# Both Parties Continue Deception on Civil Rights

### **Bill Remains** Without Power **Against Racists**

By George Lavan

AUG. 21 — Like a gang of vultures the Democratic | Vol. XXI - No. 34 and Republican politicians in Washington are still struggling over the remains of the civil-rights bill. Not a one

House of Representatives of the pions of civil rights. gutted version of the bill passed (The cynical maneuvering on venes in January civil rights for a strong civil-rights bill.) would be at the top of the It appears now that the

WANT IT OVER WITH

the bill which the Dixiecrats TAKE BACK BRIBE will not filibuster, is passed, adopted a civil-rights bill.

have been toying with the idea contempt-of-court cases solely of having the House hold out for to voting cases. In the House, had already disregarded the a "stronger" bill than the Senate

The overwhelming desire of would veto the Senate version the Democrats - from Dixiecrat as too weak. All this was calto Northern liberal wing — is to culated to further what the get the civil-rights issue disposed of as fast as possible. bill originally intended — fooling Consequently they are pressing for immediate adoption by the Republicans are stubborn cham-

in the Senate. They fear that the bill while the House delayed if the House insists upon the action was not without its share original version of the bill, of bitter humor. White-supremacpassed by it several months ago, ist Southerners such as Rayor upon amendments that undo burn of Texas denounced the the compromises reached with Republicans for endangering the the Dixiecrats in the Senate, this passage of civil-rights legislawould reopen the whole fight. tion, while Republicans - who Such a reopening would un- until their party's present drive doubtedly mean that no bill for the Negro vote had never would be passed this summer lifted a finger against Jim Crow and that when Congress recon- - posed as last-ditch fighters

Republicans have derived all the out for China Aug. 14 in open publicity advantage possible defiance of the U.S. State Defrom their tactic, that they will partment. The youths, who had Democratic party strategists now acquiesce in the "civil- been attending the Moscow wish to avoid this by all means, rights" bill passed by the Senate Youth Festival, accepted an infor the second session of this and that Eisenhower will sign vitation for a three-week trip Congress will cut right across it. While they may insist upon to China as guests of the Allthe campaigns for the coming one or two amendments these China Youth Federation. Risk-Congressional elections. How- will be empty of content, ing the loss of their passports, a ever, if the Senate version of designed solely for face-saving. possible \$2,000 fine and a five-

then civil rights can be kept Ironically enough one of the the right of U.S. citizens to off the agenda by the claim that amendments which both Republitravel, and . . . state that our the 85th Congress has already licans and Democrats appear to exercise of this right is conhave secretly agreed to is to sistent with loyalty to our coun-Republican Party tacticians limit the jury-trial provision in try."

New Attacks in Chicago two weeks of August, where over 34,000 foreign delegates from 130 countries and 50,000 Russian By White Supremacists

By William Bundy

Tension appears to be mounting toward an explosion American delegates conducted by of wide-spread racist violence in Chicago. Sporadic violence against Negroes is continuing in the wake of an incipient stated that all the Russian ace riot last month in which D

of white raciats after police, who on violence.

all-white jury returned a verdict and a Negro home was ransacked. up the interview. of "not guilty" freeing 2 youths By the end of the day, at least charged with the shotgun slay- 44 persons had been injured.

### Labor "Probers" **Continue Push for Anti-Union Laws**

the AFL-CIO persists in its refusal to resist the Senate labor shown to most of the white cratic regime, they showed no other reforms. "probers" and their union-bust- racists who were arrested dur- receptivity whatever to hackanti-union legislation.

who said, Aug. 18, that the probe gro workers, however, who have could continue "for another five to drive through certain Jim years. . . the sky's the limit Crow residential areas to get to almost" wants legislation to put work, and who are frequently the union movement under the attacked and threatened there, scope of anti-trust laws. Such are systematically searched for legislation could keep unions jack handles or tools in their Republicans continued to play its own car pool and is char-segregated manner." under constant harassment in cars and sometimes arrested.

Mass.), another member of the homes between 63rd and 69th committee, predicted last week streets from Wentworth to Halbe a measure providing for broken down and the only way federal registration of union-ad- to provide adequate protection step would provide an additional become a police force. . . . wedge for government regulation of the unions.

voiced to the AFL-CIO policy Had "t 16582 Ewing voted to that unionists must not invoke organize the East Side Civic Austin left and with her has Klan has been gaining strength. the Fifth Amendment. Michael League. The League's objective Quill, President of the Transport is to keep a certain East side Workers Union declared that area "all white." Its first act members of his union were free was to raise money for legal OPERATES CAR POOL to use the Fifth Amendment and aid to those arrested for racist added that if this right is in violence. any way restricted "then the could go."

(Continued on page 3)

Negro picnickers in Calumet ing of a Negro youth. The expressed their opposition to the

had been warned of the impend- The following Sunday, July 28, Moscow radio correspondent and gave their imperialist masters had been warned of the impending state of the impending attack, failed to take preventative measures.

The following standay, July 28, a stunning slap in the face on proposed and proposed Sunday July 21, another group "Hoodlums from outside the Coppedge of lying. Schorr was tory to the People's Progressive REHEARSE FOR of Negro picnickers, at the same area," according to the Aug. 18 charged with selecting only party and its leader Dr. Cheddi park had been stoned by a gang N. Y. Times, "joined in the anti-Communists for the in-B. Jagan. Nine out of the 14 of about 40 white youths. They attack." Violence quickly spread terview. Others called out that elective seats in the colony's were given no police protection over the surrounding area, and free speech must be allowed, parliament were won by the and not allowed to file a written in nearby Trumbull Park hous- The turmoil became so intense PPP.

LENIENCY TO HOODLUMS

names at passing Negroes."

with felony, while most have ist West. Senator Irving Ives (R.-N.Y.) been released on \$25 bonds. Ne-

On the other hand, a mass meeting of 1,500 racists held,

(Continued on page 4)

# THE MILITANT

THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING

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

PRICE 10e

# of them is interested in enforcing the civil rights the Negro people the civil rights the Negro people are guaranteed by the Constitution. They are only interested in gaining political advantage from the butchered bill. The people between desires of the Negro people are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Senate version. They are only interested in gaining political advantage from the butchered bill. The people between desires of the Negro people are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Senate version. They were also hints that Eisenhower were also hints that Eis Wages Deal for Cut in Prices

### **Youth Defy Dulles** on China Ban

By Martha Wohlforth

Forty-one American youths set year prison term, they declared: We . . . reaffirm our belief in

The American youth delegates State Department's warning against going to Russia to attend the youth festival during the first 130 countries and 50,000 Russian delegates conversed and debated with a zest and freedom that suprised all observers.

One revealing episode, reported by United Press Aug. 1, occurred during a TV interview of some Daniel Schorr of CBS. Walter Coppedge, an American student students he had spoken with had Park were attacked by a gang verdict emboldened racists bent official Soviet line on Hungary. Pandemonium broke out. A complaint. On the same day an ing project Negroes were beaten that Schorr finally had to give

The Christian Science Monitor Russians would betray the fact 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** mperialism and Poverty Reuther's six-page letter to the corporations says nothing about the demands previously adopted by the convention. He corporations aren't going to the demands previously adopted by the convention. He corporations aren't going to the taken in by Reuther's

By John Thaver

The people of British Guiana

Britain's South American colony State Department and the may at will dismiss all members reporter wrote: "In thousands in 1953. At that time the PPP vociferous support of the U.S. of both chambers. of street-corner discussions young won 18 out of 24 elective seats. A week after the riot, the Chi- that they harbored many reser- 1953 it tried to pass legislation in control of the neighborhood testimony to support the con- to small farmers of untilled land around Calumet Park despite the clusion that a deep ferment is owned by the great absentee policemen. . . They persist in Union. There is equally ample and extension of the educational roaming the streets hurling foul testimony, however, that while system which is church conthe Soviet youth manifested dis- trolled and discriminates on

Immediately the British iming aims, the latter continue to ing the riot. Only a few were neved cold-war propaganda about perialists poverty, disease and exploitation industry spokesmen are dead companies accepted the meager plan for the passage of new given heavy bonds or charged the virtues of the "free" capital- munism." British troops and drew up a new constitution filled that imperialist rule has meant wrong. Unfortunately for the price cuts proposed by Reuther, battleships raced to the colony with devices to thwart the will for them.

and on arrival deposed the of the voters. Thus the parlia-

Big Business press. At that time useful preparation for the three seats.

follow in less than a year.

ministers and declared martial 14 elective seats and three seats our part will give full considera- "jointly and unselfishly in the chamber, or Executive Council, is composed of ten members, five In overthrowing the demo- chosen by the governor from the are confident our members will goes "to the roots of our present cratically elected government in Legislative Council and five be willing to take the consethe South American colony, the appointed. In the event of a

