and directly — the answer might well have been different. For the overwhelming majority of the people in this country do not want war. Their opinions may be heavily influenced by a monopolized Big Business press. Still, the average American who makes no profit from either war or the conquest of the world, would probably find no difficulty in saying — "O.K. We agree. Do you?"

THE DIPLOMATIC DILEMMA

The capitalist press informed us that everyone, everywhere, was satisfied with Eisenhower's reply. But there was a note of regret at the difficulty the U.S. has in meeting this new peace offensive of the Soviet Union.

The liberal N. Y. Post, Jan. 30, editorially moaned about the press handling of the Eisenhower reply. It quoted one headline that read: "The Answers Bulgy's Peace-Pact Bid: NO!" The Post editor writes that what matters is how such a headline "looks when reproduced in Europe and Asia, where most of humanity is groping for a sign that our

civilization may be spared the ultimate agony of atomic war." Even the Wall Street Journal, which isn't overly concerned with anyone except its own Big Business clientele, expressed a wistful sadness at U.S. propaganda difficulties: "Though President Eisenhower's reply to Premier Bulganin's proposal for a twenty-year U.S.-Soviet non-aggression pact was admirable in tone and content, the exchange does illustrate a diplomatic dilemma the United States not infrequently finds itself in."

What is this diplomatic dilemma? The Soviet Union proposes a ban on nuclear weapons. The U.S. says "No." The Soviet Union proposes a ban on nuclear tests — because of radiation, these tests can never be kept secret. The U.S. says "No." The Soviet Union suggests agreement that each nation promise not to be the first to use the bomb. The U.S. says "No." (How could Dulles play his "brink" game, brandishing the H-bomb, if the U.S. were publicly committed not to be the first?)

This dilemma is not an accident. The Soviet Union has no monopoly on clever diplomats, who, with superior skill, can put the Washington experts on the spot time after time.

The dilemma arises out of the simple fact — buried under a mountain of cold-war propaganda — that the Soviet government genuinely wants peace with the U.S. This was not true of Germany in World War I or World War II. Germany had a capitalist economy. As a capitalist nation (Continued on page 3)

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"Inform or Go To Jail" Cases Reversed by Court

Inform-or-go-to-jail rulings were set back last week by U.S. Appeals Court reversals of two witch-hunt contempt convictions. The New Orleans court ruled an unfair trial in the March 1955 conviction of Harvey Matusow, confessed paid FBI informer who was jailed, not for lying, but for refusing to reiterate his lies in the second trial of one of the victims of his previous false testimony. The Washington court ruled that the Velde committee had asked non-pertinent questions of UAW organizer, John T. Watkins, when he testified without invoking the Fifth Amendment. He refused to testify about past associates, was fined \$500 and given a one-year suspended prison sentence in May 1955. The Watkins case ruling brought screams of protest from Sen. McCarthy who said that the judges who wrote it should be hauled up before a Senate committee for questioning.

Scab's Car Wrecked



An American flag, planted by Westinghouse strikers, waves triumphantly atop wreck of overturned car, which scabs attempted to drive through the picketlines at Columbus, Ohio. Columbus was the scene of the Jan. 3 savage police attack on picketline resulting in the killing of Troy Tadlock, a young striker.

The Shooting of a Union Organizer in Mississippi

An Editorial

The racist terror campaign against the Negro people in the South goes hand in hand with a bloody attack on all attempts to unionize this open-shop territory. The shooting of strikers and the lynching, bombing and beating of Negroes demonstrates the violent lengths to which the racists will go to preserve the open-shop, Jim Crow tradition of the South. It has netted the Southern capitalists billions of dollars in super-profits.

The two-pronged assault can be driven back and defeated only by the combined efforts of the Negro and white workers backed by the resources of the entire labor movement throughout the country.

In the heart of the Southern Jim Crow dictatorship — in Columbus, Miss. — Ed Blair, assistant organizing director of the AFL-CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was shot in the back, Jan. 16, while assisting the International Union of Electrical Workers in the organization of a picket line. Workers streamed to the Doctor's Hospital in Columbus to supply the constant blood transfusions that were required in Blair's battle for life.

The same week a striker was shot in Chapman, Alabama. The city judge, also on the company's payroll, jailed the strikers without bail while deputy sheriffs escorted scabs through the picket line. With the city authorities openly functioning as agents of the company, the union appealed to the federal Justice Department for intervention.

Gordon Knapp was seriously wounded by strikebreakers hired by tugboat owner J. W. Banta of Plaquemine, Louisiana. Three unions involved in the strike, the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Marine Engineers and the National Maritime Union, tried unsuccessfully to extradite the Banta thug suspected of shooting Knapp to Illinois. These unions, too, took their case to the federal Justice Department.

ment. As of last reports, Brownell's office still had taken no action.

Add these recent shootings of strikers to the October attack on a Packinghouse workers' meeting in Florida in which 12 unionists were struck by bullets, and it becomes quite clear that the racists have declared war against the unions as well as the Negro people.

The parallel is exact. Negroes are shot for demanding their civil rights in the South. All who attempt to organize unions are submitted to the same terror. Clearly, the victory against this open-shop Jim Crow terror will be won when the powerful labor movement of the North and West moves in on the South with all its strength, cutting across all boss-constructed color lines.

The organizing drive must be complete. It must include all workers on a completely integrated basis. It must mobilize the white and Negro workers together in self-defense against the anti-union, racist forces. From this unified power of the majority of Southern workers, the terrorists will recoil in fear. They will no longer dare to open fire on either Negroes or strikers. The offensive of the racists will be crushed.

The union movement, like the Negro people, finds that the federal government turns a deaf ear to those who are fighting to liberate the South from decades of backwardness. A march on Washington to demand federal protection for the victims of dictatorship would serve as a powerful pressure to break down official indifference and federal collusion with the racists.

But the surest way to smash the Jim Crow, anti-union terror is to unify the forces of the labor movement and the Negro people. This cannot wait. If the open shop is to be defeated in the South, if segregation is to be ended once and for all, the resources of the entire labor movement must be thrown into the battle.

Kutcher Carries Fight for His Job To White House

Westinghouse Strike Needs All-Out Help

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Jan. 31 — The Westinghouse strike has entered its sixteenth week with no sign of a break on either side. This giant corporation has set its course toward a humiliating defeat for the electrical workers unions. Big Business generally views this as an extremely important probing operation against the newly-merged labor movement. Standing as the first line of defense are 55,000 Westinghouse workers who have withstood everything this corporation has thrown at them and have become all the more militant and determined.

The principle issue of the strike is the demand of the company to have unreserved right to speed-up and rationalize its production without regard to its effect upon the workers involved. All the proposals for impartial fact-finding bodies made to date have been turned down by the corporation. They maintain that this province of free enterprise cannot be compromised.

To other mass production industries busily introducing automation or on the verge of doing so this issue is of paramount interest and concern. That is why Westinghouse is getting wide cooperation and aid in its war against the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers and the independent United Electrical Workers.

GOVT. HELP

Although the corporation has been virtually eliminated from the small appliance market, it is maintaining its place in the heavy industrial equipment market through the cooperation of competitors who are taking Westinghouse contracts on a friendly "help out" basis. The most important group of Westinghouse customers, the big utility corporations have assured Westinghouse of full sympathy and cooperation. The government has come to the aid of Westinghouse with new orders as was reported in the Jan. 23 Militant. It also did its bit by sending the Justice Department into action against the UE by citing it under the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act of 1954.

Slowly, but very slowly, the critical nature of this strike is penetrating the consciousness of the official labor movement. While money is being raised, there are only lone voices calling for an all-out campaign to come to the aid of the Westinghouse strikers. And this is exactly what is needed.

Mass Rally to Support Legless Vet Scheduled In New York, Feb. 17

By Harry Ring

JAN. 30 — In a stepped-up drive to win back his Veterans Administration job, legless veteran James Kutcher on Jan. 26 appealed directly to President Eisenhower to order the VA to reinstate him.

Kutcher's letter to Eisenhower recalls that he was honorably discharged from the army after losing his legs in the Italian campaign of World War II. Then after being equipped with artificial limbs he secured a file clerk's job with the VA. In 1948 he was fired solely for his avowed membership in the Socialist Workers Party which had been arbitrarily designated by the U.S. Attorney General as "subversive."

"Now, I belonged to the Socialist Workers Party before I was drafted, during my army service, and I still belong to it. I am a socialist and proud of it," the letter declares. "I intend to keep on belonging to the Socialist Workers Party as long as I think it is in the right."

Describing the public VA hearing where he won a reversal last month of that body's decision to cut off his disability pension, Kutcher said that at the hearing, "I was charged by faceless informers with 'giving aid and comfort to the enemy,' and 'rendering assistance to the enemy.' At the hearing it turned out that the charges were based on outright lies attributing to me ignorant and un-socialist statements plus such charges as being active in the Socialist Workers Party (which I never denied) and the fact that I wrote a letter to the editor of a newspaper defending civil liberties for the Communists (to whom I am opposed politically)."

"The VA committee," he continued, "decided not to take my pension away and I consider that a personal vindication against the lies of the faceless informers as well as a refutation of the monstrous charge that holding socialist beliefs is treason."

Since the VA has restored his pension, Kutcher asserted, it is only logical and consistent that they should restore his job.

"I don't expect you to approve of my political beliefs," Kutcher told the President, "but I hope

ATTENTION CHICAGO READERS

Kutcher Protest Meeting

hear:
Kenneth Douy
Ill. Dir. of ACLU
and
James Kutcher
Hamilton Hotel
(Madison and Dearborn)
Feb. 10, 8:00 P. M.

