

Bill Remains Without Power Against Racists

By George Lavan

AUG. 21 — Like a gang of vultures the Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington are still struggling over the remains of the civil-rights bill. Not a one of them is interested in enforcing the civil rights the Negro people are guaranteed by the Constitution. They are only interested in gaining political advantage from the butchered bill.

The overwhelming desire of the Democrats — from Dixiecrat to Northern liberal wing — is to get the civil-rights issue disposed of as fast as possible. Consequently they are pressing for immediate adoption by the House of Representatives of the gutted version of the bill passed in the Senate. They fear that if the House insists upon the original version of the bill, passed by it several months ago, or upon amendments that undo the compromises reached with the Dixiecrats in the Senate, this would reopen the whole fight. Such a reopening would undoubtedly mean that no bill would be passed this summer and that when Congress reconvenes in January civil rights would be at the top of the agenda.

WANT IT OVER WITH

Democratic party strategists wish to avoid this by all means, for the second session of this Congress will cut right across the campaigns for the coming Congressional elections. However, if the Senate version of the bill which the Dixiecrats will not filibuster, is passed, then civil rights can be kept off the agenda by the claim that the 85th Congress has already adopted a civil-rights bill. Republican Party tacticians have been toying with the idea of having the House hold out for a "stronger" bill than the Senate

version. For several weeks they have maneuvered in the House Rules Committee to delay adoption of the Senate version. There were also hints that Eisenhower would veto the Senate version as too weak. All this was calculated to further what the Republican sponsorship of the bill originally intended — fooling Negro voters into thinking the Republicans are stubborn champions of civil rights.

(The cynical maneuvering on the bill while the House delayed action was not without its share of bitter humor. White-supremacist Southerners such as Rayburn of Texas denounced the Republicans for endangering the passage of civil-rights legislation, while Republicans — who until their party's present drive for the Negro vote had never lifted a finger against Jim Crow — posed as last-ditch fighters for a strong civil-rights bill.)

It appears now that the Republicans have derived all the publicity advantage possible from their tactic, that they will now acquiesce in the "civil-rights" bill passed by the Senate and that Eisenhower will sign it. While they may insist upon one or two amendments these will be empty of content, designed solely for face-saving.

TAKE BACK BRIBE

Ironically enough one of the amendments which both Republicans and Democrats appear to have secretly agreed to is to limit the jury-trial provision in contempt-of-court cases solely to voting cases. In the House.

(Continued on page 3)

New Attacks in Chicago By White Supremacists

By William Bundy

Tension appears to be mounting toward an explosion of wide-spread racist violence in Chicago. Sporadic violence against Negroes is continuing in the wake of an incipient race riot last month in which Negro picnicers in Calumet Park were attacked by a gang of white racists after police, who had been warned of the impending attack, failed to take preventative measures.

A week before the riot, on Sunday July 21, another group of Negro picnicers, at the same park had been stoned by a gang of about 40 white youths. They were given no police protection and not allowed to file a written complaint. On the same day an all-white jury returned a verdict of "not guilty" freeing 2 youths charged with the shotgun slaying

ing of a Negro youth. The verdict emboldened racists bent on violence.

The following Sunday, July 28, a picnic of a Negro civic group, the Bodine Club, was attacked by about 150 white racists. "Hoodlums from outside the area," according to the Aug. 18 N. Y. Times, "joined in the attack." Violence quickly spread over the surrounding area, and in nearby Trumbull Park housing project Negroes were beaten and a Negro home was ransacked. By the end of the day, at least 44 persons had been injured.

LENIENCY TO HOODLUMS

A week after the riot, the Chicago Crusader reported that "white hoodlums are still virtually in control of the neighborhood around Calumet Park despite the presence of large details of policemen. . . They persist in roaming the streets hurling foul names at passing Negroes."

Extreme leniency has been shown to most of the white racists who were arrested during the riot. Only a few were given heavy bonds or charged with felony, while most have been released on \$25 bonds. Negro workers, however, who have to drive through certain Jim Crow residential areas to get to work, and who are frequently attacked and threatened there, are "systematically searched for jack handles or tools in their cars and sometimes arrested."

The Aug. 10 Crusader reports that an interracial "citizens-police organization 465 strong" has been organized to protect homes between 63rd and 69th streets from Wentworth to Halsted streets. The reason given is "that law and order has broken down and the only way to provide adequate protection is for the people themselves to become a police force. . ."

On the other hand, a mass meeting of 1,500 racists held, Aug. 5 at the American Legion Hall, 12582 Ewing voted to organize the East Side Civic League. The League's objective is to keep a certain East side area "all white." Its first act was to raise money for legal aid to those arrested for racist violence.

With Chicago's Negro population of about 800,000 being increased constantly by 2,500 new- could go.

(Continued on page 4)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 34

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, AUGUST 26, 1957

PRICE 10c

Reuther Offers Auto "Big 3" Wages Deal for Cut in Prices

By Joseph Keller

United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther and his International Executive Board have proposed to General Motors, Ford and Chrysler a tie-in deal whereby the union will reduce its contract demands next year if the companies agree to cut auto prices an average of \$100 per car.

Some newspapers have called this proposal a "bombshell." It certainly is to the auto workers. They were not consulted in any way about this new proposition. They read about it in the daily papers after the UAW Executive Board had adopted it on Aug. 16 and Reuther on Aug. 17 had sent official letters to the auto industry "Big Three."

Only last April, the UAW national convention had unanimously voted to make the shorter work week and higher wages the bed-rock demands in the 1958 negotiations. This program was designed to meet the two major economic problems of the auto workers: a constantly rising cost of living and increasing layoffs due to automation and speed-up.

Reuther's six-page letter to the corporations says nothing about the demands previously adopted by the convention. He does say, however, that if the corporations make the suggested price concessions, "we for our part will give full consideration to the effect of such reduction on your corporation's financial position in the drafting of our 1958 demands and in our negotiations."

He further claims that "we are confident our members will be willing to take the consequences in collective bargaining if the price reductions we propose should make it impossible to meet all of their just demands and still maintain a reasonable rate of profit."

Anonymous spokesmen for the auto corporations have been quoted as calling Reuther's proposition a "publicly stunt" and "propaganda." Insofar as the letter cites the phenomenal profits of the "Big Three" and shows how easily they could cut prices and still enjoy astounding profits, it is very good and truthful propaganda. But if they imply that Reuther is not serious about his proposition, these auto industry spokesmen are dead wrong. Unfortunately for the auto workers, Reuther would

like to make such a deal. This would enable him to put forth such limited union demands as to insure a quick contract without any real fight.



REUTHER

What could Reuther hope to gain if his proposal is intended as mere propaganda? Certainly, the corporations aren't going to be taken in by Reuther's trickily-phrased sentences and patriotic talk about acting "jointly and unselfishly in the public interest." His scheme can, however, easily take in workers who might be fooled by the argument that this proposal, as Reuther claimed in a subsequent letter to President Eisenhower, goes "to the roots of our present inflation."

CAUSE OF INFLATION

The present inflation is not due simply to price-fixing by the monopoly corporations, as Reuther contends, although the corporations charge all that the market will bear and enforce price-fixing agreements. But the basic cause of the present inflation is a combination of astronomical government military spending and top-heavy government war debt. Past imperialist wars and present capitalist war preparations, which Reuther enthusiastically supports, have stoked the fires of inflation since 1939. Thus, even if the auto companies accepted the meager price cuts proposed by Reuther,

(Continued on page 4)

Youth Defy Dulles on China Ban

By Martha Wohlforth

Forty-one American youths set out for China Aug. 14 in open defiance of the U.S. State Department. The youths, who had been attending the Moscow Youth Festival, accepted an invitation for a three-week trip to China as guests of the All-China Youth Federation. Risking the loss of their passports, a possible \$2,000 fine and a five-year prison term, they declared: "We . . . reaffirm our belief in the right of U.S. citizens to travel, and . . . state that our exercise of this right is consistent with loyalty to our country."

The American youth delegates had already disregarded the State Department's warning against going to Russia to attend the youth festival during the first two weeks of August, where over 34,000 foreign delegates from 130 countries and 50,000 Russian delegates conversed and debated with a zest and freedom that surprised all observers.

One revealing episode, reported by United Press Aug. 1, occurred during a TV interview of some American delegates conducted by Daniel Schorr of CBS. Walter Coppedge, an American student stated that all the Russian students he had spoken with had expressed their opposition to the official Soviet line on Hungary. Pandemonium broke out. A Moscow radio correspondent and a number of youth delegates from America and other countries entered the fray accusing Coppedge of lying. Schorr was charged with selecting only anti-Communists for the interview. Others called out that free speech must be allowed. The turmoil became so intense that Schorr finally had to give up the interview.

The Christian Science Monitor reporter wrote: "In thousands of street-corner discussions young Russians would betray the fact that they harbored many reservations about life in the Soviet Union." There is a mass of such testimony to support the conclusion that a deep ferment is stirring the youth in the Soviet Union. There is equally ample testimony, however, that while the Soviet youth manifested dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic regime, they showed no receptivity whatever to hackneyed cold-war propaganda about the virtues of the "free" capitalist West.

Tuskegee Rights Leaders in Washington



A delegation from Tuskegee, Ala., testified before a Senate committee, July 30, on how they were deprived of right to vote. From left to right are: Sen. Javits (R-N.Y.), Sen. Kuchel (R-Calif.), Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.), W. P. Mitchell, Secretary, Tuskegee Civic Ass'n and Linwood T. Dorsey, Chairman, Economic Action Committee, Tuskegee Civic Ass'n.

British Guiana Vote Hits Imperialism and Poverty

By John Thayer

The people of British Guiana gave their imperialist masters a stunning slap in the face on Aug. 12, when by a landslide vote they gave the election victory to the People's Progressive Party and its leader Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan. Nine out of the 14 elective seats in the colony's parliament were won by the PPP.