Since the military overthrow rate of profit." When the PPP took office in the State Department and U.S. of the Jagan government in 1953 imperialists with holdings in the British succeeded by divide- auto corporations have been market will bear and enforce cago Giusader reported that vations about life in the Soviet providing for employes' union- Latin America were already and rule tactics in splitting the quoted as calling Reuther's price-fixing agreements. But the white hoodlums are still virtually Union." There is a mass of such recognition elections, the leasing planning the similar overthrow PPP which was a united front of the elected government of of the Negro minority and an- and "propaganda." Insofar as tion is a combination of astro-Guatemala. Britain's smashing of other minority of people stempresence of large details of stirring the youth in the Soviet sugar plantation owners, reform desirable in itself from India. A split-off profits of the "Big Three" and spending and top-heavy governdesirable in itself from Wall wing of the PPP, headed by Ne-Street's point of view but a gro leader L. F. S. Burnham won prices and still enjoy astounding wars and present capitalist war

### **Workers Not Consulted: Letter to Firms Ignores** Official UAW Program

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 3

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 unaniously 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 like to make such a deal. This

corporations make the suggested trickily-phrased sentences and democratically elected PPP ment, or Legislative Council, has price concessions, "we for patriotic talk about acting more members. The upper inancial position in the drait argument that this proposal, as our negotiations."

quences in collective bargaining CAUSE OF INFLATION This is the same party that Tory government of Britain had tie the governor casts the decidiff the price reductions we propose This is the same party that the tacit support of the U.S. ing vote. Moreover the governor should make it impossible to meet all of their just demands



REUTHER

workers: a constantly rising would enable him to put forth cost of living and increasing lay-offs due to automation and to insure a quick contract without any real fight.

Reuther claimed in a subsequent He further claims that "we letter to President Eisenhower.

The present inflation is not due simply to price-fixing by the and still maintain a reasonable monopoly corporations, as Reuther contends, although the cor-Anonymous spokesmen for the porations charge all that the proposition a "publicity stunt" basic cause of the present inflashows how easily they could cut ment war debt. Past imperialist profits, it is very good and preparations, which Reuther Extreme leniency has been satisfaction with the bureau- racial and religious grounds, and Guatemala coup that was to In voting so overwhelmingly truthful propaganda. But if they enthusiastically supports, have for the PPP, the Guianese people imply that Reuther is not serious stoked the fires of inflation since In preparation for this year's have voted against the abysmal about his proposition, these auto 1939. Thus, even if the auto

## Negro People Fight to Defend Rights in South and North

While the Democrats and ciation, this committee operates tional to be forced to ride in a appealed for informers to turn | There has been a noticeable to which this poison infects the

A friendly gesture touched off Detroit.

Meanwhile, opposition was Aug. 5, at the American Legion the bus. Ordered "to the rear" are at a standstill. or "off" by the driver, Miss munity.

Rock Hill Committee for the

politics in Congress with the acterized by its democratic or-

seat, the only unoccupied one on basis. As a result negotiations TCA.

In Tu kegee, Alabama, the prosecutions.

Since the boycott, the Ku Klux TUSKEGEE RAIDS

held and crosses burned. But they the offices of the TCA and on a want to. have had no effect on the small printshop near the Tusdetermination of the city's Ne- kegee campus which has printed IN THIS ISSUE The Negroes have formed the gro people to win their rights. | both TCA and NAACP literature. Rev. Ivory, who has received In radio broadcasts the assistant With Chicago's Negro popula- Protection of Human Rights, led bomb threats, declares: "We're Attorney General has warned Sixth Amendment and all the tion of about 800.000 being in- by Rev. Cecil A. Ivory, young waiting until the other people Negroes against joining the creased constantly by 2,500 new- crippled minister. Like the famed agree to obey the law of the boycott "crusade," to protect Montgomery Improvement Asso- land. We know it is unconstitutheir voting rights. He has also

Subsequently the Attorney Negro people of Tuskegee to district. gone the entire Negro com- Meetings of over 1,000 have been General personally led raids on shop in stores where they don't

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

Ku Klux Klan throughout the in Levittown, Pennsylvania. the courts and could aid in The Aug. 10 Crusader reports corpse of the civil-rights bill, ganizational form with weekly two-month boycott of white On Aug. 16 the Attorney Gen- South. In Maplesville, Ala., six Senator John F. Kennedy (Dhas been organized to protect
premacists are flaring throughnorther member of the
homes between 63rd and 69th
out the country.

dom fighters and white supremacists are flaring throughpremacists are flaring throughnorther member of the
homes between 63rd and 69th
out the country. A bus boycott by 7,000 Ne- a volunteer car-pool driver, who groes. Officials of the 43-year However, the one step that would similarly beaten. A particularly was the signal for racists to that the first bill to be adopted as a result of the hearings would as a result of the hearings would as a result of the hearings would be adopted as a former United as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the boycott. Association are consistent as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected and three struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United brings to the struggle his expected as a former United 16, is still completely effective. Auto Worker union organizer in belong, have been hauled before Negro voters were gerrymander- ers Rest, South Carolina. There, smashing windows. On Aug. 19. the Attorney General in the ed out of the city limits - has elderly Claude Cruell was beaten after repairs had been comministered trust funds. Such a is for the people themselves to the boycott. Alene Austin, a Negro domestic worker, was invited pany has refused to restore armed state troopers and sub- ficials. Pending such a step it wife took care of the children family moved into their new by a white woman to share a service except on a segregated jected to grilling about the appears that the unofficial boy- of an impoverished white neigh- home. State police protected them cott will continue, for it is im- bor. Cruell was chained and from a crowd of 400 white possible even for the Southern flogged. The white neighbor has supremacists. white supremacists to force the been forced to move from the

Dandridge. to the Deep South. The extent violence and racist bigotry.

information over to him for increase in the activity of the whole country was demonstrated Levittown is the lily-white destroying industry-wide bar- that an interracial "citizen's- real battles between Negro free- mass meetings. N. Y. Post merchants continues unabated eral secured a temporary in- Negroes were beaten by the creation of big builder and big police organization 465 strong" dom fighters and white su- columnist Murray Kempton despite the brazen attempts of junction against the TCA and hooded terrorists on Aug. 9. In profiteer Levitt. On Aug. 10 a

Rallying to the support of the Myers from the beginning were Another KKK activity is the the next door neighbors, the picketing in full regalia of the American Friends Service Commovie, Island in the Sun, in mittee (Quakers) and the Jewish Jacksonville, Florida. The film Labor Committee. Somewhat has an interracial cast including tardily the local and district of-Harry Belafonte and Dorothy ficials of the United Steelworkers of America of the nearby But racism and racist violence Fairless Works of the U.S. Steel has been by no means confined Corp. have spoken out against

# The Class-Struggle Road to Negro Equality

### Text of Resolution Adopted By Socialist Workers Party

United States is part of the nole in the development of the world revolutionary upsurge American working class. It foreagainst imperialism and capital- shadows the linking up of the ism. Its aims-the ending of all struggles of the American workforms of racial segregation and ing class, which have not yet discrimination; the winning of assumed conscious anti-capitalist full economic, social and political forms, with the relatively more equality-bring it into conflict advenced character of the world with capitalism as inescapably as revolutionary process. Since the the struggles of the colonial Negroes have become integrated masses to achieve self-rule and into the modern labor movement national unity bring them into their greater receptivity to conflict with imperialism. The the international anti-capitalist character of these conflicts movement tends to introduce a strengthens tendencies a mong significant revolutionary ingrethe Negro people to ally them- dient into the consciousness of selves not only with the anti- the working class as a whole. capitalist forces at home, the working class first of all, but ship between the Negro and coalso with the anti-imperialist lonial peoples derives from their forces abroad. The Negro strug- mutual experiences in struggle, gle for full equality will be won and from the fact that the cothrough the extension, consolidate lonial masses are in the main coltion and triumph of these alli- ored people who have been doances along consistently anti-minated by imperiodist nations capitatest and anti-imperialist controlled by a white ruling

States and the world-wilde move- ments, reinforcing their solidariment of the colonial and semi- ty.

The Negro struggle in the colonial peoples plays a vital

The ever-closer feeling of kinclass. Thus the struggle against The gnowing solidarity between white supremacy permeates both the Negro struggle in the United the colonial and Negro move-

### A Majority of Mankind

in the colonial and semi-colonial those who survived the slaughter spheres constitute a majority of were demobilized they were mankind. By making common cause with them, the Negro peo- patterns of segregation and disple help to reduce the handicap crimination. Meanwhile in Southof being a minority of the evn military camps Northern nation. Along these general lines Negroes got a clearer picture of both movements derive mutual conditions in that region where strength from their separate racial prejudice has its deepest

struggle is dramatized by offi- Northern commades in uniform. cial invitations extended to Rev. Both nubbed shoulders to a de-M. L. King, president of the gree with the peoples of the Montgomeny Improvement Asso- world, broadening their thinking, caition, to attend celebrations in impelling them toward greater Ghann and India. Solidarity with militancy in the fight for equalithe collonial revolution is mani- ty. Once demobilized, young Nefested through Negro support gro veterans took their place in of the Egyptian and Algerian the forefront of the civil rights liberation struggles; and by the struggle. lukewarm to cool reception of On the home front the colored the Eisenhower Middle East doc- people have implicitly tended to trine in the Negro press.

speak out in support of civil stead for opportunities to use

While they were supposed to be fighting for democracy, ac- aims of imperialism to the democording to the capitalist propaganda, young Negroes in the armed forces got a large dose of people.