Meeting sponsored by leading Chicago citizens including:
Saul Alinsky, Joseph Brumberg, Jim Cunningham, Rev. Joseph M. Evans, Kermit Eby, Maynard Krueger, Edward Marciniak and many others.

that you will agree that the American tradition of political freedom means that I have a right to hold them without being persecuted as disloyal and a traitor and being kicked out of my job."

RIGHTS OF ALL VETERANS

Because Eisenhower commanded the troops in the last war, Kutcher expressed the hope that he would feel "a particular duty to protect all disabled veterans, no matter what their political beliefs, from being deprived of their pensions and to protect all veterans in their rights as citizens."

"Because the Veterans Administration is directly under the Executive branch of the government," Kutcher concluded, "I am writing to you in the hope that you will look into my case and order me restored to my job."

Additional support to Kutcher's fight came with a declaration, Jan. 20, by Warren K. Billings, defendant in the famous Mooney-Billings case. Hailing the victory in the pension case, Billings said, "Kutcher's fight is not over. He is still without his clerk's job from which he has been fired because he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Though it sometimes takes a long time in a seemingly endless fight, as I

(Continued on page 2)

The Role of the Negroes in American History

By Daniel Roberts

This is Negro History week. What is being celebrated by the Negro community and its allies are the inspiring struggles waged during the last 200 years by an extremely oppressed section of the U. S. population. The Negroes fought first to eman-

The Personal History Of a Negro CIO Militant (See Page Two)

cipate themselves from chattel slavery, then to win equality in all walks of American life.

Because revolutions are made by the oppressed, the Negroes have been in the vanguard of every revolutionary struggle in the U.S. Every time that the advancement of the country was at stake, the Negroes participated in the battle on the side of progress, pressing simultaneously for their own liberation. By their participation in the

mass demonstrations against the British from 1765 to 1776 and in the American Independence War until 1783, Negroes achieved the abolition of slavery throughout all Northern states. A Negro fugitive slave, Crispus Attucks, a lieutenant of Samuel Adams — was the first man to die for American independence during the Boston Massacre of 1774.

During the Civil War (the Second American Revolution), 200,000 Negro slaves ran away from the plantations and fought in the Union armies. President Lincoln declared that without their effort the North could not have won the war. It was their participation and pressure that led Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation on Jan. 1, 1863 abolishing slavery in the rebel states.

In the great upsurge of the CIO in the 1930's and 1940's — which clearly showed the revolutionary potential of the U. S. working class in a prologue to

the Third American Revolution — Negro militants wrote some of the most heroic pages. In turn their participation won the labor movement over to championing the demand for Negro equality.

The Negro people are again on the march for equality. Since the onset of World War II, there has been a steady migration of Negroes from the misery of Southern tenant farms to the urban centers of the South, North and West. They are leaving, intent on bettering their condition of life by taking jobs in industry. The Negro population — even in the South — has become urban in its majority.

New aspirations and hopes have taken root in the minds of hundreds of thousands of Negroes. As a result all manifestations of segregation and discrimination have become intolerable to them.

Even in boom times, they find themselves checked and blocked in getting jobs, in upgrading, in obtaining decent housing and de-

cent schools for their children. They escape from the openly proclaimed segregation and discrimination of the South only to find it enforced by more devious means in the North and West.

NEGRO GAINS

Ever since the March on Washington Movement in 1941, the Negro people have applied steady pressure on the government, on corporations and on the unions to obtain their civil rights.

They have forced many concessions. The most important of these were the Supreme Court decisions in 1954 and 1955 declaring unconstitutional segregation in the public school system and in public parks and playgrounds. The set of decisions gave the Negro masses encouragement and confidence in their struggle to wipe out all Jim Crow barriers, since it placed the law on their side.

However, the Big Business

dominated government, though forced to make the legal concession, has no intention of enforcing it. It permits racists in the South to defy the rulings with impunity and to organize a savage terror campaign against the Negroes to preserve the hated Jim Crow system.

The issue of civil rights in the South has become the focal point of U.S. politics today. Though the Jim Crow system originated primarily as a means of enforcing tenant farm exploitation, and this is losing its overriding importance in the Southern economy, Big Business is fighting desperately to maintain established racial patterns.

There are three main reasons for this:

(1) To prevent the unionization of the South and maintain the low wage structure of Southern industry and agriculture.
(2) To keep the South as the breeding ground of racist concepts and of semi-fascist cadres that can be utilized against the

working class throughout the whole country.

(3) To preserve the rule of the Dixiecrats. Disenfranchisement of Negroes — and to a large extent poor whites also — has provided Big Business with a corps of Congressmen (about 25% of Congress) who never have to face genuine elections. These Southern Democrats have therefore been the most reliable instruments for Big Business domination over the legislative branch of the Federal Government. Inside the Democratic party the Dixiecrats operate as a brake upon reform demagogues used to win the support of the labor movement.

In none of the functions it serves, is Big Business willing to abandon or weaken the Southern segregation system. On the other hand, the Negro people have become ever more determined that this hateful institution — standing in the way of their progress as well as that (Continued on page 3)

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

The Personal History of a Negro CIO Militant

By Elizabeth Stephens

"I started working for Bethlehem in Lackawanna when I was 20 years old," Henry Moore, a Negro steel worker said to me the other day. "That was in 1919. And I started in as a scab."

He saw the amazement on my face and said, "Oh don't get me wrong. I didn't know I was a scab. All I knew was they promised to give me three times as much money for laboring in the Lackawanna Steel plant as I'd been getting in a textile mill in Georgia. My wife had just had a baby, and \$30 a week sounded fine to us."

Henry Moore was one of tens of thousands of Negroes who migrated North after World War I and found jobs in basic industry. Until the 1930's they remained walled off from their fellow white workers by seemingly insurmountable prejudice bred by the open shop conditions. Then came the great union battles of the CIO in 1935-37, 1941 and the strikes that followed World War II. These epic battles engendered a class solidarity that cut across all racial dividing lines and united Negro and white. It was the prime factor in the CIO's successes.

STRIKE OF 1919 BROKEN
Moore's story is the account of how some of the best Negro militants arrived at union consciousness.

"I was one of a whole train load that went off to the North in 1919," Moore continued. "It was a long trip. But when we got to Lackawanna we never even stopped at a railroad station. The train kept right on going into the plant over the company tracks. There were big crowds of white men outside the plant gates, and they roared in anger when the train took us through. We didn't know why."

"We worked day and night in the steel plant and slept there, too. It was us that broke the 1919 Steel Strike — and we didn't even know what we were doing. Not then, and not for a long time afterwards." The

strike lasted three-and-a-half months, and when it was lost, nearly all the Negroes that had been shipped up from the South were fired. For some reason, maybe because he was so husky and could stand up to the heat of the blast furnace, they kept Moore on.

"When the white men came back to work," Moore recalled, "they called me a scab and wouldn't work alongside of me. 'Scab' didn't sound any worse to me then than the names the Southerners called me, and of course I was used to being Jim Crowed."

"I tried to get all my brothers to come North, too. Some of them did come, and we all lived together in a company house. Of course, we soon found that Northern prices ate up most of Northern wages. Four months after the strike the steel companies cut wages 20%. Still, it was a lot better than the South, and we wouldn't go back for anything."

Steel boomed in the 1920's like everything else. The coke ovens and blast furnaces operated day and night, and Moore and his brothers often worked double shifts three or four days a week. They saved money and put a down payment on a house.

"We figured things were pretty good. We used to say, 'A black man can get along all right if he stays in his own back yard, and keeps out of the white man's way.' Of course, we knew we worked harder than them, for less pay, and we knew Jim Crow wasn't only in the South. But we believed our pastor when he said we had to be patient and wait for God to bring us justice some day."

THEN CAME DEPRESSION

The years of prosperity were soon over. The Great Depression was a tidal wave that rolled

Negro-White Working Class Solidarity Forged in Struggle



"Here they come!" Negro and white workers pour out of Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Detroit's largest GM plant at 11 AM, Nov. 21, 1945, to begin the famous post-war GM strike. Members of UAW-CIO in 102 plants throughout the country hit the bricks 225,000 strong for 113 days in the biggest industrial strike in U.S. history. Their solidarity broke the war-time wage freeze, won the biggest wage increase to that date, and smashed all hopes of Big Business to bust unions by pitting veterans against unions or white against Negro.

over the whole American continent, engulfing the working class and at the same time uprooting old traditions and accustomed ways of thought.

"The 1930's turned all my ideas topsy-turvy," said Moore. "Not only mine but millions of peoples'. I don't have to tell you that the depression hit the Negroes hardest of all, that we were the first laid off and the last to get relief, that our pay was cut to 35¢ an hour, that many a day we'd wait at the plant gate to get two hours' work or none at all, and that most of us lost our homes to the banks."

"In the first months we thought the depression was a special tribulation just for the Negroes. But after a while we couldn't help seeing a lot of white people on the bread lines and in the relief offices, and waiting with us at the plant

gates. It made us realize something so big had happened it even cut through the color line."

"It was only in those years we got to hate the Company more than the white workers in it. We could see right in front of us, every day, how the Company pitted colored against white to drive wages down further."

Moore didn't happen to live in Detroit, so he never experienced directly the most brutal of all boss-inspired drives against the awakening class consciousness of both white and Negro workers. The Ku Klux Klan and Black Legion terror of 1935 and 1936, the anti-Negro riots of 1943, the insidious campaign of Henry Ford to block the CIO in 1941 by playing up the racial angle — all these he knew about only from reading: "I also read about the sit-down strikes in Detroit, Flint and Ak-

ron," he said, "and how Negroes were joining the CIO by the thousands because it did not discriminate. I heard from relatives in the South that they were even joining secretly down there."