This is the same party that won the first elections held in British South American colony in 1953. At that time the PPP won 18 out of 24 elective seats. When the PPP took office in 1953 it tried to pass legislation providing for employees' union recognition elections, the leasing to small farmers of unutilized land owned by the great absentee sugar plantation owners, reform and extension of the educational system which is church controlled and discriminates on racial and religious grounds, and other reforms.

Immediately the British imperialists started crying "communism." British troops and battleships raced to the colony

and on arrival deposed the democratically elected PPP ministers and declared martial law. Strikes were broken and PPP leaders including Dr. Jagan were imprisoned.

REHEARSE FOR GUATEMALA

In overthrowing the democratically elected government in the South American colony, the Tory government of Britain had the tacit support of the U.S. State Department and the vociferous support of the U.S. Big Business press. At that time the State Department and U.S. imperialists with holdings in Latin America were already planning the similar overthrow of the elected government of Guatemala. Britain's smashing of Guianese democracy was not only desirable in itself from Wall Street's point of view but a useful preparation for the Guatemala coup that was to follow in less than a year.

In preparation for this year's elections the British imperialists drew up a new constitution filled with devices to thwart the will

of the voters. Thus the parliament, or Legislative Council, has 14 elective seats and three seats for British appointed officials. But the British Governor can, if he so desires, appoint eleven more members. The upper chamber, or Executive Council, is composed of ten members, five chosen by the governor from the Legislative Council and five appointed. In the event of a tie the governor casts the deciding vote. Moreover the governor may at will dismiss all members of both chambers.

Since the military overthrow of the Jagan government in 1953 the British succeeded by divide-and-rule tactics in splitting the PPP which was a united front of the Negro minority and another minority of people stemming from India. A split-off wing of the PPP, headed by Negro leader L. F. S. Burnham won three seats.

In voting so overwhelmingly for the PPP, the Guianese people have voted against the abysmal poverty, disease and exploitation that imperialist rule has meant for them.

Negro People Fight to Defend Rights in South and North

While the Democrats and Republicans continued to play politics in Congress with the corpse of the civil-rights bill, real battles between Negro freedom fighters and white supremacists are flaring throughout the country.

A bus boycott by 7,000 Negroes in Rock Hill, South Carolina, which began on July 16, is still completely effective. A friendly gesture touched off the boycott. Alene Austin, a Negro domestic worker, was invited by a white woman to share a seat, the only unoccupied one on the bus. Ordered "to the rear" or "off" by the driver, Miss Austin left and with her has gone the entire Negro community.

OPERATES CAR POOL

The Negroes have formed the Rock Hill Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, led by Rev. Cecil A. Ivory, young crippled minister. Like the famed Montgomery Improvement Association,

this committee operates its own car pool and is characterized by its democratic organizational form with weekly mass meetings. N. Y. Post columnist Murray Kempton reports from the scene the active role of Thomas Murdock, a volunteer car-pool driver, who brings to the struggle his experience as a former United Auto Worker union organizer in Detroit.

The owner of the bus company has refused to restore service except on a segregated basis. As a result negotiations are at a standstill.

Since the boycott, the Ku Klux Klan has been gaining strength. Meetings of over 1,000 have been held and crosses burned. But they have had no effect on the determination of the city's Negro people to win their rights. Rev. Ivory, who has received bomb threats, declares: "We're waiting until the other people agree to obey the law of the land. We know it is unconstitutional to be forced to ride in a segregated manner."

In Tuskegee, Alabama, the two-month boycott of white merchants continues unabated despite the brazen attempts of Alabama Attorney General John Patterson to terrorize the Negroes. Officials of the 43-year old Tuskegee Civic Association to which most of the boycotters belong, have been hauled before the Attorney General in the presence of a large number of armed state troopers and subjected to grilling about the TCA.

Subsequently the Attorney General personally led raids on the offices of the TCA and on a small printshop near the Tuskegee campus which has printed both TCA and NAACP literature. In radio broadcasts the assistant Attorney General has warned Negroes against joining the boycott "crusade," to protect their voting rights. He has also

appealed for informers to turn information over to him for prosecutions.

On Aug. 16 the Attorney General secured a temporary injunction against the TCA and "all persons in active concert or participation" in the boycott. However, the one step that would end the boycott — rescinding the law by which all but ten Negro voters were gerrymandered out of the city limits — has not been broached by state officials. Pending such a step it appears that the unofficial boycott will continue, for it is impossible even for the Southern white supremacists to force the Negro people of Tuskegee to shop in stores where they don't want to.

IN THIS ISSUE

"The Class Struggle Road To Negro Equality" A Socialist Workers Party Resolution (See Pages 2 and 3)

There has been a noticeable increase in the activity of the Ku Klux Klan throughout the South. In Maplesville, Ala., six Negroes were beaten by the hooded terrorists on Aug. 9. In Evergreen, Ala., four Negroes, two of them preachers, were similarly beaten. A particularly atrocious beating took place several weeks earlier in Travelers Rest, South Carolina. There, elderly Claude Cruell was beaten by the KKK because he and his wife took care of the children of an impoverished white neighbor. Cruell was chained and flogged. The white neighbor has been forced to move from the district.

Another KKK activity is the picketing in full regalia of the movie, Island in the Sun, in Jacksonville, Florida. The film has an interracial cast including Harry Belafonte and Dorothy Dandridge.

But racism and racist violence has been by no means confined to the Deep South. The extent

to which this poison infects the whole country was demonstrated in Levittown, Pennsylvania.

Levittown is the lily-white creation of big builder and big profiteer Levitt. On Aug. 10 a Negro family named Myers purchased a home there. This was the signal for racists to stage violent demonstrations. Crowds jeered and threw stones smashing windows. On Aug. 19, after repairs had been completed, the courageous Myers family moved into their new home. State police protected them from a crowd of 400 white supremacists.

Rallying to the support of the Myers from the beginning were the next door neighbors, the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and the Jewish Labor Committee. Somewhat tardily the local and district officials of the United Steelworkers of America of the nearby Fairless Works of the U.S. Steel Corp. have spoken out against violence and racist bigotry.

The Class-Struggle Road to Negro Equality

Text of Resolution Adopted By Socialist Workers Party

The Negro struggle in the United States is part of the world revolutionary upsurge against imperialism and capitalism. Its aims—the ending of all forms of racial segregation and discrimination; the winning of full economic, social and political equality—bring it into conflict with capitalism as inescapably as the struggles of the colonial masses to achieve self-rule and national unity bring them into conflict with imperialism. The character of these conflicts strengthens tendencies among the Negro people to ally themselves not only with the anti-capitalist forces at home, but also with the anti-imperialist forces abroad. The Negro struggle for full equality will be won through the extension, consolidation and triumph of these alliances along consistently anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist lines.

The growing solidarity between the Negro struggle in the United States and the world-wide movement of the colonial and semi-

colonial peoples plays a vital role in the development of the American working class. It foregrounds the linking up of the struggles of the American working class, which have not yet assumed consciously anti-capitalist forms, with the relatively more advanced character of the world revolutionary process. Since the Negroes have become integrated into the modern labor movement their greater receptivity to the international anti-capitalist movement tends to introduce a significant revolutionary ingredient into the consciousness of the working class as a whole.

The ever-closer feeling of kinship between the Negro and colonial peoples derives from their mutual experiences in struggle, and from the fact that the colonial masses are in the main colored people who have been dominated by imperialist nations controlled by a white ruling class. Thus the struggle against white supremacy permeates both the colonial and Negro movements, reinforcing their solidarity.

A Majority of Mankind

In addition the colored peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial spheres constitute a majority of mankind. By making common cause with them, the Negro people help to reduce the handicap of being a minority of the nation. Along these general lines both movements derive mutual strength from their separate struggles.

Colonial support to the Negro struggle is dramatized by official invitations extended to Rev. M. L. King, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, to attend celebrations in Ghana and India. Solidarity with the colonial revolution is manifested through Negro support of the Egyptian and Algerian liberation struggles; and by the lukewarm to cool reception of the Eisenhower Middle East doctrine in the Negro press.

Their own bitter experiences with a President who refuses to speak out in support of civil rights in this country gives the Negro people good reason to challenge the democratic pretensions of U.S. capitalism's foreign policy. Experience likewise impels them to challenge the concept that imperialist wars are fought for democracy. They learned that lesson well in both World War II and the Korean War. In fact their wartime lessons have accentuated and deepened the grievances of the Negro people.

While they were supposed to be fighting for democracy, according to the capitalist propaganda, young Negroes in the armed forces got a large dose of

Jim Crow in uniform. When those who survived the slaughter were demobilized they were forced back into hateful civilian patterns of segregation and discrimination. Meanwhile in Southern military camps Northern Negroes got a clearer picture of conditions in that region where racial prejudice has its deepest roots. Southern Negroes gained new ideas, fresh hope from their Northern comrades in uniform. Both rubbed shoulders to a degree with the peoples of the world, broadening their thinking, impelling them toward greater militancy in the fight for equality. Once demobilized, young Negro veterans took their place in the forefront of the civil rights struggle.

On the home front the colored people have implicitly tended to reject the notion that the imperialist war was their war. Militant elements began to look instead for opportunities to use the war as a means to push ahead a bit in their own battle for civil rights. In 1941 the March-on-Washington movement sprang up, receiving such strong mass support that the Roosevelt government felt compelled to make temporary concessions toward an FEPC. The 1943 Harlem outbreak sharpened the mass pressure, forcing some further concretization toward an FEPC in New York state policy. Consciousness in the Negro struggle had begun to subordinate the war aims of imperialism to the democratic aspirations of the colored people.

Negroes in Industry

The civil rights movement gained momentum from the rise in industrial employment for Negroes forced on the capitalists by the needs of the war economy. Across the decade from 1940 to 1950 official statistics showed a sharp rise for the country as a whole in the employment of non-whites in manufacturing. Where 1 out of 9 non-white workers had been employed in manufacturing in 1940, the ratio had risen by 1950 to about 1 out of 5. The artificially stimulated economy of the cold war has enabled the colored workers to hold and even expand their foothold in industry. Figures for 1952 showed the above ratio climbing toward 1 out of 4.