In addition the colored peoples Jim Crow in uniform. When forced back into hateful civilian noots. Southern Negroes gained Colonial support to the Negro new ideas, firesh hope from their

reject the notion that the impe-Their own bitter experiences rialist war was their war. Miliwith a President who refuses to tant elements began to look inrights in this country gives the the war as a means to push ahead Negro people good reason to a bit in their own battle for civil challenge the democratic preten- rights. In 1941 the March-onsions of U.S. capitalism's foreign Washington movement sprang policy. Experience likewise im- up, receiving such strong mass pels them to challenge the con- support that the Roosevelt govcept that imperiolist wars are ernment felt compelled to make fought for democracy. They temporary concessions toward an had begun to subordinate the war

### Regroes in Industry

gained momentum from the rise break out of this vicious circle. in inclustrial 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 across the farming communities. mon - whites in manufacturing. They lived under deplorable eco-Where 1 out of 9 non-white workers had been employed in man- white supremacy in its worst ufacture in 1940, the ratio had forms and were therefore unable risen by 1950 to about 1 out of 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 prising elements predominating Negro migration from the countryside into the cities of the formation in their social con-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 civil rights struggle. The mass to 4.600,000. The migratory trend pressures reflected in the milltoward the main industrial centers particularly toward the war- the mass response when called stimulated West Coast industrial to action by their leaders testify regions, is strikingly revealed by to this fact. Most immediately premacists contend that a state the 1950 figures. For example, significant in the North and in ten years the Negro popula- West has been the increased Netion of Los Angeles had tripled gro participation in political life. and in the Oakland-San Francisco The rise in the Negro vote is passed aimed at barring Negroes area it had increased tenfold.

Although more deeply assimilated into industry, the Negro and has pushed the civil rights rights. workers still face discrimination question to the fore as a nationon the job. In the cities of the al political issue. Thus the mi-North and West, as in the South, grations have resulted in the mands have been raised that the wave of mass protest actions in as instruments of mass action, the rapidly-growing colored pop- strengthening of the Southern federal government put the the cities of the North and West. usually eround some specific isulation also remains generally Negro struggle through the me- NAACP on its witch-hunting These demonstrations of Negro segregated in housing, usually dium of national politics. under slum conditions at high The political impact of the Ne- ups against Negro freedom fight- power made the Till case a marents. In community life they face gro struggle compelled the Tru- ers have been perpetrated in the jor issue in the national press in somewhat different form.

The civil rights movement united by a burning desire to The migrations of recent years civil mights. People leaving the elements who had been dispersed, nomic conditions, faced with to mobilize themselves for ef-The artificially stimulated fective 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 ad- premacist reprisals. vanced in the struggle for equality.

> With younger and more enterthe milgratory wave, the transscionsness 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 itancy of the Negro press and power in the general elections tion in defense of their civil



Republicans the Democratic Par- of the capitalist politicians, the their own weight into the scales ty sought to bury the civil rights pressures from the civil rights through mass action to combat were compelled to reshape their issue in a bid for unity with its movement, coupled with the diplo- segregation, discrimination, bru- policies under the impact of mass Southern wing. As a result the matic pressures arising from the tality. Republicans registered a signifi- colonial revolution, have compel-Neither party has the slightest ment.

### The White Citizens Councils

learned that lesson well in both FEPC. The 1943 Harlem out- defiance of the Supreme Court cellation of credit, insurance, li- neighborhoods. World War II and the Korean break sharpened the mass pres- by the white supremacists. The censes; discharge of workers and estimates place the total mem- right to vote, etc. bership of the Councils around ern Democratic politicians. The

forces have been used by the cap- thetic to the Negro people. italist politicians to help impose conformity with Jim-Crow policies on the white population in 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-su-

Throughout the Deep South the and local government levels, has touched. The leaders of both the acted to checkmate racial integration and to intimidate and ties have acted only insofar as the 1954 Supreme Court deci- der mass pressure. Even then laws have been enacted in South- sible, hoping to appease the colern states. The Georgia legisla- ored masses through promises of of six U.S. Supreme Court doing much to make desegregajudges. Reverting to the old tion a living reality on the sostates' rights position of the cial scene. slave holders, the white sumay interpose its sovereignty lagainst "unconstitutional" federal intervention. Laws have been changing the political balance of from resort to federal court ac- equality and in defense of their

> In several states the NAACP der of 14-year-old Emmett Louis "subversive" list. Legal frame- solidarity, militancy and mass

Announcement of the school Crow domination is the growing

At the same time the extra-350,000 in all Southern states. legal arm of the White Citizens This racist movement has been Councils has conducted a typical openly mobilized by the South- Ku Klux Klan campaign of terror. Arson, bombing, shooting, Southern press has given gen- beating, Tynching have been uneal support to its white suprama- leashed against the Negro peocist attack on the Negro people. ple and their white sympathizers. The Councils have their great- This terrorism is designed to est strength in rural and small- prevent Negroes from organizing town areas where poverty, lack in defense of their rights, from have greatly strengthened the of education, bigotry and deep- acting to break down segregation Negro movement in the fight for dyed patterns of prejudice lend and discrimination, from exercisthemselves to the incitement of ing their right to vote. It is also South have been largely rural racial antagonisms. These rural directed against whites sympa-

supremacist defiance of the Su-In the face of open whitepreme Court and the campaign the cities, including the white of terror against the Negro peoworking class. Southern whites ple, the federal government has done little or nothing to enforce the law or to punish the whitesupremacist 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 prilegal arm of the White Citizens marily to the border states, leav-Councils, operating at the state ing the Deep South virtually un-Democratic and Republican parvictimize the Negro people, Since they felt compelled to do so unsion over 100 new segregation they have done as little as posture has demanded impeachment future action, without actually

The Negro people refuse to ac cept 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 very lives against white-supremacist terror. The 1955 lynch-mur-

ern Negroes feel they had allies.

the

Hard on the heels of the Till cant gain in Negro votes, espe- led a series of capitalist conces- demonstrations a mass struggle cially in the 1956 elections. This sions. These range from the war- exploded right in the heart of situation has stiffened competitime FEPC, through desegregathe deep South. The Negro peotion between the capitalist tion of the armed forces, to the ple of Montgomery, Alabama, parties for Negro support and 1954 Supreme Court decision out- solidly united and 50,000 strong, may lead to some minor improve- lawing school segregation. Along set out to smash segregation on will be to seek a maximum of full Negro equality through re- had the strongest initial tactical on a first-come, first-served the hiring of colored drivers on

White Citizens Councils came teachers—used against all who clans in local government struck

ly undertaken due to the peril

ing to it unusual regional

strength that added to its spe-

cific weight nationally. In ad-

dition NAACP initiative in the

proceedings that led to the school

great prestige to the organiza-

tion and its national leadership.

Yet the fundamental flaw in

civil rights-has repeatedly up-

set its organizational control

over the insurgent Negro masses.

to the civil rights movement the

desegregation decision brought

The NAACP policy of discour- the colored people goes beyond aging mass action led in the the various small-scale local ar-North and West to sporadic up- tilons of recent years. The 1941 ent organizational form. In the evoked a broad mass response to South, however, such partial, epi- a protest action aimed squarely sodic mass actions could not be at the capitalist government. The undertaken. For the Southern 1943 Harlem outbreak reflected Negroes to win a mess struggle a similar mass mood, as did the it was necessary for them to spontaneous resistance to the propel a whole people into mo- anti-Negro pogrom in Detroit tion, an effort not to be light- the same year.

In 1955, when the conservative of savage reprisals if defeated. Negro leaders announced meetutilization of the NAACP as an the colored masses of the North instrument of struggle, impart-, and West filled the halls to cal acts of violence egainst colored people.