Then he participated in the short but hard-fought strike in 1941, which finally forced Bethlehem Steel to sign a contract with the CIO United Steelworkers of America. However, it wasn't until the great, victorious post-war strike of 1946 that Negroes of Bethlehem emerged not only as the most loyal union men, but as daring and tireless leaders in the battle.

"I learned more in that seven weeks of strike than in all the years that went before," Moore told me. "I learned that you can't wait for justice, you got to fight for it. I was proud of my race, because in the 1946 strike not one of the miserable

scabs cowering inside the plant was a Negro. We took the most dangerous posts and the longest picket shifts. And we knew that the best white union men were proud of us too. We had overcome their prejudices and won their confidence."

The modern history of Negro people in the U.S. begins with the birth of the CIO. Today Negro organizations such as the NAACP, struggling for civil rights, look to the labor movement as their most dependable ally.

The Negro struggle for equality and the working class struggle for socialism are inseparably joined. The connecting link is supplied by the hundreds of thousands of Negro industrial workers who, like Henry Moore, are flesh of the flesh of the union movement and who at the same time stand in the vanguard of the battle for civil rights.

History of Labor And Anti-Slavery

By Jean Simon

LABOR: FREE AND SLAVE. By Bernard Mandel. Associated Authors, N. Y., 1955, 256 pp., \$3.00.

Negro History Week, 1956, finds the Southern ruling class engaged in an organized campaign against workers' rights and Negro equality comparable only to the death agony struggle it waged a hundred years ago to preserve chattel slavery.

DIVIDE AND RULE

Much of the strategy and tactics the Dixiecrats employ in their fight to preserve segregation—the chief bulwark against the threat that a united working class would present to their rule—is very similar to that used by the slavocracy in the period leading up to the Civil War. Then it was "divide and rule" in order to exploit chattel slaves. Today, it is "divide and rule" in order to super-exploit those wage slaves with the lowest living standards in the country and keep them from climbing out of their misery.

There are parallels, too, between the South's use then and now of Congress, state legislatures, the courts and—force and violence.

There are also important similarities between the tasks of the anti-slavery movement of the pre-Civil War period and of the anti-segregation movement today. A major one is winning the active support of the labor movement. If this was important for the abolition of slavery, then, in the struggle to wipe out segregation today, it is decisive.

Bernard Mandel's *LABOR: FREE AND SLAVE* examines the relationship between the anti-slavery struggle and the labor movement. For this reason, the book, while not primarily "Negro History"—it deals with the activities and thinking of Labor rather than those of the Negro people—contains valuable lessons for the Negro movement today.

SLAVERY AND UNIONS

The special subject of his study, the author states, is "the laboring class, whose interests demanded the abolition of slavery and the overthrow of the slave power as a condition for its future advancement."

The growth of a vigorous labor movement in the North was impeded by the restrictions placed on industrial progress by the slave system; the formation of a united national movement was virtually impossible while the Southern workers were few in number and unable to organize effectively; and the 'labor question' could never be resolved so long as the nation was torn by the slavery controversy and part of the republic was deformed by an antiquated social system.

"Furthermore, the advancement of labor was jeopardized by the slaveholders' attack on civil liberties and the threat to extend slavery to the territories. It was plain to many that 'American slavery . . . must be uprooted and overturned before that elevation sought by the laboring classes, can be effected.'"

"The majority of the workers, however, probably did not attain such a clear understanding of the issue at least until the time of the Civil War. Still in its infancy and tied to the leading strings of the middle class, the labor movement was unable to play a decisive independent role in the political life of the nation. But it did exercise some influence on the course of events, getting a good education in the process, and emerging from the Civil War in a better position to

work for the advancement of labor, which then included four million ex-slaves."

CLASS FORCES

With remarkable objectivity, Mandel vividly reproduces the clash of class forces in struggle over slavery. Scrupulously, he analyzes the contradictions within both the pro- and anti-slavery camps, neither glorifying nor vilifying.

He describes in detail the backwardness of the working class, the slowness with which it came to realize its interest in the abolition of slavery, the reactionary role of some of its labor fakers, its tendency to strike back at the slaves and free Negroes instead of at the slaveholders and the slave system to protect its wages and working conditions.

But the class consciousness of the workers, about which most bourgeois historians are as silent or dishonest as they are about the role of Negroes in American history, is also described, with a wealth of documentary evidence.

Mandel is therefore able to explain a highly contradictory feature of the labor movement prior to and during the Civil War. He shows how the very class consciousness of the workers contributed at that stage of its development to their slowness in recognizing that the slavery issue had to be settled before they could advance the struggle against wage slavery.

With the same scientific objectivity, he describes the conflicting tendencies within the working class during the Civil War, which he correctly calls the Second American Revolution. He analyzes the draft riots, in which workers attacked Negroes and Republican leaders, wrecked recruiting offices, and even burned down a Negro orphan asylum.

But here, too, he neither condemns nor condones. He explains the grievances the workers had against the way the war was being conducted, against the discriminatory features of the draft which made it a "rich man's battle and a poor man's war," and against the breaking of strikes through use of Negro labor, anti-strike laws and troops.

DESPITE PREJUDICE

But the big lesson emerging from the whole story of the interrelationship between the working class and the anti-slavery movement is that, despite the prejudices and shortsightedness of the white workers, they were driven by their class interests to side with the Negro movement against their common enemies in the decisive struggles.

The book is of value to the labor movement in helping to dispel the obscurity and myths about its history. For labor, too, it has important lessons for today. In this reviewer's opinion, the most important of these are: (1) the necessity for ending political collaboration with labor's class enemy in order to end wage slavery and (2) the urgent need to unite Negro and white labor in a militant struggle against segregation so as to build a strong, independent working class movement capable of reconstructing society along socialist lines.

FEBRUARY SELECTION BOOK-A-MONTH PLAN

SLAVE MUTINY. The Revolt on the Schooner Amistad. By William A. Owens. New York: John Day Co., 312 pp., \$4.00. (Feb. Book-A-Month price \$1.00 plus \$1.5 charge for mailing.)

Here is a book more exciting than any of the romantic historical novels of derring-do that are so popular today. And what could be more appropriate for the celebration of Negro history week than this?

For the fact is that the story of the steady resistance of the Negro people to enslavement has been covered up so well—in slavery days by the slave owners, and afterwards by biased historians—that today we have only an incomplete, fragmentary history of slave revolts. And what information we do have comes not from the insurrectionary slaves but from the slaveowners' court records, newspapers, correspondence, etc. These are, of course, the most biased sources possible. Yet they were the keepers of historical records and scholars today must try to cull fact and truth from the hatred and prejudice with which these records are saturated.

SLAVES TELL STORY

The story of the revolt on the Amistad is an exception. For here is a case in which the slaves were able to tell their own story. Their story and that of their alleged owners and the greedy and pro-slavery U.S. Navy officers, who wanted the slaves declared salvage so they could be sold, had to stand the test of court procedure and cross-examination.

The abolitionists worked hard at digging up collateral information and an Irish member of the commission set up by Britain to suppress the slave trade added more pertinent information. The story is briefly this. In 1839 a mysterious schooner with odd rigging hovered off the Long Island coast. Its Negro crew tried to bargain with passing ships and with Long Island farmers for food and fresh water. The ship was eventually captured by an

American Navy vessel and taken to New London and the story began to come out. The schooner was from Cuba. Its cargo was a shipment of slaves newly arrived from Africa. They had managed to escape from their chains, overpower the slave ship's crew and take over the vessel. Some of the crew had escaped, others had been killed in the fighting. Two had been spared on condition they navigate the vessel to Africa. By day they had navigated East, but at night, taking advantage of the Africans' lack of knowledge of celestial navigation, they had tacked North. This, with the aid of storms, brought the ship off Long Island.

CINQUE

The mutiny had been planned and carried out by a young African known to history as Cinque. He was the bold and wise leader who for two months maintained discipline in the crew, taught the African crew to sail the ship and numerous times thwarted tricks of the white captives to sail the ship into a trap. The book begins with the huge slave depots on the West African coast. It describes his constant search for a way to escape, his defiance. Moreover, the whole story of the nightmare middle passage on a slaver is recounted.

How did all this come to be known? American authorities immediately threw the Africans, children and all, into prison on charges of murder and mutiny. Abolitionists sprang to their defense. A professor of languages at Yale found a Negro sailor who could speak the Meendi language. In the jail, where for several years the Africans were kept, the abolitionists set up a school and taught the freedom-seekers English.

The case finally reached the U.S. Supreme Court. There Cinque and his companions were defended by former president John Quincy Adams. The tide of opinion in America, quickened by Cinque's heroic bearing in court, forced a decision freeing the Africans. Later they were returned to Africa.

If your criteria for a good book are that it is both entertaining and instructive—then you won't want to miss *Slave Mutiny*. — G. L.

... Kutcher's Letter to President

(Continued from page 1)
know from personal experience, it is important to keep fighting. "I believe Kutcher's fight is everyone's fight," Billings declared, "and I urge everyone to support the struggle of this legless veteran to maintain his beliefs and to regain his job."

NEW YORK RALLY

Sparkling a national campaign to mobilize additional public support for this major civil liberties case, the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is organizing a rally in New York to demand restoration of the legless veteran's job. Sharing the speakers' platform with Kutcher will be James Wechsler, editor of the N. Y. Post which fought energetically for Kutcher's pension, Morris Iushe-witz, secretary-treasurer of the New York City CIO, Council and Kenneth M. Birkhead, National Executive Director of the American Veterans Committee. The meeting will be held Feb. 17, 8 P. M., at the Community Church, main auditorium, 45 E. 35th St., (between Park and Madison Ave.)

