

**DOBBS WILL SPEAK
IN DETROIT APRIL 6**

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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267

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Montgomery Freedom Fighters Appeal For Station Wagons to Build Car Pool

Cars Will Be Picked Up Anywhere in U.S.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

White-Supremacist Manifesto



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

Kutcher Speaks to 30 Union Locals in Detroit

James Kutcher, the legless veteran who is fighting to regain his job as a clerk in the Veterans Administration from which he was fired as one of the first victims of the witch hunt, has just com-

pleted a successful three-week tour of the Detroit labor movement. Kutcher arrived in Detroit after the Wayne County CIO Council, which has supported his case since it began eight years ago, voted at a general membership meeting to continue its moral support and urged affiliated locals to grant the legless veteran the floor at their meetings.

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

penses and to acquaint the American public with the issues in his case. Some meetings took up collections on the spot for donation to the committee.

Guy Nunn, the UAW news commentator, recorded an interview with Kutcher for broadcast on his program which reaches UAW and other workers as they drive to the job.

In an important development in the case of Saul Wellman, disabled veteran deprived of his pension because of his Communist Party membership, the VA has backed down from its original outrageous demand that Wellman repay \$9,500 that he had received before his pension was stopped. It has also reinstated the family allotment of \$51.18 a month to Wellman's wife and two children. Wellman was disabled by a heart wound in the Battle of the Bulge. Public opinion has forced the VA — which is supposed to protect veterans! — to backtrack a bit in its shameless action. It is now necessary that public protest force the VA — as it did in the case of Kutcher, a Socialist Workers Party member — to restore the pensions both of Wellman and Robert Thompson.

Protest Attack On Daily Worker

Open Letter to Eisenhower

Dear Sir:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Very Sincerely yours,

Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary and Presidential Candidate, Socialist Workers Party

Foster's Phony Balance Sheet on Stalin

By Tom Kerry

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

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

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

THE DILEMMA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continues Fight



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

Court Battle Reveals Turbulent Movement That is Shaking South

By Farrell Dobbs

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 22 — This city tonight saw the climax of four turbulent days that shook the South. A vast, militant throng of Negro freedom fighters jammed the Holt Street Church to demonstrate their solidarity behind Rev. M. L. King, a leader of the

Montgomery Improvement Association just convicted in circuit court of "conspiring to hinder" the local bus operations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. How long have you lived in Montgomery?

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

Q. Have you had any experience with the bus system?

(Continued on page 2)

More Attacks On Stalin Cult In the USSR

By Daniel Roberts

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

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

Khrushchev denounced Stalin for the following crimes:

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

(Continued on page 3)

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

By Carol Lynn

March 27 — Preparations for the 1956 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party moved into high gear last week as party organizations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey filed nominating petitions for the party's national and state slates. They designated Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President of the United States. The candidates have now been officially certified for the ballot in both states.

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

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

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

DOBBS IN MONTGOMERY

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

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

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

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

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

The Negro Struggle

Lucy, We Salute Thee!

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

Fight on brave heart altho' the tempests
roar,
Your cause will be espoused from shore
to shore.
You symbolize the trials of your kin,
Whose crime is in the pigment of your
skin.
Time was when haughty whites bestrode
the earth,
And sacked and plundered what was ours
by birth;
For them the power, the sceptre and the
throne,
For us the right to suffer and to mourn.
Ah yes! to mourn a parent or a child,
A wife, a brother or a sister mild,
Whose precious lives were sacrificed to
make
The filthy lucre for their masters' sake.
No power can now resist the rising tide
Of truth and justice that is on the side

Of coloured millions who have broken free
Of bonds that held us in our slavery.
From proud resurgent China's martial
strand
To reawakened India's hallowed land,
From Indonesia on to Africa's coasts
Will rise the tidal wave of coloured hosts.
So fearless and with courage face the mob
Of savage beasts who will your freedom
rob.
From stones and missiles, Lucy, do not
flinch,
We will avenge you, — you, they dare not
lynch.
Yet should you fall a martyr, in your pain
Know that your blood has not been shed in
vain;
You'll symbolize the triumph of your race
O'er men whose hearts are blacker than
your face.

Mervyn Casie Chetty

Easter Monday, 1916

By John Black

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOOK BARGAINS

(Use this ad as your order form)

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Westinghouse Corp. Settles

UE Signs Up; Lester, Pa. Local Still Out

By Tom Denver

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

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

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

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

Following are some of the weapons used in this attempt:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CLEVELAND

Farrell Dobbs

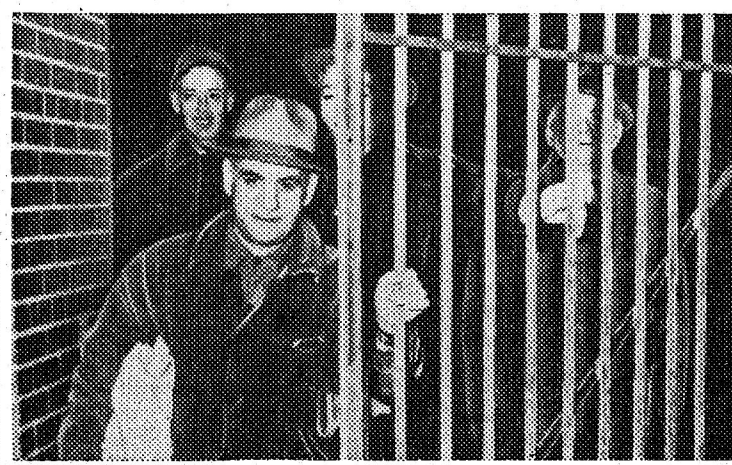
SWP Candidate for President Will Speak on:

"Labor and the Negro Movement in the South"

Dobbs has just returned from Montgomery, Ala. where he covered the trial of the bus protest leaders for the Militant Wednesday, April 11, 8:00 P.M. 10609 Superior Ave.

Auspices: The Militant Forum

STRIKERS BACK AT WESTINGHOUSE



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

Buffalo Strikers Pose Questions to Officials

BUFFALO, March 25 — Out of 40 locals represented on the Westinghouse Conference Board two locals voted against the settlement: Buffalo, N. Y. and Bloomfield, N. J. The vote of the Buffalo delegation wasn't without significance. This local has great weight in the International Union on the basis of its militant tradition. In 1951, it engaged in a 13-week magnificent struggle against the Corporation and won most of its demands. In this year's strike the workers kept the plant shut as tight as a drum. High pressure efforts of foremen and supervisors to drag some workers to scab proved to be a complete flop. And this in spite of hundreds if not thousands of phone calls to strikers and their wives.

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

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

NO MEMBERSHIP MEETING

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

THE WORST FEATURE

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

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

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

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

By J. Wilson

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

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

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

THE TWO ISSUES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A BITTER WAR

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

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

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

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

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

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