NAACP policy-reliance on the capitalist government to secure servative Negro leaders sought tion, hoping to keep the move-With the rise of the CIO, the colored workers sought to adapt succeed because the necessary use and extension of such action. methods of struggle they had conditions for mass action in the learned in the unions-boycotts, picketing, protest demonstrations ored people of Montgomery were -and to secure union support able to catch up with the general ence. This opens new possibiliof their efforts. Vanious local trend toward militant struggle ties for the development of mass has been officially outlawed. De- Till in Mississippi set off a great organizations sprang into being and in doing so they pushed the struggle methods on a broader whole movement towards a higher stage of development.

sue. Across the years such local movements have arisen and then disappeared, only to arise again open or hypocritical discrimina- man Democrats to make a dema- state and local courts. An equal- and aroused widespread sympa-

Meanwhile the MIA launched The Civil Rights Struggle and the SWP Resolution

For the last six weeks civil rights has been the main order

Outside Congress, the Negro people are locked in battle against he 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

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 dispeople acted to enforce it by re- cussion among all partisans of Negro equality over how to abolish turning to the buses on a non- Jim Crow. - Editor.

demonstrations were carried however, came from the working the Montgomery action. class section of the movement.

through in Birmingham, Atlanta and other Southern cities in or-At every stage the struggle reder to initiate court action against local bus segregation laws. At an Atlanta meeting 97 the arts of mass organization. Negro leaders gathered to form a Southern Leaders Conference is Mr. E. D. Nixon, treasurer of with Rev. King as president. The the MIA and a veteran union Conference proclaimed its intenand civil rights leader. His long tion to fight on until all forms of racial discrimination have doubt reflected in the keen sense been abolished. President Eisenof timing with which the growing hower was asked to come into mass militancy became crystalthe South and publicly state his position on the civil rights issue. When he refused the Southern Leaders Conference at a later meeting in New Onleans proposed a mass pilgrimage to Washington to demand action from the federal government. and to hammer out a clearly de- movement.

Beginning with the Mentgomery bus boycott, the Southern Negro movement assumed a vanguard role in the civil rights Use Economic Weapons struggle and changed the course of events. Skillfully mobilized by able leaders with clear aims, the colored masses intervened against White Citizens Councils, confronting them for the first time with a head-on fight. Capitalist politicians of all stripes 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 imments in the federal civil rights with this latter concession has the city buses. They were open- posed on the civil rights movelaws. If so, the objective of both come significant new evidence ing a fight to win full equality in ment by the national leadership the Democrats and Republicans that it is impossible to secure all spheres, starting where they of the NAIACP. Distrust and deliberate restraint of mass action credit for a minimum of action. Hance on the capitalist govern- advantage — the bus boycott has been a central component of They hit hard with their eco- official NAAOP policy. At the nomic power as the main users national level the besic policy of the buses: demanding seating has been to seek gradual extension of civil rights through rebasis; courteous treatment; and liance on the courts, law enforcement agencies and legislative desegregation decision led to open use of economic pressure-can- routes in predominantly Negro bodies, working toward that end through the medium of the cap-The Democratic Party politi- italist political parties.

white supremacists.

segregated basis.

an attack in the federal courts

on the Alabama bus segregation law. They kept the boycott pres-

sure on throughout the court

deliberations, showing tremen-

dous staying power in a year-

long siege. The mass pressure

speeded the judicial proceed-

ings, resulting in a U.S. Supreme

Court decision last December

knocking out the Alabama law

in question. When the court or-

der came through the Negro

Membership participation in sons have accentuated and deep cretization toward an FEPC in into being as a new instrument sign or show sympathy for suits back through a mass trial of the local NAACP brenches has worker organizers pushed them people from fighting for their ened the grievences of the Ne- New York state policy. Consci- to combine legal and extra-legal requesting court action to de- boycott leaders, aiming to be- been more or less confined to forward as public spokesmen. ousness in the Negro struggle acts of racial repression. Recent segregate schools, protect the head and crush the new mass or- fund raising, legwork in support

#### ganization, the Montgomery Im- of national policies dictated from provement Association. But the the top and local activities colored people of the city turned around civic reform movements. out for the trial in mass to show Few workers could be activated

solidarity with their victimized in this environment. With some leaders. Defense witnesses poured exceptions, the movement reout the bitter grievances of a mained essentially middle class long-suffering people for the in its active core, particularly whole world to hear. Although outside the South, thus feeilitat-Rev. King was convicted, the ing middle class domination of trial was actually turned into a the leadership nationally. Go Beyond the NAACP

mula that can be filled with dif- civil rights reforms. ferent kinds of content. In Gandhi's hands it was used to paralyze and demoralize mass action They therefore sought maximum ings to protest the Till murder, at crucial moments. In Montthe ministers praise Gandhi, the workers in Chicago forced ex- gle, and the boycott was active tension of the protest through a all the way. The ministers appicket line at the City Hall, add- pear to have been accepted by ing to the bill of particulars lo- the members of the MIA as leaders in the struggle not because and a historic occasion. they preached passivity but be-More alarmed than inspired by cause, reflecting the sentiments the vigorous mass response to of the members, they preached mass Negro march on Washingtheir call for a protest, the con- resistance-collective resistance. The distinguishing feature of the to discourage further mass ac- Montgomery movement is not try on the national political scene pacifist declarations of some of ment confined within the gen- its leaders but its use of mass mobilizing beside themselves the eral framework of reliance on the action to fight Jim Crow. Its government. They were not to future depends on the continued

One product of the Montgom-South had now matured. The col- ery struggle was the formation of the Southern Leaders Conferbasis than the bus boycott. It sponsive to the Montgomery implies the necessity for greater The Montgomery Improvement, intervention by the Southern Ne-Association was the mobilization groes themselves, and therefore of an entire Southern Negro represents a differentiation from They are wondering why they community in action. It united the conservative policies of the tion in various forms. They are gogic bid for the Negro vote in ly potent weapon to preserve Jim thy among whites. This mass mood permeating the ranks of fessional and middle class ele- to their reliance on the capital-

Similar enforcement of the ments more effectively than any fined perspective around which court order was undertaken at previous organization had done, to summon the masses to battle. Tallahassee, Florida, where a bus enabling them all to contribute The record shows that these boycott had been started follow- to the common cause. The main things were done, and done coning the Montgomery action. Test thrust toward organized action, sciously, during the first day's of

As the boycott settled into a siege further evidence revealed veated the presence of an able the presence of experienced mass worker leadership schooled in organizers. The car pool alone was a masterpiece of organiza-Typifying this worker leadership tion, involving vehicles, drivers, dispatchers, mechanics and very substantial service facilities. Strike techniques appeared in training and experience were no the form of an organized relief system, publicity and legal defense mechanisms and systematic appeals for material aid. lized into concrete mass action. The regular mass meetings to It took a skilled hand to act keep the ranks informed of dedecisively while the masses velopments and to help sustain seethed with anger over the ar- their fighting morale are in the rest of Mrs. Rosa Parks; to best tradition of militant laswiftly mobilize a broadly rep- bor struggle, Among the most resentative leading cadre from significant features is the genthe Negro population es a whole; erally democratic structure of the

a measure of protection against white supremacist economic reprisals. followed the boycott vic- they were not at all conventiontory. Thus it implies determination to continue with organized mass action in the fight for full

the traditional role of the church in the civil rights struggle; the the terrorism aimed at the Needucational advantages derived gro freedom fighters. from their ministerial training; movement without need for personal financia! aid.

The attention given to the ministers by the press has created a partly distorted picture preach a doctrine-"love your enof the MIA. Despite the religious emy," "turn the other cheek"tones and language imparted by that impedes rather then prothe ministers in the leadership, motes the mobilization of forces it is not primarily a religious to fight Jim Crow, invites colmovement. Because of peculiar laboration with the enemy and historical circumstances, segre- facilitates his continued dominagation especially, the church has tion. On the other hand they have come to be a social, cultural and supported and led a courageous political es well as religious cen- mass struggle against that enter for the Negro people. When emy.

One of the boycott demands | the boycott struggle began the colled for employment of Negro church was there at hand, availbus drivers on certain lines. This able as a convenient meeting indicates perception of the need place and organizational center. to relate class problems of the In addition, its character as a Negro workers to the general religious institution afforded a civil rights struggle. Sensitivity measure of protection against to the economic interests of the white-supremarist violence, almasses is further indicated by though the night-prowling white the MIA decision to organize a supremacists have not hesitated credit union. This step, offering to hurl bombs at Negro churches. The MIA mass meetings were

called "prayer meetings," but ] al religious gatherings, for the a "prayers" were recitations of grievances, demands and pledges to do something about them in High potential for the conting an organized and militant fash-ration of policies involving mass ion. The theme of "non-violence," participation is also implied by heavily stressed by the ministhe predominance of youth in the ters, found an echo in the ranks, MIA leadership. Throughout his- chiefly for its tactical signifitory the youth have given vigor, cance. The Negro people have sweep and boldness to move- no reason to precipitate acts of ments deeply rooted in the violence. They are merely demasses. This spirit, infused into manding the civil rights to which the struggle by the worker they are legally entitled under youth, imparted militancy to the the U.S. Constitution. All the young Jawyers and ministers. As violence comes from the white the young ministers responded supremacists who seek through rights. 'Advocacy of "non-vio-Several factors were involved: lence" therefore meets with favor as a means to protest against

The program of Rev. King and the time they can give to the some of the other ministers is a confusing and conflicting combination of mystical-pacifist slogans and militant-practical actions. On the one hand they

**Passive Resistance?** "Passive resistance" is a for- ist government to bring about

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 gomery, however, even though government. The NAACP leadership was dr wn into sponsoroverflowing. Unionized Negro accent so far has been on strug- ship of this action. The pilgrimage was poorly organized, the turnout falling far short of what was possible. Nevertheless, it was a successful demonstration