Kutcher will arrive for the meeting after a trip to Chicago where he will address a similar meeting, Feb. 10, sponsored by a large group of leading Chicago labor and liberal representatives. Among the sponsors are author Saul Alinsky, Prof. Kenneth Elby, Joseph Brumberg, Maynard Krueger, Jim Cunningham and Rev. Joseph M. Evans. The meeting, which will be held at the Hamilton Hotel, Madison and Dearborn, at 8 P. M., will feature Kenneth Doty, Illinois Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Kutcher as speakers.

The splendid, principled fight that Kutcher has waged for his rights for over seven years, and the encouraging growth of public support to him, has struck effective blows against the government-sponsored attack on civil liberties.

The restoration of his pension by the VA gives added strength to the demand for reinstatement of the disability pension of the Communist Party disabled veterans, Saul Wellman and Robert Thompson. Their pensions were revoked by the VA on the same illegal basis as Kutcher's. The political persecution of Wellman and Thompson has been carried to the point of demanding repayment of pension money already received. The Social Security Administration has joined in the attack by halting the old-age pension of Communist Party Chairman William Z. Foster and other CP leaders on the frame-up charge that as party functionaries

they are employees of "a foreign government," and thereby ineligible for pension.

In his thus far successful court fight to prevent eviction of himself and his aged parents from their home in a federal housing

project, Kutcher has thrown a big stumbling block in the path of government efforts to extend the witch hunt literally into the home. Kutcher's demand for restoration of his job with the VA will be argued in the Circuit Court in Washington on or around Feb. 10. A favorable decision by the court would have a crippling effect on one of the witch hunters' most powerful weapons in their drive towards a police state—the unconstitutional "subversive list."

... Eisenhower's Racist Formula

(Continued from page 1)

receive instruction from private tutors. To them this is a lesser evil by far than to submit further to segregation. The shabby opportunism of the Congressional liberals is in sharp contrast to this principled and militant conduct of the Hillsboro Negro families.

Even if the fight for the Powell amendment did mean defeat of the school construction bill—and that is by no means necessarily so—such a defeat would really be the lesser evil to conceding an inch to the Southern Bourbons, their lily-white institutions and their savage reign of terror against the Negro people.

A FALSE ARGUMENT

The claim that the government already has the power to bar aid to Jim Crow schools, which has been put forward by some spokesmen of the AFL-CIO misses the point of the Powell amendment by a million miles. The Administration has the power but refuses to use it—that is the heart of the matter.

According to the Jan. 29 N. Y. Times, Under-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Harold Hunt declared that the Administration would not bar such funds from specific states or school districts unless the courts had first ruled against them. Comptroller General Campbell said he would not withhold funds unless Congress so ordered. The Powell Amendment would compel these officials to act.

Walter Reuther has declared that the United Auto Workers supports the Powell amendment. But Reuther is so tied up with the Democratic politicians that he was unable in his statement to indicate any effective means to assure passage of the amendment.

The more the Republicans and Northern Democrats woo the Dixiecrats, the more arrogant do the racists become. While grasping the offered concessions, Senator Eastland declaimed over a national TV hookup on Jan. 29 that "left-wing pressure groups

are in control of the government of the United States" and dominate both major parties. The Supreme Court, he added, has been "indoctrinated and brainwashed," by these "left-wing groups."

But the race haters are not confining themselves to verbal attacks. Their abrogation of the rights of the Negro people and their terror against them continues to build up daily.

TERROR NOT GRADUAL

On Oct. 22 a Negro youth, 16 years old, was murdered in Austin, Texas, and his 13 and 15-year-old sisters were wounded when bullets from a speeding car ripped into the hall where they were dancing and drinking sodas. According to a Texas Ranger captain, two white men have signed statements that they fired shots at the children during what was described as a "playful night of gunfire."

There has been no report of steps taken against the killers, but the local District Attorney is hard on the heels of a weekly newspaper, the Texas Observer, because it "tried to create the insinuation that a racial issue was at stake and that lives of Negroes were in jeopardy." The D. A. has threatened to haul the editor before a Grand Jury. According to him, the killing was a "case of two irresponsible boys attempting to have some fun by scaring Negroes."

If they judge by the record, the "playful" gunmen need not greatly worry over their fate. In Mississippi, the confessed murderers of Emmett Till are now negotiating for royalties on a prospective film about their foul deed. In Virginia, Ira Hinton, a white storekeeper, while drunk killed 23-year-old Howard Bromly with three bullets in the back because Bromly, a Negro, had allegedly put his arm around Hinton's brother and called him "son."

Last month a jury of Hinton's peers swapped jokes with the killer's family during a 21-minute "trial" and then set him

scot free. The only conviction reported

recently in a case involving Jim Crow was that of six Negroes in Greensboro, N. C. On Jan. 30 they were fined \$15 and costs for "trespassing" on a city owned golf course. (Last fall, segregation on public golf courses was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court—implementation to be made "with deliberate speed.")

While Eisenhower has been proclaiming the need for a "gradual" approach to Jim Crow, Major General E. M. Caffey, Judge Advocate General of the U.S. Army, was telling the Georgia House of Representatives how much he appreciated a speech upholding white supremacy delivered by his good friend, Rep. J. J. Flint of Georgia. Caffey told the Georgia racists, "If I were going to make a speech I would hope to make one like that."

After his comment was picked up by the press, the Pentagon complained that Caffey had been misinterpreted. His remarks, it was explained, were merely "praise of the speech-making ability" of the Georgia Congressman.

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Another Leak in the Dike

British Prime Minister Eden is in Washington for consultations with President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. Eden has explained the purpose of his visit as seeking the coordination of the strategy of the two countries in the face of a complex world situation. The U.S. and Britain are the two most stable capitalist countries in the world. The crisis-ridden French government, unable to produce a prime minister in time, has been frozen out of the talks.

The range of topics scheduled for discussion spans the globe. The political and military dikes the imperialists have so painstakingly erected to stem the tide of national and social revolution are being breached in many places. However, it is clear that uppermost in the minds of the British visitors is the new leak that has been sprung in the Middle East.

It is here that the conflict between British and American oil interests have given the Arab masses an opportunity to advance their national independence movement by playing the main contending imperialist powers in the area off against each other. Economic and military aid offered by the Soviet government recently, strengthens the Arab nationalists further. Eden wants coordination of the strategy of imperialism against the Arab revolution.

N. Y. Times correspondent Drew Middleton, writing, Jan. 29, from aboard the Queen Elizabeth, and clearly expressing the sentiments of the British diplomats en route to the U.S., says, "When Sir Anthony and President Eisenhower survey the world horizon, the queer state of affairs in Saudi Arabia, rich in American oil production, and the Bahraini oasis where British oil operations are starting,

will be the point of greatest difficulty. It is there that the British want a settlement."

U.S. oil interests in the Middle East have taken advantage of the anti-British feeling among the Arab masses there to gain immediate economic advantages over their main competitor in the field.

The revolutionary tide invariably finds the weak spots in the world imperialist system and breaks through. The Second World War gave millions of Asians the opportunity to fight for their liberation from all imperialist domination. Nationalist movements took advantage of arms and money supplied to them by either side of the contending camps of colonial rulers and then used these to fight for their independence. It is clear that the Arab world is following the same strategy in this respect.

It is no longer possible to separate one imperialist power as "good" and another as "bad" in the eyes of the rising Arab masses. Popular movements in this area, regardless of the initial issues, are rapidly broadening out to threaten all imperialist intruders. Thus, demonstrations staged in December and January against the British-subsidized Jordan government in opposition to the Baghdad Pact, wound up with attacks on all imperialist embassies including that of the U.S. Ever new social layers are being awakened to political life and drawn into the struggle.

In the course of this struggle the working masses will find the feudal and tribal structures they are saddled with in many areas as obstacles in their road and will sweep them into the same dustbin as the Chinese workers and peasants swept their archaic institutions.

Truman's Memoirs

In the second installment series of his Memoirs now being published by the N. Y. Times, ex-President Truman relates in detail how at the end of World War II, the U.S. government sought to prevent the Chinese people from achieving a government of their own choice.

The Truman Administration wanted China as a Wall Street colony. Chiang Kai-shek was its agent. But, as Truman admits, this representative of the landlords, bankers and U.S. imperialists "did not command the respect and support of the Chinese people." In fact he was hated by them.

Nevertheless, every move Truman made was designed to preserve the power of the dictator. When the war ended, he says, "we... had to take the unusual step of using the enemy [the defeated Japanese troops] as a garrison until we could airlift Chinese troops to South China and send Marines to guard the sea ports."

Why the "unusual step"? Against whom were Japanese troops to be used? The answer is: against the Chinese people, themselves, who had fought heroically against Japanese imperialism since 1937 and who were now pressing forward to rid the country of all foreign domination.

The Mirage of "Class Peace"

David J. McDonald, president of the Steelworkers Union, has been an ardent advocate of the "Geneva Spirit" in labor-capital relations. He won laurels in this field by his notorious January, 1954, arm-in-arm tour of the steel plants with former U.S. Steel president Benjamin F. Fairless. The union official and the steel baron paraded their good fellowship while the company opened one of its most savage attacks on union working conditions and security in a year when mass unemployment ravaged the steel industry.

Now this crusader for class peace, who has sent down a ruling that "in America there is no class struggle," has just extended another olive branch to Big Business. Speaking to a conference of the American Management Association, he militantly attacked any notion that a battle was shaping up in the coming steel negotiations. "We neither contemplate nor anticipate 'war,' a 'big battle,' or a 'strike,' and I pray and hope the feeling is mutual," he pleaded.

To emphasize his appeal for amity he castigated any notion of a Labor Party "now or ever." Organized labor, he asserted, in its new merged form believed the country's needs could best be served "in the framework of our existing two parties."