This upward trend in industrial employment for colored workers spurred a vast wave of Negro migration from the countryside into the cities of the South and into the more highly industrialized regions elsewhere in the country. Over the 1940-1950 census decade the number of Negroes outside the South rose nearly 60 percent, from 2,960,000 to 4,600,000. The migratory trend toward the main industrial centers, particularly toward the war-stimulated West Coast industrial regions, is strikingly revealed by the 1950 figures. For example, in ten years the Negro population of Los Angeles had tripled and in the Oakland-San Francisco area it had increased tenfold.

Although more deeply assimilated into industry, the Negro workers still face discrimination on the job. In the cities of the North and West, as in the South, the rapidly-growing colored population also remains generally segregated in housing, usually under squalid conditions at high rents. In community life they face open or hypocritical discrimination in various forms. They are

united by a burning desire to break out of this vicious circle. The migrations of recent years have greatly strengthened the Negro movement in the fight for civil rights. People leaving the South have been largely rural elements who had been dispersed across the farming communities. They lived under deplorable economic conditions, faced with white supremacy in its worst forms and were therefore unable to mobilize themselves for effective struggle in defense of their rights. Their new life in the North and West finds them concentrated in industrial cities, integrated into large, compact Negro communities already well advanced in the struggle for equality.

With younger and more enterprising elements predominating in the migratory wave, the transformation in their social consciousness has been unusually rapid. Their big contribution to the strengthening of the Negro community has in turn given new weight and fresh impetus to the civil rights struggle. The mass pressures reflected in the militancy of the Negro press and the mass response when called to action by their leaders testify to this fact. Most immediately significant in the North and West has been the increased Negro participation in political life. The rise in the Negro vote is changing the political balance of power in the general elections and has pushed the civil rights question to the fore as a national political issue. Thus the migrations have resulted in the strengthening of the Southern Negro struggle through the medium of national politics.

The political impact of the Negro struggle compelled the Truman Democrats to make a demagogic bid for the Negro vote in



the 1948 elections at the cost of a split with the Dixiecrats. When the white supremacists then began to shift their support to the Republicans the Democratic Party sought to bury the civil rights issue in a bid for unity with its Southern wing. As a result the Republicans registered a significant gain in Negro votes, especially in the 1956 elections. This situation has stiffened competition between the capitalist parties for Negro support and may lead to some minor improvements in the federal civil rights laws. If so, the objective of both the Democrats and Republicans will be to seek a maximum of credit for a minimum of action. Neither party has the slightest

intention of pressing for decisive measures to enforce minority rights.

Despite the political shell game of the capitalist politicians, the pressures from the civil rights movement, coupled with the diplomatic pressures arising from the colonial revolution, have compelled a series of capitalist concessions. These range from the wartime FEPC, through desegregation of the armed forces, to the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation. Along with this latter concession has come significant new evidence that it is impossible to secure full Negro equality through reliance on the capitalist government.

The White Citizens Councils

Announcement of the school desegregation decision led to open defiance of the Supreme Court by the white supremacists. The White Citizens Councils came into being as a new instrument to combine legal and extra-legal acts of racial repression. Recent estimates place the total membership of the Councils around 350,000 in all Southern states. This racist movement has been openly mobilized by the Southern Democratic politicians. The Southern press has given general support to its white supremacist attack on the Negro people.

The Councils have their greatest strength in rural and small-town areas where poverty, lack of education, bigotry and deep-seated patterns of prejudice lend themselves to the incitement of racial antagonisms. These rural forces have been used by the capitalist politicians to help impose conformity with Jim-Crow policies in the white population in the cities, including the white working class. Southern whites who sympathize with the Negro people have with few exceptions avoided open manifestations of support. The exceptions often involve individual acts of heroism, usually followed by white-supremacist reprisals.

Throughout the Deep South the legal arm of the White Citizens Councils, operating at the state and local government levels, has acted to checkmate racial integration and to intimidate and victimize the Negro people. Since the 1954 Supreme Court decision over 100 new segregation laws have been enacted in Southern states. The Georgia legislature has demanded impeachment of six U.S. Supreme Court judges. Reverting to the old states' rights position of the slave holders, the white supremacists contend that a state may interpose its sovereignty against "unconstitutional" federal intervention. Laws have been passed aimed at barring Negroes from resort to federal court action in defense of their civil rights.

In several states the NAACP has been officially outlawed. Demands have been raised that the federal government put the NAACP on its witch-hunting "subversive" list. Legal frame-ups against Negro freedom fighters have been perpetrated in the state and local courts. An equally potent weapon to preserve Jim

Crow domination is the growing use of economic pressure—cancellation of credit, insurance, licenses; discharge of workers and teachers—used against all who sign or show sympathy for suits requesting court action to desegregate schools, protect the right to vote, etc.

At the same time the extra-legal arm of the White Citizens Councils has conducted a typical Ku Klux Klan campaign of terror. Arson, bombing, shooting, beating, lynching have been unleashed against the Negro people and their white sympathizers. This terrorism is designed to prevent Negroes from organizing in defense of their rights, from acting to break down segregation and discrimination, from exercising their right to vote. It is also directed against whites sympathetic to the Negro people.

In the face of open white-supremacist defiance of the Supreme Court and the campaign of terror against the Negro people, the federal government has done little or nothing to enforce the law or to punish the white-supremacist thugs. As a rule, official action to desegregate public schools has been undertaken only where there is a relatively small colored population. These actions have been confined primarily to the border states, leaving the Deep South virtually untouched. The leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties have acted insofar as they felt compelled to do so under mass pressure. Even then they have done as little as possible, hoping to appease the colored masses through promises of future action, without actually doing much to make desegregation a living reality on the social scene.

The Negro people refuse to accept the go-slow policy of the capitalist politicians. They have responded to the 1954 Supreme Court decision by a new mass upsurge in their struggle for full equality and in defense of their very lives against white-supremacist terror. The 1955 lynch-murder of 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till in Mississippi set off a great wave of mass protest actions in the cities of the North and West. These demonstrations of Negro solidarity, militancy and mass power made the Till case a major issue in the national press and aroused widespread sympathy among whites. This mass

sympathy and support in the North and West made the Southern Negroes feel they had allies. They became inspired to throw their own weight into the scales through mass action to combat segregation, discrimination, brutality.

Hard on the heels of the Till demonstrations a mass struggle exploded right in the heart of the deep South. The Negro people of Montgomery, Alabama, solidly united and 50,000 strong, set out to smash segregation on the city buses. They were opening a fight to win full equality in all spheres, starting where they had the strongest initial tactical advantage—the bus boycott. They hit hard with their economic power as the main users of the buses: demanding seating on a first-come, first-served basis; courteous treatment; and the hiring of colored drivers on routes in predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

The Democratic Party politicians in local government struck back through a mass trial of the boycott leaders, aiming to beat and crush the new mass organization, the Montgomery Improvement Association. But the colored people of the city turned out for the trial in mass to show solidarity with their victimized leaders. Defense witnesses poured out the bitter grievances of a long-suffering people for the whole world to hear. Although Rev. King was convicted, the trial was actually turned into a

successful counter-attack on the white supremacists.

Meanwhile the MIA launched an attack in the federal courts on the Alabama bus segregation law. They kept the boycott pressure on throughout the court deliberations, showing tremendous staying power in a year-long siege. The mass pressure speeded the judicial proceedings, resulting in a U.S. Supreme Court decision last December knocking out the Alabama law in question. When the court order came through the Negro people acted to enforce it by returning to the buses on a non-segregated basis.

Go Beyond the NAACP

The NAACP policy of discouraging mass action led in the North and West to sporadic upsurges of struggle in independent organizational form. In the South, however, such partial, episodic mass actions could not be undertaken. For the Southern Negroes to win a mass struggle it was necessary for them to propel a whole people into motion, an effort not to be lightly undertaken due to the peril of savage reprisals if defeated. They therefore sought maximum utilization of the NAACP as an instrument of struggle, imparting to it unusual regional strength that added to its specific weight nationally. In addition NAACP initiative in the proceedings that led to the school desegregation decision brought great prestige to the organization and its national leadership.

Yet the fundamental flaw in NAACP policy—reliance on the capitalist government to secure civil rights—has repeatedly upset its organizational control over the insurgent Negro masses.

With the rise of the CIO, the colored workers sought to adapt to the civil rights movement the methods of struggle they had learned in the unions—boycotts, picketing, protest demonstrations—and to secure union support for their efforts. Various local organizations sprang into being as instruments of mass action, usually around some specific issue. Across the years such local movements have arisen and then disappeared, only to arise again in somewhat different form.

Evidence of the rebellious mood permeating the ranks of

successful counter-attack on the white supremacists.

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Similar enforcement of the court order was undertaken at Tallahassee, Florida, where a bus boycott had been started following the Montgomery action. Test demonstrations were carried through in Birmingham, Atlanta and other Southern cities in order to initiate court action against local bus segregation laws. At an Atlanta meeting 97 Negro leaders gathered to form a Southern Leaders Conference with Rev. King as president. The Conference proclaimed its intention to fight on until all forms of racial discrimination have been abolished. President Eisenhower was asked to come into the South and publicly state his position on the civil rights issue. When he refused the Southern Leaders Conference at a later meeting in New Orleans proposed a mass pilgrimage to Washington to demand action from the federal government.

Beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott, the Southern Negro movement assumed a vanguard role in the civil rights struggle and changed the course of events. Skillfully mobilized by able leaders with clear aims, the colored masses intervened against the White Citizens Councils, confronting them for the first time with a head-on fight. Capitalist politicians of all stripes were compelled to reshape their policies under the impact of mass pressure. Throughout the Negro movement the ranks became newly inspired; strategic and tactical policies, organizational forms and leadership patterns have been affected.