Though threatened many times in the past, this was the first ton. The chief impulse came from the Southern Negroes, whose enshowed them to be capable of 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 restruggle and to the steps taken by the Southern Leaders Conference since the boycott victory. 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 organization in the movement. At the same time the Montgom- bor-Negro action in all respects nal democracy, as was developed fundamental axis of the struggle, tion of the fighting qualities thus feeling an acute need for through the MIA. So far the away from reliance on the cap- of the Negro workers. masses in general have looked italist government and toward primarily to the NAACP to set mass action in direct opposition part, appear eager to join in the ernment action in the housing them into motion. If the organiza- to government policy. tion now fails to lect, other orbe developed.

icies and the development of or- land and drawn into the indusganizational forms to implement trial centers. In addition many them. In time, however, the small farmers and agricultural rights movement or yield its make out on the land alone.

place as the dominant national; expensive to the white workers. a class issue requiring united la-6

### **Southern Industry Expands**

Expansion of the Southern in- where in the nation, the Negro dustrial economy covers a whole people are undergoing an intenseries of products, extending sive process of urbanization and from industrial machinery, industrialization. City life con-According to the magazine U.S. land, only the resulting social News and World Report of patterns are somewhat different. January 27, 1956, gains in man- In the communities they are seufacturing output over the last gregated but they also become 15 years range from 353% for more compactly organized. In in-Alabama to 533% for South dustry they meet general dis-Carolina. The South now accounts crimination but they also gain a for nearly one-quarter of the higher form of class homogenei- for them both a civil rights and of the racists. country's manufacturing facili- ty than they were able to attain ties as compared to 9% at the on the land. A new necessity and turn of the century.

'A similar rise in the number firmer class unity of the colored of Southern wage earners en- and white toilers than could be all Southern wage earners thus ment with the class struggle in The proposal of the Southern engaged rose from 16.0 to 18.4; industry. in the same ten years the per- Keenly aware of these social a mass pilgrimage to Washingcentage of non-whites involved implications, the monopoly cap- ton was a limited step in that South, an evasion of leadership rose from 10.1 to 14.4. Mechani- italists who today dominate direction. It also pointed the way responsibility that doomed in adzation of agriculture, on the oth- Southern political rule seek to for the union movement in opin the elimination of 55,000 share- premacy in order to keep labor on labor. In fact there is great total of around 200,000 in that tizens Councils are actually the independent political action to ad- to unionization. single area of the South. This tool of the monopoly bankers, in- vance their mutual interests. figure, related to the land, re- dustrialists and planters. They flects the continuing propulsion are using this tool to maintain of uprooted agricultural peoples the open shop, keep wages down toward the industrial centers. and coin super-profits at labor's Thus in the South, as else-expense.

**Top Union Officials Duck Fight** 

Failure of the national union ferential are costly to their emofficials to seriously combet the ployment and their earning pow- among the unorganized workers white supremacists has helped er. Unionization of the South is of the South. With the civil rights gain strength in the unions. As ally. But as the experience in al political equilibrium and adlack of cless struggle education port the civil rights movement fresh wigor to the Negro moveand an effective means of re- in order to help forge colored sistance to the racists. White and white solidarity in industry, the two movements will tend to workers who would like to fight back hesitate for fear of re- igan recently denounced local at- pose in the sphere of independent prisals against which they have tempts to form a White Citizens political action. no ready defense. Usually they resort to indirect methods of show- from lessons first learned in the ing their sympathy with the colored workers in the civil rights through which the CIO organized ruling class, breaking up the struggle and their feelings of solidarity with them as class Flint policy declaration gives

Although industrial employment in the South is rapidly expanding, less than one-fifth of the workers are organized into bama? If Flint labor is now unions. Open shop conditions threatened by this white-supremhave in turn perpetuated the acist tool of the capitalist class, Southern wage differential. Ac- shouldn't the AFL-CIO launch cording to U.S. Department of an offensive against the White Labor figures for 1953-54, for Citizens Councils at the founevery \$1 a production worker tainhead in the South? Shouldn't earned in Chicago, his counter- that offensive take the form of part in Atlanta, Dallas or New Orleans earned only 70 to 75 drive, coupled with militant supcents. These circumstances have port of the civil rights movegiven rise inthe North and West | ment, the unions' natural ally to an increasing flow of runaway against the anti-Negro, anti-loplants toward the South.

Deliberate efforts to draw premacists? industries southward are illustrated by a current national advertising campaign sponsored by the mass base of the White Citi- al sortie into Republican politics the Oklahoma State Department zens Councils. Vigorous union to demonstrate their "independof Commerce and Industry, a intervention, backed by up the ence." As a consequence they governmental arm of capitalist full national power of organized spread capitalist ideas among the political rule. As published in the labor, would evoke a real re-New York Times of March 10, sponse among the Southern work-1957, the advertisement states in part: "In May of 1955 the aver- that raced across the South in age hourly pay of Oklahoma la- 1955 revealed the growing workbor was \$1.74 per hour compared er sentiment for union action. In with the national average of a sense this strike wave paral-\$1.84 per hour [wage differen- leled the great 1934 strikes which tial]. The percent of man-days worked, lost through labor disputes for the nation was .72, while that of Oklahoma was only .33 [open shop]."

and the drag of the wage dif- racial prejudice more and more ship would welcome such possi-

Conditions for the shift are beganizational vehicles will in time ing prepared in the South by a in organized labor, along with Negro people out into new resibasic process of social change. Whether the NAACP will find Mechanization of agriculture and rights in industry and through- vicious white supremacist rea way to fall in step with the a parallel rise of new industries out society. By meeting this just sistance. Yet everywhere in the new situation will depend on the is transforming a predominantly demand labor will serve its own country they see the capitalist outcome of struggles outside and agricultural into an industrial inside the organization. For the people, Colored and white alike solidarity in industry and win- for enforcement of the Negroes' next period a fluid process can are affected. A vast number have ning over the colored people gen- right to a home. They find little be expected in the shaping of pol- been entirely uprooted from the erally as allies. This alliance, equality anywhere, except in tax-NAACP must either readjust to day flaborers seek part-time jobs civil rights movements, can be the changing course of the civil in industry because they can't firmly cemented by the Negro gro militants toward an exami-

large section of the Negro workers are already unionized. These through war materials, to a fronts them with the same old unionists are farthest advanced white supremedists by giving large variety of consumer items. prejudices they faced on the in connecting the fight for their them the chairmanships of key civil rights with the struggle to defend their class interests and behold the Republicans making

> to a higher level. Usually the last to be hired Democrats to enact generally reand the first to be fired, the pressive laws, while the Presithreat of unemployment becomes | dent remains neutral on the side

more membership participation The ultimate showdown can be eny boycott action cannot help As a segregated minority they in the organization; more inter- expected to involve a shift in the but give them a new apprecia- suffer the worst housing crisis, common efforts by the labor and The Negro workers, for their Negro movements to compel govunion struggle. However, they field. Migratory pressures on the want first-class citizenship with- city ghettoes are pushing the union support of their civil dentilal areas where they meet interests, gaining colored-white politicians ducking responsibility which flows naturally from the ation to finance the capitalist mutual interests and essential war program toward which they class affinity of the labor and show no enthusiasm.

These conditions force the Nenation of the political nature of There are wirtually no capital- the government power. They find ists among the Negro people and the main bastion of white suonly a thin layer of middle class premacist rule among the Southelements. As a people they are ern Democrats whose political overwhelmingly working class in strength derives in great part composition. Taken nationally, a from the disenfranchisement of the colored masses. Nationally they see the Democrats aid the Congressional committees. They in raising political consciousness their contribution in the form of a coalition with the Southern

### on the land. A new necessity and a new opportunity arises for a Need for Independent Politics

As yet the Negro movement is ahead of organized labor in gathering mass momentum. The due largely to the high level of production for war. However, there is considerable ferment within the unions nationally and the White Citizens Councils to therefore vital to labor nation- movement upsetting the nationter of class duty for labor to supers act their struggles will lend The AFL-CIO in Flint, Mich- lead them toward unity of pur-Council. This action clearly stems

Their fusion into a united political force would imply a headon collision with the capitalist the auto workers. However, the present two-party swindle and precipitating a class polarization in politics. In the process the civil rights forces could be ex- their readiness to subordinate oll pected 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 from direct struggle against the capitalist ruling class, they appeal to the capitalist government for reforms to appease the masses. Toward this end they The union movement is in an give general support to the Democratic Party, with an occasionmasses, 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 Objective circumstances are civil rights struggle will cause preparing the white workers to ferment among Negro workers occept the colored toilers as class in the unions nationally and help To workers outside the South brothers. Open-shop conditions precipitate mass action to unionthe danger of runaway plants are creating problems that make ize the South. A militant leader-