Coming at the end of steel's best profit year, McDonald's case for repealing the law of the class struggle seems to be well founded. After all, 1955 was the year when some of the biggest corporations decided to postpone any major showdown with

the unions for the sake of profiting from the boom, and the labor officials strained every effort to curb militancy and strikes. Yet what was the record in this year of "class peace"?

"Wildcat" strikes against speed-up erupted in auto and other industries. The South saw a series of hard-fought strikes in telephone, railroad, sugar, textile and hotel industries. The UAW Perfect Circle strike in Newcastle, Indiana, came face to face with the national guard and martial law used to open the plant to scabs.

Westinghouse workers have walked the picket lines in one of the longest and bitterest strikes in recent history. New York and New Jersey longshoremen conducted a political strike against government invasion of the rights of their union. The independent United Electrical Workers, while engaged in the Westinghouse strike, came under government attack under cover of the Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act. And the Kohler strike entered its 20th month as the year ended.

This was "class peace" in a boom year when the biggest corporations deliberately restrained their union-busting strategy. What will it be in a year when Big Business feels the pinch of an economic slump? McDonald's formula against a Labor Party is the same as his labor-management peace formula. Class collaboration on the economic and political fronts go hand in hand. Neither formula can serve the labor movement the moment the basic reality of the class struggle in American society dispels the mirage of class peace.

The Economic Boom in Western Germany

By John Black

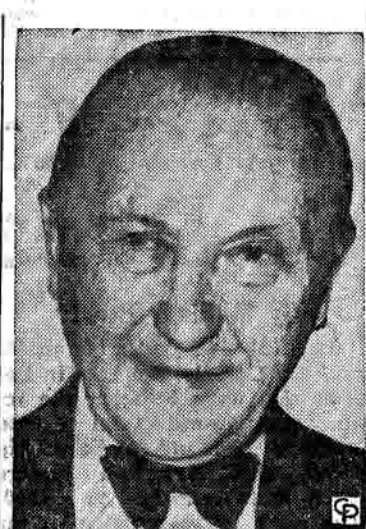
The conservative trade union bureaucrats of the West German labor movement have been forced to take brutal measures in an attempt to stem the growing discontent and fighting spirit of the rank-and-file trade union workers.

The Jan. 17 N.Y. Times reports: "The Building Workers Union closed down nine Communist-controlled locals in the Ruhr today. The action, carried out with military precision, inaugurated a national move by the West German trade union movement, a prime target of Communist infiltrators."

The list of locals closed by the national union officials reads like a roll call of the important industrial centers of the Ruhr area. Among them are Essen, Dueseldorf, Duisburg, Muenchen-Gladbach — names of cities that have become famous as centers of the most revolutionary struggles of the German workers in the pre-Hitler days.

The Ruhr district of the Building Workers Union has over 50,000 workers. The elected district executive committee has been dissolved. Nine of the 18 locals were closed, 15 of the 25 paid union officials were dismissed. Technical and youth organizations were also closed. The National Executive is discussing further expulsions.

The trade union leadership is troubled and scared. This kind of action, a violation of the most elementary trade union democracy, is the only reaction it is capable of in the face of a ground swell of radicalization in the West German working class movement during the last six months. The national leadership of the strong trade union movement in the West German Republic is demonstrating during this period that it is neither capable nor willing to lead any kind of fight along class lines



ADENAUER

against the masters of industry. This, in spite of the pressure for a battle manifested by the industrial working class in many ways and regardless of the most favorable economic conditions.

In these circumstances the West German working class is beginning to search for a new leadership. The revival of the influence of the Stalinist KPD (Communist Party of Germany) in the shops, shipyards and mines is an expression of this process.

THE NEED FOR STRUGGLE

An unprecedented boom for West German capitalism is creating very favorable conditions for a vigorous struggle on the economic front. The Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Europe's administrative body for handling the distribution of aid under the Marshall Plan, estimates that in the first half of 1955 industrial production rose at a faster rate in West Germany than in any country in Europe outside the Soviet bloc. Industrial production was 17% higher than in the

corresponding period in 1954. The output in agriculture rose 5%.

The Jan. 6 issue of the West German Handelsblatt (Commerce paper) carries an estimate by the Bank of German States that the rise in West German export trade was percentage-wise faster than in any country of the capitalist world. The share of West Germany alone in the world export trade is now equal to the pre-war share of the unified German Reich in its "best" years, that is, under the forced and artificial "export or die" program of Hitler's Germany.

German capitalists have regained their markets in the Middle East, South and East Asia. German engineering concerns play a significant role in the attempted industrialization programs of those areas.

The extent of West Germany's resurgence on the world market can be gauged by the announcement of Adenauer's government that it is preparing a politically motivated economic aid program for underdeveloped and neutralist countries. This is described as an economic inducement to support its world campaign against the diplomatic recognition of the East German Republic by these "uncommitted" countries. Coupled with these promises are threats of diplomatic and economic reprisals against any country entering into diplomatic relations with East Germany (N.Y. Times, Dec. 13).

West Germany's industries have even invaded the American market. As an example we can cite the more than tenfold increase of Volkswagen (automobile) exports to the U.S. in the years from 1953 to 1955. On the home market, too, these industries are prospering. For example, the Opel Corporation, a General Motors affiliate, an-

nounced a phenomenal 116% profit in the middle of 1955.

RISE IN LIVING COSTS

In the face of this vigorous economic upsurge the workers have shown their determination to gain concessions from the trusts now, while the boom is still on. They have been spurred on by the increasing rise in the cost of living. The issue of the Handelsblatt already cited carries a report on the price situation for 1955. The Adenauer Government boasts that prices have remained stable. But a close look at the figures gives the lie to this claim. From November 1954 to November 1955, industrial products went up 2.3%. Agricultural prices shot up 6.1% in the same period. Cloth prices rose sharply too. The very things that the workers spend most of their wages on are rising fastest.

The German capitalist economy is monopolized to an exceptionally high degree. Dr. Viktor Agartz, educational director of the German Trade Union Federation, (he has since been ousted from his position by the conservative leaders of the Federation), in a report to the 1955 National Convention of the Trade Union Federation in Frankfurt, estimated that three fourths of all West German products are sold at monopoly-dictated prices. Such a firm grip on the economy makes it easy for the capitalists to plunder the consumer at will.

The destruction of German industrial machinery during World War II led to the introduction of the latest and most advanced technological equipment. This and the skill of German craftsmen make for a high productivity per worker. Germany's re-penetration of the world market has in part been made possible by this. For the same reason, even at the height of the present boom some unemployment prevails. Thus in

December 1955 almost half a million unemployed were added to the ranks of the destitute. Over a million West German workers are now out in the streets and definitely not in on the boom.

NEW WAR BURDEN

An additional economic burden is about to be loaded on the unwilling shoulders of the German proletariat. Dr. Schaeffer, West German Finance Minister presented his budget to the Bundestag, Dec. 8, 1955. The total estimated outlay for 1956 of almost eight billion dollars includes a two billion dollar item for the establishment of West Germany's new army. Adenauer's contribution to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is to consist of half a million soldiers. This is an army five times the size permitted to Germany after World War I. The standing army and the expenses involved in maintaining this parasitic body were never sanctioned by the workers. The working class has repeatedly manifested sharp opposition to rearmament. Nonetheless, it is the workers who will have to carry the burden of the army.

Adenauer and Schaeffer had let it be known that any budgetary deficit arising from the rearmament would be underwritten by the United States. This story helped Adenauer push his bill through the Bundestag. All illusions on this score were rudely shattered at the December, 1955, meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Paris. The U.S. representatives, viewing German economic competition with some alarm, pulled the skids from under Adenauer and Schaeffer when they pointed out that West Germany "could well afford to pay its total armament bill."

[First of a series of two. Next week: The Wave of "Wild Strikes" in West Germany.—Ed.]

... Peace Pact Rejected

(Continued from page 1)

that reached the stage of imperialist development later than the others its survival depended on its capacity to conquer world markets. Japan also needed war. It, too, arrived late as an imperialist power and wanted nothing less than China as its own special preserve.

The Soviet Union is fundamentally different. Its survival does not depend on conquering markets. The workers' revolution of 1917 brought a planned economy into existence. Production in the Soviet Union ceased to be dependent on profit. Soviet economy won't collapse without a war budget.

Bulgarian speaks in the interests of the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union just as Eisenhower speaks in the interests of the capitalist class. But this caste really wants peace with the capitalist world. It believes in coexistence with the West. It has hoped to buy that peace with its betrayals of the revolutionary struggles of the workers in the capitalist world for two-and-a-half decades.

CHINA AND EAST EUROPE

The Kremlin didn't want the Chinese revolution. The Stalinists did everything in their power to make a deal with the U.S. and its puppet Chiang Kai-shek. They agreed to leave the capitalist system in China intact and even to protect U.S. capital invested there. But Chinese capitalism was too weak. Chiang was long accustomed to dictatorial rule. His regime, bankrupt and degenerate, could not brook even the most modest reforms on which a capitalist popular front could rest.

Stalin thought he could coexist with capitalism in the East European states. Although he confiscated as war booty the property of the Nazis and their collaborators, he retained capitalist property relations from 1944 to 1948. He pitted the weight of the Red Army against the insurgent people of East Europe and foisted on their backs capitalist regimes.

This bureaucratic experiment with coexistence was short lived — but not because Stalin's overtures to the capitalist world were insincere. In the first place, this hybrid social set-up was highly unstable. Capitalist economy cannot flourish where the capitalists do not control the armed forces and law-making powers of government.