The Montgomery action broke through the limitations long imposed on the civil rights movement by the national leadership of the NAACP. Distrust and deliberate restraint of mass action has been a central component of official NAACP policy. At the national level the basic policy has been to seek gradual extension of civil rights through reliance on the courts, law enforcement agencies and legislative bodies, working toward that end through the medium of the capitalist political parties.

Membership participation in the local NAACP branches has been more or less confined to fund raising, legwork in support of national policies dictated from the top and local activities around civic reform movements. Few workers could be activated in this environment. With some exceptions, the movement remained essentially middle class in its active core, particularly outside the South, thus facilitating middle class domination of the leadership nationally.

The colored people goes beyond the various small-scale local actions of recent years. The 1941 March-on-Washington movement evoked a broad mass response to a protest action aimed squarely at the capitalist government. The 1943 Harlem outbreak reflected a similar mass mood, as did the spontaneous resistance to the anti-Negro pogrom in Detroit the same year.

In 1955, when the conservative Negro leaders announced meetings to protest the Till murder, the colored masses of the North and West filled the halls to overflowing. Unionized Negro workers in Chicago forced extension of the protest through a picket line at the City Hall, adding to the bill of particulars local acts of violence against colored people.

More alarmed than inspired by the vigorous mass response to their call for a protest, the conservative Negro leaders sought to discourage further mass action, hoping to keep the movement confined within the general framework of reliance on the government. They were not to succeed because the necessary conditions for mass action in the South had now matured. The colored people of Montgomery were able to catch up with the general trend toward militant struggle and in doing so they pushed the whole movement towards a higher stage of development.

The Montgomery Improvement Association was the mobilization of an entire Southern Negro community in action. It united the workers, women, youth, professional and middle class ele-

The Civil Rights Struggle and the SWP Resolution

For the last six weeks civil rights has been the main order of business in Congress.

Outside Congress, the Negro people are locked in battle against the racists on a series of fronts in the North and the South.

The resolution of the Socialist Workers Party, adopted at its 17th National Convention last June, sets forth the reason why civil rights has become the leading political issue in the nation today.

It presents an analysis of the contending forces in the civil rights conflict and a program for the victory of the Negro people in alliance with the labor movement.

We print the SWP resolution as a contribution to the discussion among all partisans of Negro equality over how to abolish Jim Crow. — Editor.

ments more effectively than any previous organization had done, enabling them all to contribute to the common cause. The main thrust toward organized action, however, came from the working class section of the movement.

At every stage the struggle revealed the presence of an able worker leadership schooled in the arts of mass organization. Typifying this worker leadership is Mr. E. D. Nixon, treasurer of the MIA and a veteran union and civil rights leader. His long training and experience were no doubt reflected in the keen sense of timing with which the growing mass militancy became crystallized into concrete mass action.

It took a skilled hand to act decisively while the masses seethed with anger over the arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks; to swiftly mobilize a broadly representative leading cadre from the Negro population as a whole; and to hammer out a clearly de-

defined perspective around which to summon the masses to battle. The record shows that these things were done, and done consciously, during the first days of the Montgomery action.

As the boycott settled into a siege further evidence revealed the presence of experienced mass organizers. The car pool alone was a masterpiece of organization, involving vehicles, drivers, dispatchers, mechanics and very substantial service facilities. Strike techniques appeared in the form of an organized relief system, publicity and legal defense mechanisms and systematic appeals for material aid. The regular mass meetings to keep the ranks informed of developments and to help sustain their fighting morale are in the best tradition of militant labor struggle. Among the most significant features is the generally democratic structure of the movement.

Use Economic Weapons

One of the boycott demands called for employment of Negro bus drivers on certain lines. This indicates perception of the need to relate class problems of the Negro workers to the general civil rights struggle. Sensitivity to the economic interests of the masses is further indicated by the MIA decision to organize a credit union. This step, offering a measure of protection against white supremacist economic reprisals, followed the boycott victory. Thus it implies determination to continue with organized mass action in the fight for full equality.

High potential for the continuation of policies involving mass participation is also implied by the predominance of youth in the MIA leadership. Throughout history the youth have given vigor, sweep and boldness to movements deeply rooted in the masses. This spirit, infused into the struggle by the worker youth, imparted militancy to the young lawyers and ministers. As the young ministers responded bravely to the mass upsurge, the worker organizers pushed them forward as public spokesmen. Several factors were involved: the traditional role of the church in the civil rights struggle; the educational advantages derived from their ministerial training; the time they can give to the movement without need for personal financial aid.

The attention given to the ministers by the press has created a partly distorted picture of the MIA. Despite the religious tones and language imparted by the ministers in the leadership, it is not primarily a religious movement. Because of peculiar historical circumstances, segregation especially, the church has come to be a social, cultural and political as well as religious center for the Negro people. When

the boycott struggle began the church was there at hand, available as a convenient meeting place and organizational center. In addition, its character as a religious institution afforded a measure of protection against white-supremacist violence, although the night-prowling white supremacists have not hesitated to hurl bombs at Negro churches.

The MIA mass meetings were called "prayer meetings," but they were not at all conventional religious gatherings, for the "prayers" were recitations of grievances, demands and pledges to do something about them in an organized and militant fashion. The theme of "non-violence," heavily stressed by the ministers, found an echo in the ranks, chiefly for its tactical significance. The Negro people have no reason to precipitate acts of violence. They are merely demanding the civil rights to which they are legally entitled under the U.S. Constitution. All the violence comes from the white supremacists who seek through terror to restrain the colored people from fighting for their rights. Advocacy of "non-violence" therefore meets with favor as a means to protest against the terrorism aimed at the Negro freedom fighters.

The program of Rev. King and some of the other ministers is a confusing and conflicting combination of mystical-pacifist slogans and militant-practical actions. On the one hand they preach a doctrine—"love your enemy," "turn the other cheek"—that impedes rather than promotes the mobilization of forces to fight Jim Crow, invites collaboration with the enemy and facilitates his continued domination. On the other hand they have supported and led a courageous mass struggle against that enemy.

Passive Resistance?

"Passive resistance" is a formula that can be filled with different kinds of content. In Gandhi's hands it was used to paralyze and demoralize mass action at crucial moments. In Montgomery, however, even though the ministers praise Gandhi, the accent so far has been on struggle, and the boycott was active all the way. The ministers appear to have been accepted by the members of the MIA as leaders in the struggle not because they preached passivity but because, reflecting the sentiments of the members, they preached resistance—collective resistence. The distinguishing feature of the Montgomery movement is not pacifist declarations of some of its leaders but its use of mass action to fight Jim Crow. Its future depends on the continued use and extension of such action.

One product of the Montgomery struggle was the formation of the Southern Leaders Conference. This opens new possibilities for the development of mass struggle methods on a broader basis than the bus boycott. It implies the necessity for greater intervention by the Southern Negroes themselves, and therefore represents a differentiation from the conservative policies of the national Negro leaders who cling to their reliance on the capital-

ist government to bring about civil rights reforms.

One of the first steps of the SLC was the call for a mass pilgrimage to Washington on May 17, 1957, to put pressure on the government. The NAACP leadership was drawn into sponsorship of this action. The pilgrimage was poorly organized, the turnout falling far short of what was possible. Nevertheless, it was a successful demonstration and a historic occasion.

Though threatened many times in the past, this was the first mass Negro march on Washington. The chief impulse came from the Southern Negroes, whose entry on the national political scene showed them to be capable of mobilizing beside themselves the chief national Negro organization and a section of the labor movement. This action forecasts motion toward a higher stage of struggle that can lead to independent political action in opposition to the capitalist parties.

Outside the South the colored masses have been highly responsive to the Montgomery struggle and to the steps taken by the Southern Leaders Conference since the boycott victory. They are wondering why they can't get into action themselves. Within the NAACP the ranks

(Continued on page 3)

... The Class-Struggle Road to Negro Equality

(Continued from page 2)

are growing restless. They want more membership participation in the organization, more internal democracy, as was developed through the MIA. So far the masses in general have looked primarily to the NAACP to set them into motion. If the organization now fails to act, other organizational vehicles will in time be developed.

Whether the NAACP will find a way to fall in step with the new situation will depend on the outcome of struggles outside and inside the organization. For the next period a fluid process can be expected in the shaping of policies and the development of organizational forms to implement them. In time, however, the NAACP must either re-adjust to the changing course of the civil rights movement or yield its

place as the dominant national organization in the movement. The ultimate showdown can be expected to involve a shift in the fundamental axis of the struggle, away from reliance on the capitalist government and toward mass action in direct opposition to government policy.

Conditions for the shift are being prepared in the South by a basic process of social change. Mechanization of agriculture and a parallel rise of new industries is transforming a predominantly agricultural into an industrial people. Colored and white alike are affected. A vast number have been entirely uprooted from the land and drawn into the industrial centers. In addition many small farmers and agricultural day laborers seek part-time jobs in industry because they can't make out on the land alone.

expensive to the white workers. At the same time the Montgomery boycott action cannot help but give them a new appreciation of the fighting qualities of the Negro workers.

The Negro workers, for their part, appear eager to join in the union struggle. However, they want first-class citizenship with organized labor, along with union support of their civil rights in industry and throughout society. By meeting this just demand labor will serve its own interests, gaining colored-white solidarity in industry and winning over the colored people generally as allies. This alliance, which flows naturally from the mutual interests and essential class affinity of the labor and civil rights movements, can be firmly cemented by the Negro workers.

There are virtually no capitalists among the Negro people and only a thin layer of middle class elements. As a people they are overwhelmingly working class in composition. Taken nationally, a large section of the Negro workers are already unionized. These unionists are farthest advanced in connecting the fight for their civil rights with the struggle to raise political consciousness to a higher level.