Recognition is therefore dawn- | bilities and act to spread the gaged in manufacturing is shown found in agriculture. Implied is a ing that to break the power of process. But the top union offiby the National Negro Year major breach in the wall of white the white supremacists the cials see only a danger of upset-Book. During the period from supremacy leading toward fu- masses must enter the political ting their class-collaborationist 1940 to 1950 the percentage of sion of the civil rights move- arena as an independent force. scheme to refer all social problems to the Democratic Party for Leaders Conference to organize adjustment. Above all they fear to face the race issue in the vance the Southern organization er hand, has resulted since 1950 strengthen the wall of white su- posing the governmental attacks drive started in 1946. Their failure enabled the Dixiecrats to stay croppers in the Southeastern divided along color lines. In need for the labor and civil in power and enact "Right-tostates alone, leaving a remaining the last analysis the White Ci- rights movements to join forces in Work" laws as a further barrier

False policies within the radical movement have helped to prop up the class collaborationist political line of the union offiunion struggle remains muted cials and the conservative Negro leaders. The Social Demoemployment end the tolerable crats, having abandoned classwage level made possible through 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 decentive Staence," advances the misleading a result existing prejudices building the CIO taught, unions vancing the political education notion that fundamental social among white workers are in can't be organized without the of the working class, labor is problems can be solved through some cases deepened. A general aid of the colored workers in- brought that much closer to a an "anti-monopoly coalition" cutpattern of conformity with white volved. Consequently it is a mat-monopoly coarding special attenpattern of conformity with white volved. Consequently it is a mat-monopoly coarding special attenpattern of conformity with white volved. Consequently it is a mattion on the need for Mollow to dencies render service to the conservative leaders of the labor ment. This interrelation between and Negro movements in keeping the masses tied to the Democratic Party. The Communist Party, which

in the nast has been the most successful in recruiting Negro militants, has also done a lot to discredit the radical movement in the eves of the colored masses. Among Negroes, as in American life generally, the CP leaders have consistenly demonstrated 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 "militancy" again during the effect. cold war; and now, a readiness to take a "statesmanlike" view even of anti-Negro forces if thev are willing to support "peaceful co-existence.

It also created confusion about amendment, thus helping to w'ne tion. Theoretically, the profound clause in the civil-rights bill. delphia Tribune asked: Why the Negro people might under sell out the civil-rights fight is certain future conditions give to be taken back. rise to separatist demands. Since continue to advocate integration bill. rather than separation as the best. This action has drawn bitter





(left), president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and E. D. Nixon, MIA

### Mass Action Is the Key

realities.

Capitalism therefore finds it increasingly difficult to grant masses. As Montgomery shows, upset the capitalist political equisocialist leadership.

of departure the independent with capitalist politics. character of the Negro movement as a minority struggle for labor should be in the forefront 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 ditions warrant such a demand.

Full support must also be given the colored freedom fighters

Motion toward the socialist premacist terror. During the solution is today foreshadowed Montgomery action sheer necesby the Montgomery struggle, sity produced an embryonic form Class collaborationist policies of defense guards. As the strugcan hold the masses in check gle deepens this defense mechachange, each concession leads to dlass interests to prevent the mands. The recent civil rights creating a polarization along colclass-struggle principle that fense guards would have to stand pers, radio and TV. that mass pressure is the only alone against white supremacist means to wrest significant re- terrorists. Acts of violence have forms from the ruling class. Far been and will continue to be diple, the legal reforms and other as the Negro people. As a real for broader struggles and more grow in intensity. The labor and militant methods aimed at trans- civil rights movements therefore should be met through united self-defense measures. Socialists have a special re-

support of Negro mass actions bly to mass ections that tend to direction to these struggles. Labor should be called to join such The process can be helped imum force squarely at the fed-Socialists should encourage and

support the running of independttion on the need for labor to ets. Such support, with the nec- for Negro representation in the equality through mass action insupport the struggle. Organized essary criticism where the pro- leadership. We have consistently stead of relying on the capitalgram is inadequate, is fully justi- urged organized labor to give ist government to grant reforms. of the fight for such civil rights fied on the principle of the right full backing to the Negro peo- Run independent Negro candilegislation as an FEPC with teeth of Negroes to minority repre- ple. We have sought to explain dates in opposition to both capin it, anti-lynch laws, poll tex sentation in government. The why the labor movement must italist parties. Full union supcandidates in opposition to the movement depends on the sup- ty based on the unions. Replace independent political currents should be advocated through a need for class political conscious- ment. Abolish capitalism and essupremacists where tactical con- labor-Negro alliance to form an ness among worker militants, tablish a socialist society. independent labor party based colored and white, as the key to Only on this class-struggle in taking measures for their own ical instrument for creation of people is only the crudest ex- question can be fundamentally self-defense against white su- a workers and farmers govern- pression of the many forms of and permanently resolved.

toward the establishment of a in the struggle for equality. socialist society.

If the fight for complete equality is to be won, the Negro workers must take the leadership out the civil rights struggle. It is of the hands of the middle class necessary to have a thorough unelements. That task requires the derstanding of the historical, building of a left wing founded on class-struggle perspectives. In their dual role as Negroes and as unionists the colored workers movement for democratic reare in a position to strive within forms under capitalism, a moveboth 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 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 creonly so long as capitalism can nism will be required to assume ate receptivity to their ideas grant real concessions, one upon more concrete forms according within the civil rights movement. another. Since there is imperative to the given tactical situation. Circulation of the socialist press need for fundamental social Again it is in labor's elementary could be expanded among colored the living movement. Consequentreaders introducing them to the new and more far-reaching de- White Citizens Councils from class-struggle program and all new developments in the mass counteracting the capitalist battles have proven in life the or lines whereby all-Negro de- ideology spread by the daily pa- part in these events. Through

support to the NAACP, the MIA views to clarify disputed points and other organizations in the of analysis and program, the sofrom appeasing the Negro peo- rected against the unions as well civil rights movement, working cialist movement can steadily to build them while seeking to gain in its capacity to lend concessions thus far granted campaign to organize the South extend the influence of left wing strength to the just cause of have become the starting point gets under way such attacks will and progressive forces within the colored people.

ment, acting solely in the inter-| them. Following the example ests of the toiling masses. That set by the MIA, full internal government, being genuinely rep- democracy should be advocated resentative of the Negro people, in all these organizations so that would act to guarantee their full the membership may have a voice civil rights. To achieve these in shaping policy and an opporends it would of necessity move tunity to play a genuine role

> Revolutionary socialists are confronted with complex educational tasks in connection with theoretical and practical aspects of the fight for Negro equality in its independent character as a ment 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 enmochment from the experiences of ly socialists must closely follow movement and strive to play a careful study of the flow of po-Socialists should give active litical life, and an exchange of

### militant methods aimed at trans-lating legal victories into living have a c o m mo n problem that Socialist Workers Party Proposals

sufficient reforms to appease the sponsibility to mobilize labor sistently supported the struggle social wrongs are to be overfor Negro equality. Our efforts this contradiction leads inevita- and to help give concrete political have included: demands for ef- the capitalist system of class exenforce civil rights; support to wrongs and to replace it with a librium. Conditions are thus demonstrations as the mass pil- the NAAOP, the MIA and other, socialist society founded on the ripening for replacement of the grimage to Washington. These organizations fighting in the in- principles of justice and equality reformist leadership of the mass measures offer a realistic vehi- terests of the colored people; ini- for all who toil. movement with a revolutionary cle to generalize the mass de- tiation of protest actions against mands and direct them with max- police brutality, legal frameups, lynch terror, segregation, job along through a transitional pro- eral government. Mass experi- discrimination and other Jim- ment should advocate: Complete gram leading toward fusion of ence of this kind at the seat of Crow practices; support to Nethe civil rights movement with governmental power helps to dis- gro candidates for public office the class struggle for socialism. pell illusions in the capitalist so long as they run independent- ples. Abolish all forms of buty, following the deceptive Sta-linist line of "per ceful co-exist- This program takes as its point government and speed the break ly of the Democratic and Repub-

lican parties. on the unions. A labor party victory for both movements. Dis- road does the Socialist Workers would in turn serve as the polit- crimination against the Negro Party believe the civil rights

Throughout the years the So-| discrimination and oppression excialist Workers Party has con- isting under capitalism. If these come, it is necessary to abolish fective governmental action to ploitation that breeds these In accordance with these con-

cepts the Socialist Workers Party believes the socialist moveeconomic, social and political equality for all minority peoreaucratic control within the mass movement and establish In the unions the Socialist complete rank-and-file democra-Workers Party has sided with the cy. Discard all class-colaboraunions should be urged to back have the support of the colored port to the civil rights moveindependent Negro cadidates and workers to win its battles and ment. A labor-Negro alliance to to run their own independent why success for the civil rights launch an independent labor parcapitalist parties. Fusion of these port of the white working class. the capitalist government with Above all we have stressed the workers and farmers govern-

### **Continue Deception on Rights**

To entice support from the ated them from socialist ideas. Tex.) endorsing the jury-trial bill's veto. the principles of self-determina- out the last real enforcement

interests of the Negro people. at all."

labor bureaucrats, the jury-trial from the book of compromise." now being made to strengthen provision was or ginally to Rejecting the argument that the it."