And secondly, the cold war caught up with this direct attempt at coexistence. The U.S. drive for World War III could not leave unresolved the question of power in the Buffer states. Either these countries would be abandoned to capitalism, in which case they would be crushed under military dictatorship and used as armed bases for an imperialist thrust at the Soviet Union, or they would be assimilated by the Soviet social structure.

and did not expect this outcome — and did not want it. But history does not conform to the wishes of statesmen, be they capitalists or Kremlin bureaucrats. History has its own objective laws. The class struggle decides big social questions not political regimes which are merely one of the instruments in that struggle. In a revolutionary epoch such as the one in which we live, the people intervene into the affairs of the world and make their own history.

DEEDS NOT WORDS

In his reply to Bulgarian Eisenhower said that "it is deeds and not words alone which count." It might appear that he has come over to the Marxist view which always scoffed at the much-touted idea that the UN charter and treaties between nations, mere words, would guarantee peace to a war-weary world. But the Marxists, who always look for the basic economic conflicts in society, never denied the importance of "words" either.

The UN charter, in the hypocritical words of diplomatic language, was an expression of the relations that existed among the victorious nations in World War II. Since then new relations developed and were expressed in special treaties contracted outside of the formalities of the UN. Thus NATO, the West European alliance, was brought into existence. Then SEATO for South East Asia and the Baghdad Pact in the Middle East.

These treaties expressed in their own way the new relations among nations. German militarism was revived. The Japanese were re-armed. Chiang Kai-shek was laden down with weapons of war with which to harass Chinese commerce in the Formosa Straits and keep alive the perspective of the invasion of the mainland. The U.S. acquired a world-wide string of air bases that forms a ring around the Soviet borders.

A non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union would run directly counter to this basic task of U.S. imperialism of arming the capitalist nations for World War III — over the objections of most of the people.

NATURE OF BUREAUCRATS

The Wall Street government in Washington, of course, is not adverse to dealing with the Kremlin bureaucrats. They have in the past and they will in the future. They will negotiate every last drop of counter-revolutionary advantage they can gain from Stalinist betrayals of the working class.

The problem is much the same as the one Big Business confronts at home with the organized labor movement. The labor bureaucrats are always hoping to get a negotiated class peace. Struggle stirs up the rank and file and endangers the privileged positions of the union officials. Taking advantage of the fear to struggle on the part of bureaucrats, Big

Business can get many advantages — such as free reign with speed-up and five-year contracts, not to mention acceptance of the idea that the capitalist has a right to make billions in profit out of the workers' labor.

But the bosses are willing to play around with union bureaucrats only as long as they are forced to deal with the unions. As soon as they feel they can crush the labor movement, the relation ceases to be so friendly. Ultimately the capitalists want to destroy the unions and restore the dictatorial power they once had in the open shop.

Fundamentally, foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy. The irreconcilable nature of the conflict with the Soviet Union arises not in the antagonism of Big Business and the Kremlin, a derivative conflict, but out of the growth of the world revolution.

A SOLUTION SEEN

The dynamic economic system of the Soviet Union, despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the workers' state, stands as a beacon of hope to a world that is struggling to extricate itself from imperialist-imposed backwardness and misery.

The socialist solution to the problems of the working class and the colonial people is no longer an abstraction. It can be measured in terms of tons of steel and coal, barrels of oil, electrical energy — and even atomic energy. With all the Stalinist bureaucratic suppressions of political freedom and despite the parasitic privileges of the millionaire bureaucrats, it can be measured also in terms of security from unemployment and the lowering of living costs.

In addition, the colonial people of the world see a vast area where foreign capital is excluded. For example, Standard Oil of New Jersey has no "exploitation rights" in the Soviet orbit. It can quarrel with England over the oil in the Middle East. It can extract exclusive rights to the reserves of many Latin American countries. Together with other U.S. oil companies, it can even defraud the U.S. government as it did during World War II when it forced the government to pay double the contracted price for Saudi Arabian oil. But none of N. J. Standard Oil's \$717 million profit last year came out of the resources and labor of the Soviet orbit.

General Motors can make profits from the labor of auto workers in Germany, France and England as well as the United States. Altogether Big Business took a \$2 1/2 billion profit out of foreign investments in 1954, and this doesn't include profits realized in overseas sales. But not one cent of this came from the labor of the workers in the Soviet Union and now China.

The world revolution will not stop at the borders of the United States. The crisis of world

World Events

THE CRISIS IN INDIA

brought to world attention by recent nation-wide class battles will be met by Nehru's government with even more brazen gerrymandering than that which precipitated the general strikes in Bombay, Calcutta, and elsewhere. "The solution that high officials... favor is to break up the states (political units based on common language)...

and form large zonal states... This radical step would throw several language groups together and force them to concentrate on mutual problems and ambitions... It would also strengthen the Congress [Nehru's capitalist party which]... has large majorities in the big states, and putting two or three of these majorities together would make sure that the new zonal states would always be under Congress rule" (N. Y. Times Jan. 29). All observers agree that the workers of India, to whom the right to a government which speaks their own language is a life or death political question, will offer stiff resistance to Nehru's move. Meanwhile the Naga area of the state of Assam was sealed off as a "disturbed area" this week. Naga tribesmen are demanding a country of their own.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CHILE

announced, Jan. 28, that it had released former Finance Minister Jorge Prat who had been imprisoned earlier in the month after the Ibanez government had declared a state of siege to avert a threatened general strike. Prat was among several hundred labor leaders, journalists and politicians who had been jailed. He published a newspaper which was occasionally critical of the government.

TEN CUBAN STUDENTS

were arrested, Jan. 28, when they and others attempted to rescue the leader of the Havana University student federation from a police car that was hauling

him off to jail. The students had turned their celebration of the 103rd anniversary of the birth of Jose Marti, island patriot, into a militant demonstration of opposition to the dictatorial Batista government. The cops sailed into the students with clubs and guns.

MEXICAN STUDENTS

forced withdrawal of six American technicians who had been sent to a local agricultural college as part of the U.S. Point Four "educational assistance" program. The students called a strike when the technicians arrived last October. After the strike ended the technicians were still unable to enter the campus but remained in Mexico. Finally on Jan. 28 the Mexican government requested their withdrawal from the country and that the entire "educational assistance" program be abandoned.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S

commando forces raided three small Chinese islands, Jan. 28, about 80 miles south of Matsui Island off the coast of Fukien Province. Chiang's information service said they captured prisoners and "booty."

JAPAN still gets radioactive

snowfall. The island of Matsuya on the southwest coast of Honshu suffered a three-day fall of radioactive snow beginning Jan. 28.

... Negro History

(Continued from page 1)

of the entire working class — must be destroyed root and branch. Jim Crow must go!

The conflict centering over the non-enforcement of Supreme Court rulings and the defense of Southern Negroes from racist terror is shaking the whole political structure of the country. Ever since the brutal Till murder last fall, the Negro masses in Northern, Western and Southern cities have placed strong pressure on their own leaders as well as union officials for action against the white supremacists.

This demand challenges in effect the alliance these leaders have made with liberal Democrats, whose record shows one capitulation after another to the Dixiecrats. Heightened struggle against the Jim Crow system hastens a political realignment in the country whose main feature will inevitably be the creation of a Labor Party.

The Negro militants will unquestionably stand in the front ranks in campaigning for such a party, forcing the party at the same time to take an uncompromising stand against segregation and to mobilize the whole working class for action to abolish it.

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Youth Want Jobs (III)

The "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns of the Thirties and early Forties were marked by a relatively high degree of success because they correctly estimated the relationship of forces in particular local communities, then used the correct tactics for the situation — the picket line and boycott.

But the aims of these campaigns were, of necessity, limited to ending job discrimination in Northern urban communities (where organized labor had won the right to picket) and in areas where Negroes were in a majority. This meant, in the main, compelling small retail stores to hire Negro clerks. The same tactics were used to win jobs for Negroes in chain stores, in some bakery, milk and other delivery services doing business in colored communities, and even some public utilities and small plants located in or near the ghetto.

It is clear from the history of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns that they worked under special conditions, and could possibly be useful again, but only under similar conditions.

There is a big difference in the situation facing Negro youth seeking jobs today. Negro workers, taking advantage of the changed relationship of forces on a national scale when war production needs increased the demand for labor, broke through the Iron Curtain that limited them to jobs in Negro areas or services. Again it was mass pressure that won gains. The March on Washington Movement, with its threat — no idle one — that hundreds of thousands would demonstrate, won an executive order requiring non-discriminatory hiring in defense plants.

At the same time, industrial unions, par-

ticularly of the CIO, which had been able to organize on a mass scale only by admitting Negroes to full membership, received a big influx of colored members.

Thus, the picture for youth seeking jobs today is quite different. Not that there are unlimited jobs available: On the contrary the predominant picture in industry is still one of discrimination in hiring and up-grading. Moreover, automation, increased productivity, scientific discoveries and technical progress only mean more profits, not more jobs, so long as they are limited by the organization of production for profit rather than to satisfy the needs of man.

Negro youth today have two main alternatives before them: They can seek a business or professional career, generally within the confines of the segregated colored community — if they can afford it. Or, they can seek jobs in industry.

For the mass of Negro youth, the latter is the only realistic perspective. And it is not a gloomy one. It means opportunities to carry on the struggle against job discrimination and for equal opportunities within industry, within and through the unions. It means "doing missionary work" among white workers, educating them, combatting the propaganda of those who profit by keeping workers divided in order to pit white against Negro.

A conscious working class perspective for Negro youth today means opportunities to participate in building and leading the organizations of the class that will be the decisive force in reconstructing society and in ending the class, race, sex and age limitations on the freedom and progress of mankind.

[Last of a series of three.]