Usually the last to be hired and the first to be fired, the threat of unemployment becomes for them both a civil rights and

a class issue requiring united labor-Negro action in all respects. As a segregated minority they suffer the worst housing crisis, thus feeling an acute need for common efforts by the labor and Negro movements to compel government action in the housing field. Migratory pressures on the city ghettos are pushing the Negro people out into new residential areas where they meet vicious white supremacist resistance. Yet everywhere in the country they see the capitalist politicians ducking responsibility for enforcement of the Negroes' right to a home. They find little equality anywhere, except in taxation to finance the capitalist war program toward which they show no enthusiasm.

These conditions force the Negro militants toward an examination of the political nature of the government power. They find the main bastion of white supremacy rule among the Southern Democrats whose political strength derives in great part from the disenfranchisement of the colored masses. Nationally they see the Democrats aid the white supremacists by giving them the chairmanships of key Congressional committees. They behold the Republicans making their contribution in the form of a coalition with the Southern Democrats to enact generally repressive laws, while the President remains neutral on the side of the racists.

Southern Industry Expands

Expansion of the Southern industrial economy covers a whole series of products, extending from industrial machinery, through war materials, to a large variety of consumer items. According to the magazine U.S. News and World Report of January 27, 1956, gains in manufacturing output over the last 15 years range from 353% for Alabama to 533% for South Carolina. The South now accounts for nearly one-quarter of the country's manufacturing facilities as compared to 9% at the turn of the century.

A similar rise in the number of Southern wage earners engaged in manufacturing is shown by the National Negro Year Book. During the period from 1940 to 1950 the percentage of all Southern wage earners thus engaged rose from 16.0 to 18.4; in the same ten years the percentage of non-whites involved rose from 10.1 to 14.4. Mechanization of agriculture, on the other hand, has resulted since 1950 in the elimination of 55,000 sharecroppers in the Southeastern states alone, leaving a remaining total of around 200,000 in that single area of the South. This figure, related to the land, reflects the continuing propulsion of uprooted agricultural peoples toward the industrial centers.

where in the nation, the Negro people are undergoing an intensive process of urbanization and industrialization. City life confronts them with the same old prejudices they faced on the land, only the resulting social patterns are somewhat different. In the communities they are segregated but they also become more compactly organized. In industry they meet general discrimination but they also gain a higher form of class homogeneity than they were able to attain on the land. A new necessity and a new opportunity arises for a firmer class unity of the colored and white toilers that could be found in agriculture. Implied is a major breach in the wall of white supremacy leading toward fusion of the civil rights movement with the class struggle in industry.

Keenly aware of these social implications, the monopoly capitalists who today dominate Southern political rule seek to strengthen the wall of white supremacy in order to keep labor divided along color lines. In the last analysis the White Citizens Councils are actually the tool of the monopoly bankers, industrialists and planters. They are using this tool to maintain the open shop, keep wages down and coin super-profits at labor's expense.

Top Union Officials Duck Fight

Failure of the national union officials to seriously combat the white supremacists has helped the White Citizens Councils to gain strength in the unions. As a result existing prejudices among white workers are in some cases deepened. A general pattern of conformity with white supremacist policies emerges for lack of class struggle education and an effective means of resistance to the racists. White workers who would like to fight back hesitate for fear of reprisals against which they have no ready defense. Usually they resort to indirect methods of showing their sympathy with the colored workers in the civil rights struggle and their feelings of solidarity with them as class brothers.

Although industrial employment in the South is rapidly expanding, less than one-fifth of the workers are organized into unions. Open shop conditions have in turn perpetuated the Southern wage differential. According to U.S. Department of Labor figures for 1953-54, for every \$1 a production worker earned in Chicago, his counterpart in Atlanta, Dallas or New Orleans earned only 70 to 75 cents. These circumstances have given rise in the North and West to an increasing flow of runaway plants toward the South.

Deliberate efforts to draw industries southward are illustrated by a current national advertising campaign sponsored by the Oklahoma State Department of Commerce and Industry, a governmental arm of capitalist political rule. As published in the New York Times of March 10, 1957, the advertisement states in part: "In May of 1955 the average hourly pay of Oklahoma labor was \$1.74 per hour compared with the national average of \$1.84 per hour [wage differential]. The percent of man-days worked, lost through labor disputes for the nation was .72, while that of Oklahoma was only .33 [open shop]."

To workers outside the South the danger of runaway plants and the drag of the wage dif-

ferential are costly to their employment and their earning power. Unionization of the South is therefore vital to labor nationally. But as the experience in building the CIO taught, unions can't be organized without the aid of the colored workers involved. Consequently it is a matter of class duty for labor to support the civil rights movement in order to help force colored and white solidarity in industry.

The AFL-CIO in Flint, Michigan recently denounced local attempts to form a White Citizens Council. This action clearly stems from lessons first learned in the great sit-down strikes of 1937 through which the CIO organized the auto workers. However, the Flint policy declaration gives rise to some questions. If the White Citizens Councils are anti-labor in Flint, are they not also anti-labor in Montgomery, Alabama? If Flint labor is now threatened by this white-supremacist tool of the capitalist class, shouldn't the AFL-CIO launch an offensive against the White Citizens Councils at the fountainhead in the South? Shouldn't that offensive take the form of an all-out union organizational drive, coupled with militant support of the civil rights movement, the unions' natural ally against the anti-Negro, anti-labor conspiracy of the white supremacists?

The union movement is in an excellent position to cut away the mass base of the White Citizens Councils. Vigorous union intervention, backed by up the full national power of organized labor, would evoke a real response among the Southern workers. The dynamic strike wave that raced across the South in 1955 revealed the growing worker sentiment for union action. In a sense this strike wave paralleled the great 1934 strikes which arose as the heat-lightning signalling the coming CIO storm.

Objective circumstances are preparing the white workers to accept the colored toilers as class brothers. Open-shop conditions are creating problems that make racial prejudice more and more

Need for Independent Politics

Recognition is therefore dawning that to break the power of the white supremacists the masses must enter the political arena as an independent force. The proposal of the Southern Leaders Conference to organize a mass pilgrimage to Washington was a limited step in that direction. It also pointed the way for the union movement in opposing the governmental attacks on labor. In fact there is great need for the labor and civil rights movements to join forces in independent political action to advance their mutual interests.

As yet the Negro movement is ahead of organized labor in gathering mass momentum. The union struggle remains muted due largely to the high level of employment and the tolerable wage level made possible through production for war. However, there is considerable ferment within the unions nationally and among the unorganized workers of the South. With the civil rights movement upsetting the national political equilibrium and advancing the political education of the working class, labor is brought that much closer to a mass upsurge. When the workers act their struggles will lend fresh vigor to the Negro movement. This interrelation between the two movements will tend to lead them toward unity of purpose in the sphere of independent political action.

Their fusion into a united political force would imply a head-on collision with the capitalist ruling class, breaking up the present two-party swindle and precipitating a class polarization in politics. In the process the civil rights forces could be expected to ally themselves with labor to launch an independent labor party based on the unions.

The chief obstacles to this development are the union officials with their middle class mentality and the middle class Negro leadership. Both sets of bureaucrats violate the democratic rights of the membership acting to keep the masses chained to the liberal capitalist politicians. Shrinking from direct struggle against the capitalist ruling class, they appeal to the capitalist government for reforms to appease the masses. Toward this end they give general support to the Democratic Party, with an occasional sortie into Republican politics to demonstrate their "independence." As a consequence they spread capitalist ideas among the masses, impair class consciousness and sow illusions that a fundamental change can be brought about under capitalism.

Official union support of the civil rights movement is deliberately channeled through the conservative leadership dominating the NAACP. This policy flows from fear that mass action in the civil rights struggle will cause ferment among Negro workers in the unions nationally and help precipitate mass action to unionize the South. A militant leadership would welcome such possibil-

ities and act to spread the process. But the top union officials see only a danger of upsetting their class-collaborationist scheme to the Democratic Party for adjustment. Above all they fear to face the race issue in the South, an evasion of leadership responsibility that doomed in advance the Southern organization drive started in 1946. Their failure enabled the Dixiecrats to stay in power and enact "Right-to-Work" laws as a further barrier to unionization.

False policies within the radical movement have helped to prop up the class collaborationist political line of the union officials and the conservative Negro leaders. The Social Democrats, having abandoned class-struggle concepts as they capitulated to the capitalist war policy, act in close kinship with the bureaucrats dominating the mass movement. The Communist Party, following the deceptive Stalinist line of "peaceful co-existence," advances the misleading notion that fundamental social problems can be solved through an "anti-monopoly coalition" cutting across class lines. Both tendencies render service to the conservative leaders of the labor and Negro movements in keeping the masses tied to the Democratic Party.

The Communist Party, which in the past has been the most successful in recruiting Negro militants, has also done a lot to discredit the radical movement in the eyes of the colored masses. Among Negroes, as in American life generally, the CP leaders have consistently subordinated all other interests to those of the Soviet bureaucracy. Twists and turns in Kremlin diplomacy, rather than changes in American conditions, have accounted for the abrupt changes in the CP line on the Negro struggle: "militancy" against Jim Crow during the Stalin-Hitler pact; hostility to the Negro struggle as "disrupting the war effort" during the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance; "militancy" a gain during the cold war; and now, a readiness to take a "statesmanlike" view even of anti-Negro forces if they are willing to support "peaceful co-existence."

The Communist Party et one time advocated establishment of a Negro Republic in the Black Belt. This slogan ran counter to the integrationist aims of the colored people and further alienated them from socialist ideas. It also created confusion about the principles of self-determination. Theoretically, the profound growth of racial solidarity and national consciousness among the Negro people might under certain future conditions give rise to separatist demands. Since minority peoples have the democratic right to exercise self-determination, socialists would be obligated to support such demands if they should reflect the mass will. Yet even under these circumstances socialists would continue to advocate integration rather than separation as the best solution of the race question for Negro and white workers alike.

While upholding the right of self-determination, they would continue to urge an alliance of the Negro people and the working class to bring about a socialist solution of the civil rights problem within the existing national framework.



Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (left), president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and E. D. Nixon, MIA treasurer.

Mass Action Is the Key

Motion toward the socialist solution is today foreshadowed by the Montgomery struggle. Class collaborationist policies can hold the masses in check only so long as capitalism can grant real concessions, one upon another. Since there is imperative need for fundamental social change, each concession leads to new and more far-reaching demands. The recent civil rights battles have proven in life the class-struggle principle that that mass pressure is the only means to wrest significant reforms from the ruling class. Far from appeasing the Negro people, the legal reforms and other concessions thus far granted have become the starting point for broader struggles and more militant methods aimed at translating legal victories into living realities.

Capitalism therefore finds it increasingly difficult to grant sufficient reforms to appease the masses. As Montgomery shows, this contradiction leads inevitably to mass actions that tend to upset the capitalist political equilibrium. Conditions are thus ripening for replacement of the reformist leadership of the mass movement with a revolutionary socialist leadership.

The process can be helped along through a transitional program leading toward fusion of the civil rights movement with the class struggle for socialism. This program takes as its point of departure the independent character of the Negro movement as a minority struggle for democratic reforms under capitalism, focusing special attention on the need for labor to support the struggle. Organized labor should be in the forefront of the fight for such civil rights legislation as an FEPC with teeth in it, anti-lynch laws, poll tax repeal and measures to protect the voting rights of the colored people. Labor should give militant backing to demands for Presidential enforcement of Negro rights, including the use of federal troops against the white supremacists where tactical conditions warrant such a demand.

Full support must also be given the colored freedom fighters in taking measures for their own self-defense against white su-

premaist terror. During the Montgomery action sheer necessity produced an embryonic form of defense guards. As the struggle deepens this defense mechanism will be required to assume more concrete forms according to the given tactical situation. Again it is in labor's elementary class interests to prevent the White Citizens Councils from creating a polarization along color lines whereby all-Negro defense guards would have to stand alone against white supremacist terrorists. Acts of violence have been and will continue to be directed against the unions as well as the Negro people. As a real campaign to organize the South gets under way such attacks will grow in intensity. The labor and civil rights movements therefore have a common problem that should be met through united self-defense measures.

Socialists have a special responsibility to mobilize labor support of Negro mass actions and to help give concrete political direction to these struggles. Labor should be called to join such demonstrations as the mass pilgrimage to Washington. These measures offer a realistic vehicle to generalize the mass demands and direct them with maximum force squarely at the federal government. Mass experience of this kind at the seat of governmental power helps to dispel illusions in the capitalist government and speed the break with capitalist politics.

Socialists should encourage and support the running of independent Negro candidates, against the Democratic and Republican tickets. Such support, with the necessary criticism where the program is inadequate, is fully justified on the principle of the right of Negroes to minority representation in government. The unions should be urged to back independent Negro candidates and to run their own independent candidates in opposition to the capitalist parties. Fusion of these independent political currents should be advocated through a labor-Negro alliance to form an independent labor party based on the unions. A labor party would in turn serve as the political instrument for creation of a workers and farmers govern-

ment, acting solely in the interests of the toiling masses. That government, being genuinely representative of the Negro people, would act to guarantee their full civil rights. To achieve these ends it would of necessity move toward the establishment of a socialist society.

If the fight for complete equality is to be won, the Negro workers must take the leadership out of the hands of the middle class elements. That task requires the building of a left wing founded on class-struggle perspectives. In their dual role as Negroes and as unionists the colored workers are in a position to strive within both the civil rights and union spheres for the fusion of these two movements. As the union rank and file is brought to the aid of the civil rights struggle, the Negro workers will in turn gain support in asserting their leadership.

The revolutionary socialist movement can help this process along by initiating united front actions in solidarity with the Negro people. Through a united effort by all radical tendencies momentum can be developed to draw broader forces, including sections of the labor movement, into the supporting actions. This initiative on the part of revolutionary socialists would help create receptivity to their ideas within the civil rights movement. Circulation of the socialist press could be expanded among colored readers introducing them to the class-struggle program and countering the capitalist ideology spread by the daily papers, radio and TV.

Socialists should give active support to the NAACP, the MIA and other organizations in the civil rights movement, working to build them while seeking to extend the influence of left wing and progressive forces within

them. Following the example set by the MIA, full internal democracy should be advocated in all these organizations so that the membership may have a voice in shaping policy and an opportunity to play a genuine role in the struggle for equality.

Revolutionary socialists are confronted with complex educational tasks in connection with the civil rights struggle. It is necessary to have a thorough understanding of the historical, theoretical and practical aspects of the fight for Negro equality in its independent character as a movement for democratic reforms under capitalism, a movement which under conditions of capitalist decay has a profoundly revolutionary character. Similar knowledge is needed of the history, theory and practice of the working class struggle as developed across the years. In addition the class conscious militants must have a firm grasp of the interconnection between these two movements and the manner in which they may be fused into a common struggle to resolve their mutual problems. Planned educational programs to meet these needs are a must for the socialist movement.

To have real meaning education must be related to action, helping to implement the struggle itself and in turn gaining enlightenment from the experiences of the living movement. Consequently socialists must closely follow all new developments in the mass movement and strive to play a part in these events. Through careful study of the flow of political life, and an exchange of views to clarify disputed points of analysis and program, the socialist movement can steadily gain in its capacity to lend strength to the just cause of the colored people.

Socialist Workers Party Proposals

Throughout the years the Socialist Workers Party has consistently supported the struggle for Negro equality. Our efforts have included: demands for effective governmental action to enforce civil rights; support to the NAACP, the MIA and other organizations fighting in the interests of the colored people; initiation of protest actions against police brutality, legal frameups, lynch terror, segregation; job discrimination and other Jim-Crow practices; support to Negro candidates for public office so long as they run independently of the Democratic and Republican parties.

In the unions the Socialist Workers Party has sided with the colored workers in their fight for full membership rights and for Negro representation in the leadership. We have consistently urged organized labor to give full backing to the Negro people. We have sought to explain why the labor movement must have the support of the colored workers to win its battles and why success for the civil rights movement depends on the support of the white working class. Above all we have stressed the need for class political consciousness among worker militants, colored and white, as the key to victory for both movements. Discrimination against the Negro people is only the crudest expression of the many forms of

discrimination and oppression existing under capitalism. If these social wrongs are to be overcome, it is necessary to abolish the capitalist system of class exploitation that breeds these wrongs and to replace it with a socialist society founded on the principles of justice and equality for all who toil.

In accordance with these concepts the Socialist Workers Party believes the socialist movement should advocate: Complete economic, social and political equality for all minority peoples. Abolish all forms of bureaucratic control within the mass movement and establish complete rank-and-file democracy. Discard all class-collaborationist policies and institute class-struggle methods. Fight for equality through mass action instead of relying on the capitalist government to grant reforms. Run independent Negro candidates in opposition to both capitalist parties. Full union support to the civil rights movement. A labor-Negro alliance to launch an independent labor party based on the unions. Replace the capitalist government with workers and farmers government. Abolish capitalism and establish a socialist society.

Only on this class-struggle road does the Socialist Workers Party believe the civil rights question can be fundamentally and permanently resolved.

... Continue Deception on Rights

(Continued from page 1)

Rep. Celler (D-N.Y.) is introducing an amendment to this effect.

To entice support from the labor bureaucrats, the jury-trial provision was originally to apply in all contempt-of-court cases, including those against labor. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers and most of the top bureaucrats of the railroad brotherhoods went for it. They sent telegrams to Senator Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) endorsing the jury-trial amendment, thus helping to wipe out the last real enforcement clause in the civil-rights bill. Now the bribe the Democratic leadership offered to labor to sell out the civil-rights fight is to be taken back.

The possibility that the House might make a serious effort to put some strength into the bill ended when Roy Wilkins head of the NAACP, and spokesmen for 16 other liberal and labor organizations called for passage of the Senate version of the bill.

This action has drawn bitter criticism from many Negro leaders and newspapers. It is charged that the NAACP and labor leaders were putting the interests of the Democratic Party which are best served by getting the present ineffective civil-rights bill quickly passed and out of the way, above the interests of the Negro people.

The Aug. 17 Amsterdam News, New York's leading Negro newspaper, accused Wilkins of "sleeping in the same political bed with Senator Eastland" and being "tempted to steal a page from the book of compromise." Rejecting the argument that the bill was half a loaf or a slice and therefore better than none, the paper editorially labeled it "a tainted slice of something teeming with the vermin thrown into the cake batter by bigoted Democrats and reactionary Republicans." It called for the bill's veto.

An editorial entitled "Indecent Haste" in the Aug. 13 Philadelphia Tribune asked: "Why would these organizations [the NAACP and 15 liberal-labor bodies] put their stamp of approval on the admittedly worthless bill at the very moment efforts were being made to strengthen it in the House? And why the great speed? ... Apparently someone sold Roy Wilkins a bill of goods. ... There are many who think the bill, as it now stands, is worse than nothing."

The division in Negro opinion on the bill in its present form was further demonstrated by the statements and telegrams sent by prominent Negroes to the White House. A Philip Randolph, Negro labor leader, asserted "as an individual, I urge veto of the civil rights bill passed by the Senate. It is worse than no bill at all."

Dr. Ralph Bunche of the UN declared: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, I say that the bill in its present form is disappointingly weak. I heartily support every effort now being made to strengthen it."

Jackie Robinson wired: "Am opposed to civil-rights bill in its present form. Have been in touch with a number of my friends. We disagree that half a loaf is better than none. Have waited this long for bill with meaning — can wait a little longer."

Former N. Y. Judge Hubert T. Delaney declared: "I feel Negroes should agree that any bill less than the original bill is not acceptable." Russell Crawford, president of the NAACP branch in New York, one of the largest

in the country, said of the bill: "Rather than have it used as a political football, it should be thrown out. I do not condone any compromise on the rights of an individual."