Ford Facts (Aug. 10), paper of huge Auto Workers Local apply in all contempt-of-court bill was half a loaf or a slice cases, including those against and therefore better than none, opposed to civil-rights bill in its president, Carl Stellato, calling The Communist Party et one labor. John L. Lewis of the the paper editorially labeled it present form. Have been in the day of the Senate's final time advocated establishment of United Mine Workers and most "a tainted slice of something touch with a number of my emasculation of the bill Black a Negro Republic in the Black of the top bureaucrats of the teeming with the vermin thrown friends. We disagree that half Friday for the American peo-Belt. This slogan ran counter to railroad brotherhoods went for into the cake batter by bigoted a loaf is better than none. Have ple. "But on Black Friday," the integrationist aims of the it. They sent telegrams to Democrats and reactionary waited this long for bill with wrote Stellato, "the Democratic colored people and further alien- Senator Lyndon Johnson (D. Republicans." It called for the meaning — can wait a little Party with a majority in the An editorial entitled "Indecent

growth of racial solidarity and Now the bribe the Democratic would these organizations [the less than the original bill is not tion in the political arena. Benational consciousness among leadership offered to labor to NAACP and 15 liberal-labor bodies] put their stamp of approval on the admittedly worthnothing."

The division in Negro opinion

being "tempted to steal a page heartily support every effort of an individual."

longer."

in New York, one of the largest political road we will travel."

The Aug. 17 Amsterdam News, Dr. Ralph Bunche of the UN in the country, said of the bill: the masses chained to the liberal capitalist politicians. Shrinking the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance:

The masses chained to the liberal capitalist politicians. Shrinking the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance:

The masses chained to the liberal rupting the war effort" during capitalist politicians. Shrinking the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance:

The masses chained to the liberal rupting the war effort" during an amendment to this leading Negro declared: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, political football, it should be "sleaning in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance: "Speaking in the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance in the U bed with Senator Eastland" and form is disappointingly weak. I any compromise on the rights

Jackie Robinson wired: "Am 600, carries an article by its U.S. Senate could only muster Former N. Y. Judge Hubert nine votes . . . for democracy. . . Haste" in the Aug. 13 Phila- T. Delaney declared: "I feel Ne- The time has come for our Union groes should agree that any bill to take a hard look at our posiacceptable." Russell Crawford, fore the 1958 election we must president of the NAACP branch have a full dress debate on the

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Vol. XXI - No. 34

great sit-down strikes of 1937

rise to some questions. If the

White Citizens Councils are anti-

labor in Flint, are they not also

anti-labor in Montgomery, Ala-

an all-out union organizational

bor conspiracy of the white su-

excellent position to cut away

ers. The dynamic strike wave

arose as the heat-lightning sig-

nalling the coming CIO storm.

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS

signed articles by contributors 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."

Monday, August 26, 1957

The possibility that the House less bill at the very moment minority peoples have the demo- might make a serious effort to efforts were being made to cratic right to exercise self-de- put some strength into the bill strengthen it in the House? And termination, socialists would be ended when Roy Wilkins head why the great speed? . . . Apobligated to support such de- of the NAACP, and spokesmen parently someone sold Roy Wilmands if they should reflect the for 16 other liberal and labor kins a bill of goods. . . . There mass will. Yet even under these organizations called for passage are many who think the bill, as circumstances socialists would of the Senate version of the it now stands, is worse than

solution of the race question for criticism from many Negro lead- on the bill in its present form Negro and white workers alike. ers and newspapers. It is was further demonstrated by the While upholding the right of self-charged that the NAACP and statements and telegrams sent determination, they would con labor leaders were putting the by prominent Negroes to the tinue to unge an alliance of the interests of the Democratic White House. A. Philip Randolph, Negro people and the working Party which are best served by Negro labor leader, asserted "as class to bring about a socialist getting the present ineffective an individual, I urge veto of the solution of the civil rights prob- civil-rights bill quickly passed civil rights bill passed by the lem within the existing national and out of the way, above the Senate. It is worse than no bill

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### **NEGROES** ON THE

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THE MILITANT

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

### **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 book was suppressed by Stalin because it interfered with his rewriting of Soviet history. His official historians had invented for him the role of co-leader with Lenin of the revolution. But Reed does not mention Stalin in his narrative at all. On the other hand, Reed vividly describes the leading role played in the October, 1917 events by Leon Trotsky, who, according to Stalinist "historians," had sabotaged the revolution. The reappearance of Reed's book is bound to deepen the Soviet workers' interest in Trotsky's writings which are still banned by Khrushchev.

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

Sacco and Vanzetti were Italian workingmen 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,

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 At-

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

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

torney General, Mitchell Palmer.

tried and convicted.

death in 1927.

bare facts of that historic martyrdom.

the October days in Poland or the revo- VOLUME XXI lutionary 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 this would not assure any genliterary legacy. The present developments eral reduction in the auto workin the Soviet orbit have served to make ers' cost of living or increase these writings a subject of wide new their job security. interest. This fall, 17 years after his claim Reuther has prepared a murder, four of Trotsky's major writings "trap" for the corporations. The are being republished.

Trotsky's monumental work, The His-concedes, however, that "there tory of the Russian Revolution, will be reissued in September by the University has been missing from UAW of Michigan. Long out of print, this work statements in recent months. describes and analyzes the great revolu- The Journal goes on to recall tion more faithfully than any other UAW convention, including the account. It points the way for the achievement of new revolutionary victories.

Two other works by Trotsky - the spokesmen were not available Third International After Lenin and the Revolution Retrayed — have just been fine points yesterday, but the Revolution Betrayed — have just been hints of a milder attitude seemed republished by New Park Publications clear." in England. The first work is a devastat- FALSE THEORY ing criticism of Stalin's platform of "Socialism in One Country." The second lays osition is really laid for the bare the social character and role of the auto workers. For he clearly bureaucratic caste whose interests Stalin relates wages to prices and

Finally, Trotsky's Literature and Revo- the theories put out by the lution will be republished by Russell and corporation propagandists. The Russell in New York. This book goes to latter merely emphasize the the heart of the differences between the to emphasize the price aspect. liberating, Marxist approach to art and But he accepts the false theory, the deadening, Stalinist school of "so- and that is the dangerous concialist realism."

The present crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy has produced the encouraging re- or industry's prices, Reuther groupment process now taking place in opens the way for a demand by the world radical movement. The new industry that the union drop its editions of Trotsky's writings are an important contribution to the present regroupment discussion. We are confident they will aid in advancing the to exercise due caution before realignment of the revolutionary socialrealignment of the revolutionary socialphasizes: "This [Reuther's] ist forces which will effectively challenge both imperialism and Stalinism.

Sacco and Vanzetti was part of a col-

lusive effort between the district attorney

rid the country of these Italians because

President and the Attorney General.

"If it had not been for this thing, I

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 -

to us - that agony is our triumph."

murdered in the electric chair.

Some industry Aug. 19 Wall Street Journal was unquestionably a tone of conciliation in the letter that shorter work week at increased and observes: "Union

The "trap" in Reuther's propaffirmation and reinforcement to cession he makes.

By tying in wage demands with an individual corporation's wage demands and even accept Philip Murray raised back in raise production and lay off that the city would leave the "This display of tender concern

while advising the auto moguis higher wages during the war. proposal] is a revolutionary comsider Reuther's proposal as a and agents of the Justice Department to basis for bargaining.

HOW BOSSES MIGHT GAIN of their Red activities." But the protests The Wall Street Journal shows failed to move the state officials or to the corporations explicitly how secure action on appeals made to memwage-price-spiral plan" to their bers of the U.S. Supreme Court, the benefit. The Journal concludes an Aug. 20 editorial with "... our Shortly after midnight, the morning of only thought is to suggest a way August 23, Sacco and Vanzetti were he can improve upon his proposal. It's easy. Merely let up. The execution was a "ritual killing" of inflation either. But it would ready, but so far the three cap:designed - like that of the Rosenbergs certainly impress everybody more talist newspapers here have sucin this decade - to terrorize radicals and with the honesty of Mr. Reuther's ceeded pretty effectively in helpintentions." discourage political dissent. In the long

run it didn't work. Few care to recall the corporations from insisting that running against their choice, words or deeds of the capitalist officials. Reuther make explicit the conwho lynched the two radical immigrants, cessions on wages and hours he choice of Big Business. is willing to make in the event but who can forget the words of Barof a price cut? What if the tolomeo Vanzetti, words which will corporations agree to d.scuss | "apathy" toward the mayoralty haunt the defenders of capitalism to its the issue of price cuts and conhaggling over the precise amount of the cut? What if they cay, news columns information about might have lived out my life talking at "You take a wage cut and we'll what Miriani's opponents are street corners to scorning men. I might take a price cut," as the Wall doing and saying.