"The Woman in the Gray Flannel Suit"

By Joyce Cowley

Sloan Wilson is the author of a best-selling novel, "The Woman in the Gray Flannel Suit." I haven't read it but a review in the N. Y. Times describes it as a book with a "happy ending" about a man who manages to make money and stay honest, too.

In a recent issue of the N. Y. Times Magazine, the same author writes about "The Woman in the Gray Flannel Suit." He read a couple of articles, one warning career women against ulcers, the other outlining opportunities for women at the "administrative level," and he got worried. He checked government publications to find out how many married women were working, and he is now thoroughly alarmed and predicts that one day women will be dashing off to work while men "loiter around the house in kimonos." Or both of them will dash off and a great 12-handed machine will mind the children. Maybe they will take turns on careers — the husband can have his on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and the wife will get the rest of the week. His final suggestion is for men to become more motherly as women become more fatherly.

MONEY IN MARRIAGE

He obviously thinks that women belong at home, but is embarrassed to find himself defending such an "old-fashioned" point of view. So he admits that some working women are justified. Some don't want to get married and others haven't been asked. Some find that they have to take jobs to keep the family together, and he admits no one can blame them.

What really disturbs him are not exceptional cases of this type but a prevailing attitude that a woman ought to do something more than devote herself wholeheartedly to helping a husband and children. He thinks the work of a good wife is made to appear "drab" and argues that it consists of a lot more than scrubbing and vacuum cleaning. The wife of a successful man learns more about investments, accounting and upper bracket public relations than most women in offices. He winds up with an eloquent sales talk: "There's money in marriage, girls! The retirement benefits and opportunities for travel are often excellent."

One reason he's so strongly in favor of women becoming what he calls "executive wives," is because male executives are becoming more and more helpless in their personal lives and have no time for anything but work. He tells about a friend, president of a small college, whose capable wife screens his social engagements, keeps track of personal finances, runs his house and takes care of the children. If his wife decided to have a career of her own, the man would succumb from confusion and bewilderment.

This college president worked out an interesting theory. He thinks leadership in many large organizations requires so much energy that only compulsive workers — i.e. neurotics — are capable of large-scale success. That's the reason there are so many wars. Compulsive workers are seething with hatreds and are more likely to fight than the ordinary people they lead. (Especially when it's the ordinary people who do the actual fighting!)

The college president believes that without an unusually warm, dedicated wife, most successful men would not have children and there would be no reproduction of the great. Now there's one of the best arguments I've heard yet for the career wife. We might eliminate these compulsive neurotics, whose aggressions are encouraged by our present society and who play such a destructive role. (Mr. Dulles, for instance.)

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

Mr. Sloan makes some interesting comments of his own. In other societies, he says, a man could have a lot of wives — the more successful the man, the more wives he had. Now all this "career talk" is reducing the one wife permitted Western man to just a fraction, and it's time to rebel.

He goes on to tell how sorry he feels for the career girls he has known. They may wear gray flannel suits, even carry a briefcase and look glamorous in the street. (Depends on your taste — I can't see anything glamorous about gray flannel and a briefcase) — but the unmarried ones live in lonely walk-up apartments and their social life consists mostly of going to the movies with girls like themselves. He knows of one case where a girl sneaked into the office to work late at night simply because she had nothing else to do. (If he will put me in touch with the girl, I have a number of suggestions as to what she could do with her time. Evidently girls in gray flannel, like their male counterparts, have few interests outside of themselves.)

The married career women that he knows are not much better off. Mothers are semi-fulfilled, husbands are harried and "hard lines of discontent set in." (To round out this picture, maybe he should check up on the jobless wives of rich men. I've heard that time drags for them, and they are likely to fill the idle hours with pursuits like bridge, alcohol and sex.)

Mr. Wilson concludes that women should leave the ulcers to men. I don't know if this is chivalry, or if there is some kind of prestige involved in getting ulcers. Obviously, the problems he raises have very little general application. Few men require the kind of wife he has in

mind. For instance, most husbands would be delighted if their wives did a little less screening of their social engagements. Not many women work at an "administrative level" — the average income of women workers is still about \$1400 a year. While it's true that ten million married women are working, most of them are married to men who make less than \$5,000 — often a good deal less. The management of their personal finances requires more knowledge of how to dodge bill collectors than it does of investments and accounting. When the husband makes more than \$10,000, there's about one chance in ten that his wife holds down a job, compared with one in three at the lower income level (I read those government bulletins, too). So most successful men are still able to buy a wife and get full value.

In case things reach a point where there are no longer any women willing to make a full time occupation of helping bewildered executives, there are other solutions suggested by Mr. Wilson himself. Facetiously, he spoke of a 12-handed machine, taking turns at careers and men becoming more "motherly." But he's looking in the right direction.

The twelve hands that will care for children while both parents are at work, are those of trained, intelligent nursery school workers. They can create a happy environment for children to play and grow, and in some ways will do better than the average mother who lacks both the facilities of a nursery school and the training and experience of a teacher.

Mr. Wilson must have heard about the machines that are available for other household tasks. He knows the kind of people who own the most up-to-date dishwashers and floor polishers.

As for taking turns at careers, it could be deeply satisfying for both the man and his wife. Women will not only have a chance to get out in the world — but men, who complain they are confined in an office and shop, having no time for anything but work, can cut their working day in half. They'll have time to go fishing and take the kids to a ball game, they may even screen their own social engagements.

In one sense, men will become more "motherly." They will have more time to spend with their children and get to know them better. They will help in the concrete tasks of caring for them.

This is a perspective that means greater freedom for men as well as women, and I don't know why men should object to a shorter working day, less financial responsibility, more leisure and more fun. I can foresee a day when no one gets ulcers and even the compulsive neurotic will learn how to enjoy his life.

Auto Layoffs Increase; So Does Boom Ballyhoo

By William Bundy

JAN. 31 — Layoffs hit another 1,900 Chrysler workers in Detroit this week bringing the reported nation-wide total of auto workers laid off by the Big Three and American Motors since mid-December to 28,800. The score by corporation so far is: Chrysler, 19,500; Ford, 4,600; GM, 3,900; and American Motors, 800.

Company spokesmen say production is being cut "to bring dealer stocks in line with current market demand," but so far the production cuts have failed to reduce the stocks. Output is down to 610,000 cars for this month, 11% below last January, but dealer's stocks remain at a record high of close to 800,000 cars. Even if sales stay at the high, year-end level of about 525,000 monthly (few experts are that optimistic), more layoffs are definitely ahead.

WORKERS' REACTIONS

"It looks like another 1954 or worse," said one Detroit auto worker.

Overtime which had become regular for many auto workers has been virtually eliminated. The Jan. 30 Wall Street Journal reports reactions of a number of people affected by the cuts:

Top weekly pay of a Ford tool shop employee was \$135 last year. Now he's getting \$80. He had big buying plans before the cutback. "Of course everything will have to wait now," he said.

"Our essentials will come first even if it means repossession of some of the things I bought," says a Flint Chevrolet worker whose take-home pay is down to \$55 from an overtime top of \$100 last year.

The proprietor of a snack shop near a Detroit plant said: "The fellow who used to drop in for a sandwich and coffee, now just takes coffee."

Heads NAM



Cola G. Parker of Neenah, Wis., shown at Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers convention last Dec. In his keynote speech he attacked the newly-merged AFL-CIO as a "sinister force."

Workers in industries indirectly connected with auto are also losing their jobs. Unemployment in Detroit alone has increased by 20,000 since mid-1955 according to the official figures, always low estimates.

The guaranteed annual wage plan (actually supplementary unemployment pay) does not go into effect until next summer. Even then, most of the workers first hit by layoffs will not have enough credit accumulated to qualify for much help. In any case, tens of thousands of auto workers will be in the street before Reuther's highly touted plan to "prevent" unemployment will even go into effect.

BIG BUSINESS BALLYHOO

Big Business also tells us it has plans to prevent unemployment. Billions in excess profits are to be invested in "improvements and expansion." This will continue the boom, they say, and save the country from recession or worse. It doesn't look like there is much more than ballyhoo in these promises. In the first place those investments amount to only about two-thirds of what the government is spending on war production. The only sections of the nation's economy which will experience "prosperity" in 1956 will be those connected with this war spending. The Jan. 20 U.S. News and World Report, a business-men's magazine, admits "A dip in output of homes, appliances and autos will produce a drag on the general economy" this year.

In the second place much of the investments for "improvements and expansion" will actually be spent to automate plants, to increase productivity with a reduced work force.

General Motors reported that it paid out in wages \$104 million less in 1954 than in 1953. At the same time production rose slightly. It is true that the number of workers in auto increased in 1955, but not nearly so much as production did. At best the capital expansion will provide jobs temporarily for those who build the new installations.

Even in the short run they will not provide more jobs for auto workers. In the same Jan. 17 speech where GM president Harlow H. Curtice made his highly publicized announcement about spending one billion dollars for "expansion" he estimated a drop in auto production this year of 18% under 1955.

Now that the cuts have come we can be sure that the least efficient units will be stopped first, and that those requiring the least manpower per unit of production will be kept operating. In other words, all other things being equal, the cuts in working force will be even greater than the cuts in production.

LONG LINES AT GATE

Everything indicates that many thousands of auto workers will be out of work this year,

more thousands will be working shorter hours, and speed-up will get worse. It always does when the boss can point to the long lines in front of the employment office, and say: "If you don't want to move faster, there are plenty outside who do."

"These auto fellows may have to adjust themselves to 30-hour weeks before it's over," says a Detroit banker worried about credit delinquencies in the Jan. 30 Wall Street Journal. He means, of course, adjust to getting by on 30-hours' pay.