Ford Facts (Aug. 10), paper of huge Auto Workers Local 600, carries an article by its president, Carl Stellato, calling the day of the Senate's final emanulation of the bill Black Friday for the American people. "But on Black Friday," wrote Stellato, "the Democratic Party with a majority in the U.S. Senate could only muster nine votes... for democracy. ... The time has come for our Union to take a hard look at our position in the political arena. Before the 1958 election we must have a full dress debate on the political road we will travel."

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THE MILITANT signed articles by our authors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials. Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Publication of the Militant in the interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7468 Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES Vol. XXI - No. 34 Monday, August 26, 1957

On August 21, 1940, an agent of Stalin's GPU murdered Leon Trotsky with a pick axe. This act represented, in classic form, the attempt to destroy an idea by killing its foremost exponent.

More than any other individual, Trotsky represented intransigent opposition to the bureaucratic caste that had grown up in the Soviet Union. His struggle for the restoration of workers democracy in the USSR and for a return to the principles of Leninist internationalism was correctly viewed by Stalin and his henchmen as a menace to their entrenched positions and vast material privileges. That is why they were determined to destroy him.

The program of revolutionary socialism and workers' democracy advocated by Trotsky was but the conscious Marxist expression of the inexorable historic process. Although Stalin and his partners in crime silenced Trotsky's voice, they could not prevent the East German workers from rising for workers' democracy in 1953. They could not prevent

the October days in Poland or the revolutionary struggle of the Hungarian workers. And they could not stem the present steadily-growing pressure of the Soviet masses for working-class democracy and improved living conditions.

In addition, the bureaucrats could never destroy the living quality of Trotsky's literary legacy. The present developments in the Soviet orbit have served to make these writings a subject of wide new interest. This fall, 17 years after his murder, four of Trotsky's major writings are being republished.

Trotsky's monumental work, The History of the Russian Revolution, will be reissued in September by the University of Michigan. Long out of print, this work describes and analyzes the great revolution more faithfully than any other account. It points the way for the achievement of new revolutionary victories.

Two other works by Trotsky — the Third International After Lenin and the Revolution Betrayed — have just been republished by New Park Publications in England. The first work is a devastating criticism of Stalin's platform of "Socialism in One Country." The second lays bare the social character and role of the bureaucratic caste whose interests Stalin served.

Finally, Trotsky's Literature and Revolution will be republished by Russell and Russell in New York. This book goes to the heart of the differences between the liberating, Marxist approach to art and the deadening, Stalinist school of "socialist realism."

The present crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy has produced the encouraging regroupment process now taking place in the world radical movement. The new editions of Trotsky's writings are an important contribution to the present regroupment discussion. We are confident they will aid in advancing the realignment of the revolutionary socialist forces which will effectively challenge both imperialism and Stalinism.

USSR Reprints John Reed Book on 1917 Revolution

Ten Days That Shook the World, by John Reed, has been re-published in the Soviet Union. The book is a brilliant eye-witness account of how the Russian workers took power in 1917. It was warmly recommended by Lenin as an authentic account of the revolution, but was banned by Stalin. It has been re-issued, according to the Aug. 20 N. Y. Times, "with appropriate introductions, explanations and a 'corrective' epilogue."

The Sacco-Vanzetti Story

By Fred Halstead

August 23 marked the 30th anniversary of the murder by the government of the State of Massachusetts of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Here are the bare facts of that historic martyrdom.

Sacco and Vanzetti were Italian workmen who had immigrated to this country in 1908. They were philosophical anarchists, radicals who advocated the emancipation of all mankind from all oppression. On May 5, 1920 they were arrested and charged with a payroll robbery-murder which had taken place three weeks earlier. Although both had witnesses to prove that they were not near the scene of the crime when it took place, they were held and a year later, tried and convicted.

The arrest and the trial took place during the post World War I witch-hunt hysteria. That hysteria was manufactured under the administration of the liberal Democrat Woodrow Wilson and reached its height during the notorious "Palmer red raids," so-named after Wilson's Attorney General, Mitchell Palmer.

For seven years the defense attempted to get a new trial, piling up a mountain of further proof of the innocence of the two men. A world wide storm of protest broke out after they were sentenced to death in 1927.

Felix Frankfurter, then a Harvard law professor and later a Supreme Court justice, wrote at the time: "Facts have been disclosed and not denied by the prosecution to show that the case against

Sacco and Vanzetti was part of a conclusive effort between the district attorney and agents of the Justice Department to rid the country of these Italians because of their Red activities." But the protests failed to move the state officials or to secure action on appeals made to members of the U.S. Supreme Court, the President and the Attorney General. Shortly after midnight, the morning of August 23, Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered in the electric chair.

Today, it is virtually universally acknowledged that the case was a frame up. The execution was a "ritual killing" designed — like that of the Rosenbergs in this decade — to terrorize radicals and discourage political dissent. In the long run it didn't work. Few care to recall the words or deeds of the capitalist officials who lynched the two radical immigrants, but who can forget the words of Bartolomeo Vanzetti, words which will haunt the defenders of capitalism to its dying day.

"If it had not been for this thing, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scolding men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as now we do by accident. Our words — our pain — nothing! The taking of our lives — lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler — all! That last moment belongs to us — that agony is our triumph."

New York Young Socialist Forum

Fifth forum in series "The Hungarian Tragedy" Speaker: Tim Wohlforth (National Committee American Forum for Socialist Education) Tues., Aug. 27 — 8:15 P.M. ADELPHI HALL 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.)

Twin Cities Corn Festival

MUSIC — GAMES GOOD FOOD Sun., Sept. 1 — 8 P.M. 715 So. Lexington St. Paul Ausp.: Twin Cities Branch Socialist Workers Party

Calendar Of Events

Detroit Election Rally. Hear Sarah Lovell, socialist candidate for Mayor. Sat. Sept. 7 at 8 P.M. 3737 Woodward. **Ohio** Ohio Militant Readers sponsor a Lamb Barbecue Sunday, Sept. 15 from 11 A.M. 1440 Thornhill Ave., Youngstown. Games, prizes, music, dancing, refreshment. Brief speeches by one of the defendants in the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "Conspiracy Case" scheduled for trial Sept. 16; by a representative of the United Cultural Association on the status of the UCA's civil liberties case; by a representative of the Militant on "Labor and Civil Rights." (Net proceeds of the affair will go to the defense funds of the United Cultural Association and the Cleveland Taft-Hartley case.)

The Santana Case Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth

By Joyce Cowley 17 pages 10 cents Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

The Assassination Of Leon Trotsky

By Albert Goldman The proof of Stalin's Guilt 74 pages 50 cents Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

... Reuther's Wage-Price Deal

(Continued from page 1)

this would not assure any general reduction in the auto workers' cost of living or increase their job security.

Some industry spokesmen claim Reuther has prepared a "trap" for the corporations. The Aug. 19 Wall Street Journal concedes, however, that "there was unquestionably a tone of conciliation in the letter that has been missing from UAW statements in recent months." The Journal goes on to recall the basic demands voted by the UAW convention, including the shorter work week at increased pay, and observes: "Union spokesmen were not available for clarification of the letter's fine points yesterday, but the hints of a milder attitude seemed clear."

FALSE THEORY

The "trap" in Reuther's proposition is really laid for the auto workers. For he clearly relates wages to prices and prices to wages, thus lending affirmation and reinforcement to the theories put out by the corporation propagandists. The latter merely emphasize the wage aspect. Reuther attempts to emphasize the price aspect. But he accepts the false theory, and that is the dangerous concession he makes.

By tying in wage demands with an individual corporation's or industry's prices, Reuther opens the way for a demand by industry that the union drop its wage demands and even accept wage cuts.

The Aug. 21 N. Y. Times, while advising the auto moguls to exercise due caution before committing themselves, emphasizes: "This [Reuther's proposal] is a revolutionary commitment — and in the right direction. It would seem contrary to their own interests, and the nation's as well, for the companies wholly to ignore it." The Times, one of the most authoritative voices of U.S. Big Business, implies there are possible advantages the corporations might gain by agreeing to consider Reuther's proposal as a basis for bargaining.

HOW BOSSES MIGHT GAIN

The Wall Street Journal shows the corporations explicitly how they might turn "the Reuther wage-price-spiral plan" to their benefit. The Journal concludes an Aug. 20 editorial with "... our only thought is to suggest a way he can improve upon his proposal. It's easy. Merely let him cut wages now to go with the price cut he asks for now. That wouldn't solve the problem of inflation either. But it would certainly impress everybody more with the honesty of Mr. Reuther's intentions."

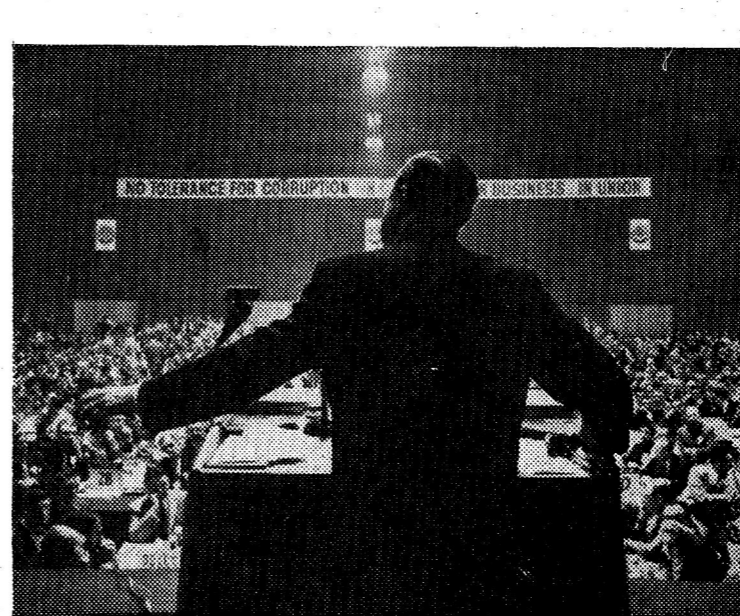
What is to prevent the corporations from insisting that Reuther make explicit the concessions on wages and hours he is willing to make in the event of a price cut? What if the corporations agree to discuss the issue of price cuts and convert the negotiations into endless haggling over the precise amount of the cut? What if they say, "You take a wage cut and we'll take a price cut," as the Wall

... Chicago

(Continued from page 1)

comes from the South each month, the Negro people, terribly overcrowded in Chicago's slums and islands of segregation, are seeking to find homes beyond the Jim-Crow barriers. Mayor Richard J. Daley, has confined his efforts to "tough" statements against the racists. But nothing effective in the way of action can be expected of the Cook County Democratic party machine, which is tied politically to the Dixiecrats on a national level, and which is connected locally with the bosses, landlords and petty politicians who profit from residential segregation. So far, the officials of the labor movement have limited themselves to support of the Mayor's fruitless policies.