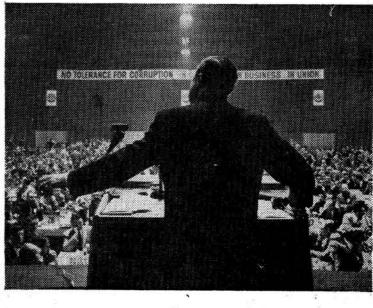
### Chicago

(Continued from page 1)

comers from the South each nothing! The taking of our lives — lives month, the Negro people, terribly of a good shoemaker and a poor fishovercrowded in Chicago's slums and islands of segregation, are peddler — all! That last moment belongs 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 Election Rally. Hear Sarah petty politicians who profit from residential segregation. So far, the officials of the labor move- cialist candidate for Mayor com-Mayor. Sat. Sept. 7 at 8 P.M. ment have limited themselves to plained to the papers about their city officials are overpaid. The support of the Mayor's fruitless blackout on his campaign, one salaries of the Mayor and Com- fluence growing smaller all the

policies. In a statement released Aug. 12, the Chicago Branch of the Socialist Workers Party with headquarters at 777 W. Adams at Belle Isle. We'll even print a the problems workers face.' 5 from 11 A.M. 1440 Thornhill Street, declared that "the labor movement alone has both the need and the power to protect

Taft-Hartley "Conspiracy Case" splitting terror of the racists. . . W. K. Kelsey's column, The scheduled for trial Sept. 16; by As a minimum first step the Commentator, in the Aug. 15 a representative of the United union leadership should call for Detroit News. status of the UCA's civil liberties a city-wide conference and in- A MAVERICK case; by a representative of the vite the broadest participation Militant on "Labor and Civil of the labor and Negro Move- is something of a mayerick in Rights." (Net proceeds of the ment. The central point of this Detroit journalism; maybe it's affair will go to the defense conference should be to . . . or-Association and the Cleveland ganize the forces to protect. . . the Negro people against racist



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? increases more nearly in line it easier for the corporations to the cost of living. confuse, delay and stall

Reuther's scheme is not new, however. It is merely a resur- has been the intensified speed-up. group called the Special Com- for a \$75 million cut in capital rected form of the old illusory By forcing the workers to in- mittee for the Preservation of "roll-back of prices" program crease their output per hour, the Neighborhood Schools. Theobold real-estate tax "within reasonthat the late CIO President companies have been able to assured this Jim-Crow outfit able limits," Mrs. Cowley said, 1942 and utilized to try to keep workers at the same time. issue of school integration to the for the real-estate magnates is The Aug. 21 N. Y. Times, the workers from striking for

themselves, em- CONVENTION PROGRAM

- and in the right to protect the auto workers from power, imposed severe restric- cept.' This is the double-talk services at the very moment direction. It would seem con- the constant attacks of inflation tions on the local unions and used by the Board of Education when much more is urgently trary to their own interests, and and unemployment. This program taken away their right to to the nation's as well, for the com- of the shorter work week with strike. panies wholly to ignore it." The correspondingly higher basic pay Times, one of the most au- is embodied in the slogan long say on the question of Reuther's neighborhood to all - white a substantial tax hike on the big thoritative voices of U.S. Big advanced by many auto miliproposal in the weeks to come. Business, implies there are postants: The 30-Hour Week at 40 We suggest that rank-and-file sible advantages the corporations Hours' Pay. In addition, the auto workers approach it with might gain by agreeing to con- auto workers need a strengthen- utmost caution and discuss it issue over to the Board of playgrounds that the working clause to bring automatic wage a-poke.

One of the means the corpora-

tions have used to circumvent the gains of the auto workers Reuther has consciously played preventing the workers from School Superintendent Jansen afford to vote the Tammany The UAW delegates last April up. That is why he has solidified establishing school zones on the

We will have much more to

SARAH LOVELL

"Sarah Lovell wishes the peo-

the average wage of a skilled

worker,' she says. 'If they had

to live on that, maybe they

"True; but it might be hard

to find candidates as devoted as

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and the Labor

Movement

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reader, which she is."

Workers Party.

reprinting in full. Here

## ... Reuther's Wage-Price Deal 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 "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 officialdom 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 Reuther, it is clear, would make with the actual steep rises in proving to the real estate gang scheduled meeting where those that he is wholeheartedly on their side."

"Yesterday, Deputy Mayor Jansen's Jim Crow policies." Theobold met with a racist 'educational authorities.' This just one more reason why the along with the companies in means that it will be left to working people of this city can't resisting the man-killing speed- who defends the formula of ticket."

clearly enough the same day Cowley concluded.

Letters from Readers



JOYCE COWLEY

when the board called off a favoring school integration intended to challenge some of

"Mr. Gerosa talks about adopted the only sound program his centralized bureaucratic basis of the 'neighborhood con- cutting the funds for social consistently gerrymander needed. Further the landlords school zones so that white have been looting City Hall long children are sent out of their enough. What's really needed is real estate holdings that would "The meaning of Theobold's provide the funds to build the statement about turning the schools, hospitals, nurseries and ing of the present escalator wage thoroughly. Beware of a pig-in- Education was demonstrated people of this city need," Mrs

# Miriani Foes in Detroit

DETROIT. Aug. 19 — A period of only 45 days GIO Convention murdered in the electric chair.

Today, it is virtually universally acknowledged that the case was a frame

The execution was a "fixed believe"

The execution was a "fixed believe"

The execution was a "fixed believe"

The execution was a frame believe to go with the price cut he asks for now. That wouldn't solve the problem balf this period has passed al-

ing to suppress all information What is to prevent the about the candidates for Mayor Louis G. Miriani, who is also the

The three dailies all complain editorially about the public's campaign. But they themselves vert the negotiations into endless foster that "apathy" by systematically excluding from their

> 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 worth

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 dritical support to William T. Patrick, Jr., a representative of the Negro community running for Council, and is campaigning actively to help

By all journalistic standards, this is real news. But all three dailies refuse to print a single word about it.

elect him.

A few years ago, when a so- on what one considers 'labor.' of them told him:

and we'll report it.' "Like what?" he asked. "Like jumping off the bridge wouldn't find it so easy to forget

picture if you'll tell us in advance. The only hole in the paper Mrs. Lovell, who would serve as

curtain since this years filing Mayor for the wages of a proofdefendants in the Cleveland its minorities against the date was a few paragraphs in

Maybe this is because Kelsey because he thought he was printing something in the "jumping off a bridge" category.

Anyhow, since it's the only crack, maybe what he wrote is

### Get the Silent Treatment The Wayne County

debate over the question of endorsing the Republican Miriani for Mayor.

Your report was accurate. All figures don't convey fully the demned. extent of the opposition among hesitation and doubt evident of the barrel, and the CIO, to went along with the leader- dignity, ought not to do it.

ship's recommendations. and the reaction he got.

Before World War II, he the debate. stated, the foreman used to jump when the committeeman spoke in a CIO shop. And the pol: ticians at that time used to jump too when the labor movement ple of Detroit to know that she spoke because they were afraid is running for mayor. Also she that the unions might form an

is running openly as a partisan, independent labor party. She is a Socialist, and has the But now the politicians don' indorsement of the Socialist care.

"'Labor and its allies, rep- to a N. Y. Times report that resenting the majority of the minimum wage legislation is tiful Mountain Spring Camp in population, have the power, the dying in a Senate committee beright and the duty to govern cause a number of liberal Demo-Detroit,' she says. This the cratic Senators elected with Commentator believes. It would labor support don't even bother be hard to convince him that to attend that committee's labor and its allies do not now meetings. These liberals were too govern Detroit. Much depends busy making a deal with Southern Democrats to cut the guts "Mrs. Lovell thinks the top out of the civil rights bill. Why is labor's political in

mon Council should be cut to time? "Because our leadership ha

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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 ours selves in the present situation the Wayne County CIO conven- presented with a conservative

tion held on Aug. 10 and the Republican as the lesser evil." 197 Then he proceeded to demonstrate, citing Miriani's own newspaper backers, that Miriani has been a loyal and consistent fold I want to do is add a little to it. lower of Mayor Cobo's big busin The delegates voted about 3 ness and anti-labor policies. to 1 to endorse Miriani, but those which the CIO has always con-

To endorse Miriani, he consome of the delegates and the cluded, is to scrape the bottom among others who in the end preserve some self-respect and

It was good to hear such Especially noteworthy, I think, things said at a CIO convention. were the remarks during the Many delegates must have, debate made by a delegate from thought so, because this speech UAW Ford Local 600, Art Fax, received the loudest and longest applause given anyone during

> G. B. Detroit

#### **New York** Encampment

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party has reserved the facilities of beau-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:

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New York Local Socialist Workers Party

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### **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.)

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### Calendar Of Events

3737 Woodward.

Taft-Hartley case.)

Detroit

Lovell, socialist candidate for

Ohio

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