The demand for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay is now pushed to the fore. The UAW is already on record for 30-for-40. Local unions representing millions of workers throughout the country, including powerful Ford local 600 have been championing the demand for years. The controversy over whether 30-for-40 should have been the major contract demand for 1955 will now be viewed in a new light. If 1956 will be "another 1954 or worse" many auto workers will feel that it would be mighty handy to have a 30-for-40 clause in the current contract.

Walter Reuther, chief opponent of raising the 30-for-40 as a contract issue in 1955, emphasized the demand in an article in this month's American magazine. The AFL-CIO convention is on record for it.

Of course, the support "Labor Statesmen" give is mere talk, but for the militants in the UAW 30-for-40 has always been a fighting slogan which the economic facts of life now pose for action.

Chrysler Strikers Protest Firing Of Two Negroes

Four thousand auto workers walked off their jobs at the Los Angeles Chrysler plant, Jan. 17, to protest the firing of two Negro workers in a speed-up dispute.

The firings followed protests by UAW local 230 that supervisors "had called a group of employees 'laid names' in endeavoring to get employees to speed up operations." Instead of reprimanding the supervisors, the company fired the two Negro body-shop workers, Adolph A. Caldwell and Edward Herron. The company covered up by charging the two men with "using obscene language" and "hitting the foreman."

The union termed the walkout, which took place at 11:30 A.M., "unauthorized" but placed the blame on the company.

The defense of the two Negro workers by the entire membership, acting without official backing, marks a high point in interracial working-class solidarity. Until the end of World War II Negroes were virtually excluded from auto plants in Los Angeles. Militant UAW members succeeded in breaking down the silly white hiring policies after a long struggle.

Bus Boycott Leader's Home Bombed in Ala.

By Fred Talbott

JAN. 31 — The home of Rev. Martin Luther King, a leader of the Montgomery, Ala., boycott against Jim Crow buses, was bombed last night while his wife and their seven-week-old daughter were in the house. A hole was blown in the concrete porch of the house, but miraculously, no one was injured.

According to the N. Y. Post, Rev. King told a group of 300 Negroes who had gathered out-

vehicles, let them ride city buses."

The Mayor's policy statement said that Negro servants and other workers who refuse to ride the buses "are fighting to destroy our social fabric just as much as the Negro radicals who are leading them." (These "radical" leaders are reported in the Jan. 8 N. Y. Times as being "virtually all the city's Negro ministers.")

Police Chief Sellers, a member of the notorious White Citizens' Council, has instructed police to "break up" Negro groups "loitering" in lily white neighborhoods. "We do not intend to allow them [Negro servants awaiting rides in vehicles other than buses] to become nuisances in white sections," he said.

Revealing the effect the boycott has had on the life of the city the mayor said: "The Negroes are laughing at white people behind their backs — the white people who haul the maids and cooks to and from work. They think it's very funny and amusing that whites who are opposed to the Negro boycott will act as chauffeurs to Negroes who are boycotting the buses."

BOYCOTTERS' DEMANDS

The boycott was voted last Dec. 5 by 5,000 people at a mass meeting called to protest the firing of Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress, for refusing to give up her seat when ordered to do so by a white bus driver. The next morning Negro union patronage of the bus line fell off by almost 100%.

The boycotters are demanding a "first come first serve" seating rule, more courteous treatment of Negro riders, and employment of Negro drivers in Negro areas. The bus company claims that it cannot agree to these demands without violating the state's Jim Crow laws.

Ads by the White Citizens Councils urging whites to ride the buses more often, and a 50% fare increase have failed to make up for the 75% drop in the bus company's total business.

Montgomery Negroes have shown resourcefulness and courage in helping each other stick it out against Jim Crow. Cars are pooled. Negro cab companies take riders for a dime a head, and private cars stop on corners to pick up people who are waiting for transportation — but not for buses. The "get tough" moves by the racist city administration have failed to break up this determined solidarity.

Judging from the way in which Negroes immediately rallied to the aid of Rev. King after the explosion, the Negro community's solidarity is not to be broken by terrorism, either.

side the house, "Don't get your weapons." Mayor Gayle and Chief of Police Sellers rushed to the scene. Sellers hastily promised the crowd, "I will do everything in my power to bring the guilty parties to prison."

Gayle told the Negroes that the "entire white community is for law and order and none of us condones or believes in these sort of acts."

It was quite a change of tune for both officials who a week ago announced a "get tough" policy in an attempt to break the inspiring solidarity of the Negro population of the city. The boycott of Jim Crow buses has remained 100% effective since it began seven weeks ago.

MAYOR GETS HIGHHANDED

Infuriated by the complete failure of his City Commission to talk the leaders of the Negro community out of supporting the boycott, Mayor Gayle announced on Jan. 24 that the City Council was through "pussyfooting around" with the boycotters.

Two days later, Rev. Martin Luther King was hauled off to jail, fingerprinted and charged with speeding (driving 30 m.p.h. in a 25 m.p.h. zone) after he stopped to give a ride to several Negroes who needed transportation because of their refusal to ride buses. Requests by Negroes for jitney licenses were turned down with the statement, "If Negroes want to ride public

Go" campaign in the Conservative party has been stifled at birth. But the frustration and disillusionment among sections of the Tory rank and file remain. No solution, however temporary, has been found for them. It is from this layer of the middle class that a fascist demagogue could readily find a hearing.

CLEVELAND

Negro History Week Meeting

Saturday, Feb. 11 at 8 P. M.

Speaker:

Ralph Matthews

Veteran newspaperman . . . former managing editor of Afro-American newspapers in New York, Washington, Baltimore . . . first Negro European correspondent (1927-28) . . . now feature editor, The Cleveland Call and Post.

Topic:

"Negro Leadership — Yesterday and Today"

Has there been a decline in militancy in Negro leaders in the U.S.?

What kind of leadership is needed to answer the challenge of Southern terrorism?

Auspices:

The Militant Forum

10609 Superior Ave.

Report from England on Tory Strategy

By John White

LONDON, Jan. 26 — At the beginning of this month, the Daily Telegraph, arch-Tory paper, lifted the lid off a smoldering discontent in the ranks of the Conservative party with a leading article headed: "Waiting for the smack of firm government."

Sharply attacking the Tory Prime Minister — Anthony Eden — it declared, "Conservatives around the country, Ministers and backbenchers are unimpressed with their leaders."

On the same page, an editorial entitled, "A time for action," made acid comments. "In the first seven months of its life," it concluded, "the Government has lost both prestige and decisiveness."

INFLATION CAUSES UNREST

During the next week, the correspondence columns of the Telegraph were filled with letters from Conservative party members endorsing its criticisms, condemning the weakness and vacillation of Eden and his Government and their lack of a firm policy — particularly against inflation.

"Why wasn't Winston Churchill 20 years younger," sighed one correspondent, expressing the yearning of the middle class for a "strong man" who would act ruthlessly in the "interests of the nation."

The retired service officer, the small businessman, the small

rentiers (those who receive fixed incomes from land, stocks, bonds etc.) and others from the British middle class who form the base of the Conservative party have been increasingly uneasy as the problems of British capitalism have been mounting.

They are angry and frustrated at the weakness of British imperialism in the face of the colonial revolution, and the failure to crush the struggles for national independence.

Above all, they are alarmed at the constant inflation — in the past four years recent official figures show that the cost of living has risen 20%. Inflation has not brought to the small businessmen or the middle class with fixed incomes the same super-profits reaped by Big Business and the banks.

The rank and file of the Conservative party blame the inflationary rise on the wage increases of the workers. They are bitterly hostile to the working class, to its power and confidence, and particularly to the organized strength with which it fights to maintain its living standards.

A strong policy from the government "means primarily for these people resolute resistance to the wage claims being presented from all sections of industry."

BIG BUSINESS STRATEGY

However, these frustrated middle class elements do not control

the policy of the Tory government or its choice of leader. That is determined in Big Business circles. Big Business, of course, fully realizes that any real measures to ease the economic ills of capitalism must be directed against the working class. The ruling circles also have an absolute realization of the need of a "firm government" to impose the "necessary sacrifices" — cuts in government expenditures on housing subsidies and social services and above all a curb on wage increases.

But in all discussions among the British government and top business circles who determine policy, the salient question is posed: Is the time ripe for an all-out battle with the workers? For that is what resistance to the wage demands means. And Big Business has decided that the time is not yet ripe. They have reached agreement on the immediate policy to be carried through under Eden's leadership.

The pattern of their strategy became clear on Jan. 19 when a wage increase of 7% was announced on the nationalized railways. Sir Brian Robertson, chief of British Railways, said he hoped there would be a "better spirit" as a result of the increase, which was granted without any struggle.

By its increase to railwaymen the Government was clearly setting the policy for all industry. Within a few days, the press was announcing that the three

million engineering industry workers were likely to receive a similar increase. Reports followed that concessions to the miners were also being discussed.

BAITING THE HOOK

The policy revealed could be summed up by the paradox that the British government was prepared to buy a wage freeze in the immediate future by granting a wage increase now, and avoiding an immediate all-out showdown with the working class.

Looming large in the deliberations of the bosses of the Tory Party would be the role of the right wing trade union officials. The present steps of the Tory government were certainly taken in full consultation with these trade union leaders. After the sharp working class reaction to the Tory Budget (reported in my Nov. 7 article in the Militant) these leaders have expressed a need for immediate concessions in order to aid them in the internal union struggle to line the workers organizations behind a policy of wage freeze, rationalization in industry and the elimination of "restrictive practices."

Big Business has faced realities. It has bound the links tighter between itself, the Government and the trade union leaders. With the wage increases it is buying time in which it hopes this alliance can solve its problems.

Meanwhile, the "Eden Must