In a statement released Aug. 12, the Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party with headquarters at 777 W. Adams Street, declared that "the labor movement alone has both the need and the power to protect its minorities against the splitting terror of the racists. . . As a minimum first step the union leadership should call for a city-wide conference and invite the broadest participation of the labor and Negro Movement. The central point of this conference should be to . . . organize the forces to protect . . . the Negro people against racist attacks."



Delegates to the United Auto Workers convention last April hear an address by President Walter Reuther. The convention recorded itself in favor of a shorter work week and higher pay. Neither demand was mentioned by Reuther in his wage-price letter to the auto "Big Three."

Street Journal suggests? Reuther, it is clear, would make it easier for the corporations to confuse, delay and stall a settlement.

Reuther's scheme is not new, however. It is merely a resurrected form of the old illusory "roll-back of prices" program that the late CIO President Philip Murray raised back in 1942 and utilized to try to keep the workers from striking for higher wages during the war.

CONVENTION PROGRAM

The UAW delegates last April adopted the only sound program to protect the auto workers from the constant attacks of inflation and unemployment. This program of the shorter work week with correspondingly higher basic pay is embodied in the slogan long advanced by many auto militants: The 30-Hour Week at 40 Hours' Pay. In addition, the auto workers need a strengthening of the present escalator wage clause to bring automatic wage

increases more nearly in line with the actual steep rises in the cost of living. One of the means the corporations have used to circumvent the gains of the auto workers has been the intensified speed-up. By forcing the workers to increase their output per hour, the companies have been able to raise production and lay off workers at the same time. Reuther has consciously played along with the companies in preventing the workers from resisting the man-killing speed-up. That is why he has solidified his centralized bureaucratic power, imposed severe restrictions on the local unions and taken away their right to strike.

We will have much more to say on the question of Reuther's proposal in the weeks to come. We suggest that rank-and-file auto workers approach it with utmost caution and discuss it thoroughly. Beware of a pig-in-a-poke.

Miriani Foes in Detroit Get the 'Silent Treatment'

DETROIT, Aug. 19 — A period of only 45 days separates the final filing date (July 27) from the run-off primary election for Detroit city office (Sept. 10). Over



SARAH LOVELL

half this period has passed already, but so far the three capitalist newspapers here have succeeded pretty effectively in helping to suppress all information about the candidates for Mayor running against their choice, Louis G. Miriani, who is also the choice of Big Business.

The three dailies all complain editorially about the public's "apathy" toward the mayoralty campaign. But they themselves foster that "apathy" by systematically excluding from their news columns information about what Miriani's opponents are doing and saying.

A glaring example: One of the hottest issues in this campaign is the movement of the Negro community to win some representation on the Common Council. Miriani is completely and resolutely mum on this issue.

Sarah Lovell, the socialist candidate, has, like the Socialist Workers Party, taken a strong stand in favor of Negro representation. What is more, she has given critical support to William T. Patrick, Jr., a representative of the Negro community running for Council, and is campaigning actively to help elect him.

By all journalistic standards, this is real news. But all three dailies refuse to print a single word about it. A few years ago, when a socialist candidate for Mayor complained to the papers about their blackout on his campaign, one of them told him: "Do something sensational, and we'll report it." "Like what?" he asked. "Like jumping off the bridge at Belle Isle. We'll even print a picture if you'll tell us in advance."

worth reprinting in full. Here it is: "Sarah Lovell wishes the people of Detroit to know that she is running for mayor. Also she is running openly as a partisan. She is a Socialist, and has the endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party. "Labor and its allies, representing the majority of the population, have the power, the right and the duty to govern Detroit," she says. This the Commentator believes. It would be hard to convince him that labor and its allies do not now govern Detroit. Much depends on what one considers 'labor.' "Mrs. Lovell thinks the top city officials are overpaid. The salaries of the Mayor and Common Council should be cut to the average wage of a skilled worker," she says. "If they had to live on that, maybe they wouldn't find it so easy to forget the problems workers face." "True; but it might be hard to find candidates as devoted as Mrs. Lovell, who would serve as Mayor for the wages of a proof-reader, which she is."

Before World War II, he stated, the foreman used to jump when the committeeman spoke in a CIO shop. And the politicians at that time used to jump too when the labor movement spoke because they were afraid that the unions might form an independent labor party.

But now the politicians don't care. As an example, Fox pointed to a N. Y. Times report that minimum wage legislation is dying in a Senate committee because a number of liberal Democratic Senators elected with labor support don't even bother to attend that committee's meetings. These liberals were too busy making a deal with Southern Democrats to cut the guts out of the civil rights bill.

Why is labor's political influence growing smaller all the time? "Because our leadership has been following the policy of choosing the lesser evil," Fox said. "And the lesser evil has been growing progressively worse and worse — until we find ourselves in the present situation in Detroit, where we are presented with a conservative Republican as the lesser evil."

Then he proceeded to demonstrate, citing Miriani's own newspaper backers, that Miriani has been a loyal and consistent follower of Mayor Cobo's big business and anti-labor policies, which the CIO has always condemned.

To endorse Miriani, he concluded, is to scrape the bottom of the barrel, and the CIO, to preserve some self-respect and dignity, ought not to do it. It was good to hear such things said at a CIO convention. Many delegates must have thought so, because this speech received the loudest and longest applause given anyone during the debate. G. B. Detroit

Wagner in Bid For Real Estate And Racist Vote

NEW YORK, Aug. 21 — "To judge by Deputy Mayor Theobald's announcement yesterday that City Hall doesn't intend to do anything about school integration, Mayor Wagner and his running mates

must feel free to brazenly disregard labor and the Negro people's interests even in an election year," said Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor in a statement today. "Comptroller Gerosa's call last week for a slash in the budget is another indication of the same thing."

"The hand-picked Tammany Hall ticket has bought the endorsement of the Liberal Party tops. It has the approval of the New York AFL-CIO wrapped up and it even has the leadership of the Communist Party plugging for a Tammany victory. So Wagner seems to have decided that these endorsements mean that he has the votes of labor and the Negro people in his pocket and can concentrate on proving to the real estate gang that he is wholeheartedly on their side."

"Yesterday, Deputy Mayor Theobald met with a racist committee for the Preservation of Neighborhood Schools. Theobald assured this Jim-Crow outfit that the city would leave the issue of school integration to the 'educational authorities.' This means that it will be left to School Superintendent Jansen who defends the formula of establishing school zones on the basis of the 'neighborhood concept.' This is the double-talk used by the Board of Education to consistently gerrymander school zones so that white children are sent out of their neighborhood to all-white schools."

"The meaning of Theobald's statement about turning the issue over to the Board of Education was demonstrated clearly enough the same day



JOYCE COWLEY

when the board called off a scheduled meeting where those favoring school integration intended to challenge some of Jansen's Jim Crow policies."

Turning to Gerosa's proposal for a \$75 million cut in capital spending to insure keeping the real-estate tax "within reasonable limits," Mrs. Cowley said, "This display of tender concern for the real-estate magnates is just one more reason why the working people of this city can't afford to vote the Tammany ticket."

"Mr. Gerosa talks about cutting the funds for social services at the very moment when much more is urgently needed. Further the landlords have been looting City Hall long enough. What's really needed is a substantial tax hike on the big real estate holdings that would provide the funds to build the schools, hospitals, nurseries and playgrounds that the working people of this city need," Mrs. Cowley concluded.

Letters from Readers

The Wayne County CIO Convention

Editor: Last week's Militant reported the Wayne County CIO convention held on Aug. 10 and the debate over the question of endorsing the Republican Miriani for Mayor. Your report was accurate. All I want to do is add a little to it. The delegates voted about 3 to 1 to endorse Miriani, but those figures don't convey fully the extent of the opposition among some of the delegates and the hesitation and doubt evident among others who in the end went along with the leadership's recommendations. Especially noteworthy, I think, were the remarks during the debate made by a delegate from UAW Ford Local 600, Art Fox, and the reaction he got.

Before World War II, he stated, the foreman used to jump when the committeeman spoke in a CIO shop. And the politicians at that time used to jump too when the labor movement spoke because they were afraid that the unions might form an independent labor party.

But now the politicians don't care. As an example, Fox pointed to a N. Y. Times report that minimum wage legislation is dying in a Senate committee because a number of liberal Democratic Senators elected with labor support don't even bother to attend that committee's meetings. These liberals were too busy making a deal with Southern Democrats to cut the guts out of the civil rights bill.

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New York Encampment

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party has reserved the facilities of beautiful Mountain Spring Camp in Washington, N. J. for the Labor Day Week-End Aug. 30 through Sept. 2. Speakers for the week-end: JOYCE COWLEY, writer for the Militant and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York. RONALD JONES, Negro lecturer and educator who will give a first hand report on the Tuskegee events.

TIM WOHLFORTH, leading member of Left Wing Caucus of the Young Socialist League. SPECIAL EVENT: Folk singing and Folk dancing led by the Folksing Group.

For further information or reservations, write: New York Local Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y. — Phone: AL 5-7852 —

Third International After Lenin

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