

# NEWS & LETTERS

"This Paper Belongs to the People Who Read It and Write for It"

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## WORKER'S JOURNAL

### Negro Struggle Shows Its Vitality

By CHARLES DENBY

The Independent Struggle of the Negroes has its own vitality. It is being put into practice to its fullest degree in the South today.

It is changing the attitudes and minds of the Southern whites. It is also changing the attitudes and minds of the leaders of the labor unions there.

#### NEGRO STEELWORKERS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Just the other week, a Negro steelworker in Birmingham, Alabama, told me of an incident that happened in the shop where he works. The company has Coca-Cola machines all over the shop where workers can get a coke on their break or lunch period by depositing a nickel and pulling a lever.

Sometimes these machines refuse to operate and there is no return of money. When that happens, the worker is supposed to report it to his supervisor and when the Coca-Cola man returns he is supposed to refund the lost money or give the worker a coke. The Coca-Cola man is white and works solely for The Coca-Cola distributing company. He doesn't work for the steel company.

One of the Negro steelworkers in the plant lost a nickel or 10c in the machine. When the white Coca-Cola man returned he used abusive and derogatory language to the Negro worker about refunding his money. A fist fight started between them. The white man was beaten up by the Negro. The Negro worker was fired by the steel company.

For several months, the union and company played around on grievance procedures. The Coca-Cola man was back working but not the Negro.

The Union would tell the other workers that they need more time, "Maybe next week we will have him back," and on and on.

#### BOYCOTT COCA-COLA

The Negro workers are a majority in this plant. They decided they had had enough of this playing around by both the Union and the company. They boycotted all Coca-Cola machines in the plant. Several days later it began to spread to other plants of the same company.

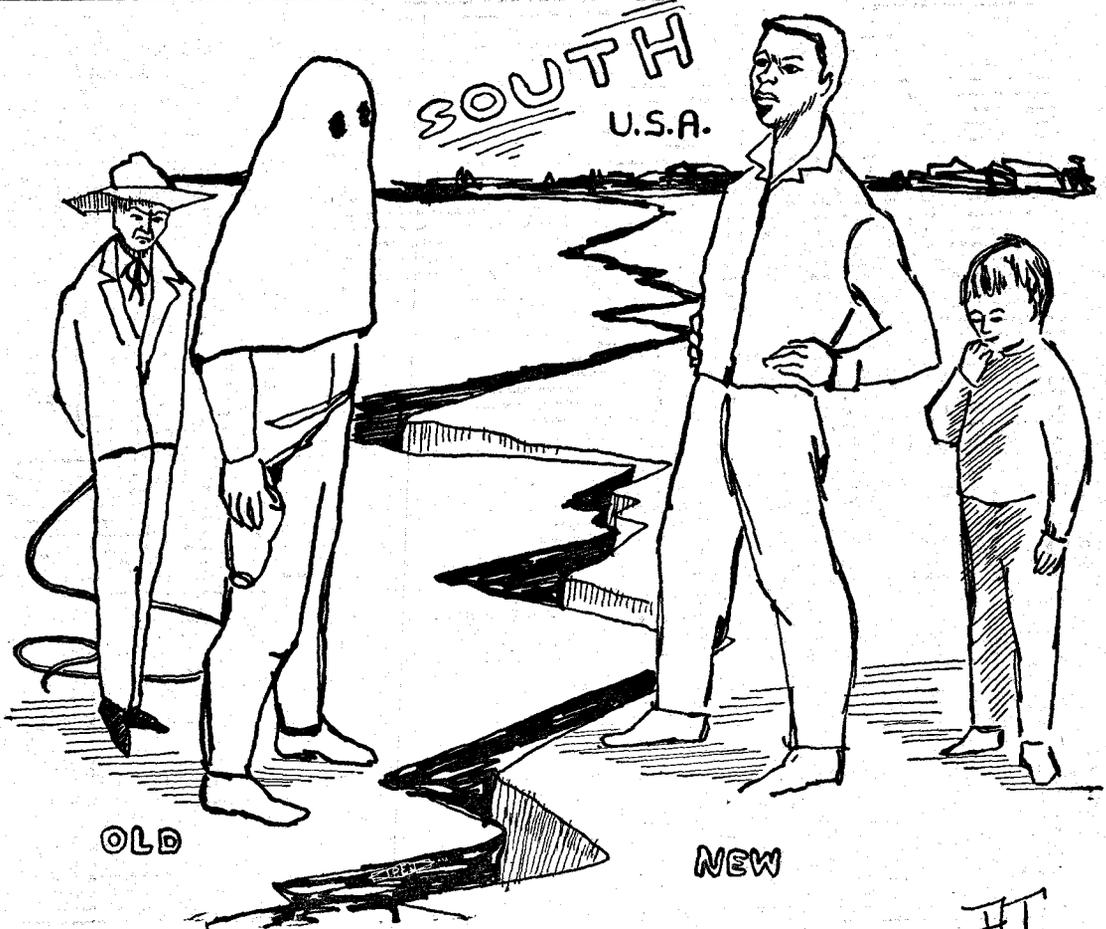
The company called a meeting—this time with Negro workers—to ask why they stopped buying cokes. The Negro workers told of the man who was fired. They said if he was not back by a given day, they would start their boycott in their communities. They said they would stop every Negro in Birmingham from drinking Coca-Cola. They set a date.

#### FULL VICTORY

On the day set, the Negro worker who was fired was put back to work. The other workers said, "No. You also have to pay him for the time he lost." The company paid that worker for every hour of lost time.

Many white workers gave the Negroes support, but it was this Independent Struggle, now being so solidly organized among the Southern Negroes, that stood the company and the Union on their ears.

This has frightened the whole Southern System. The Negroes use it to the fullest extent when they feel it is necessary. The successful boycotting of the Montgomery buses has given them a weapon that they use in many instances to get full and quick recognition of the special problems confronting them.



### Report from the South

I have recently come back from a trip to Alabama where I was born and raised. Montgomery is my home town. From what I've seen and feel there is a social revolution going on in the South that has it in a turmoil of a kind that hasn't been seen since the days of Reconstruction.

I got to Alabama on Friday, December 21st. That was the high-point since the beginning of the boycott. That was the Friday that the Negroes of Montgomery went out fully in relation to testing the decision of the Supreme Court with regard to riding buses that had been segregated from the beginning of the history of the city. That was the Friday when they went out fully to sit wherever they saw a seat and wherever they pleased.

#### THE FIRST DAY

I stayed in Birmingham that day and visited with a group of friends whom I hadn't seen in years. The old tradition of spending your moments of happiness with people you hadn't seen for a long time was changed. This time, the moments of happiness came from listening to the radio and watching TV which was full of what was happening in Montgomery that day.

The TV in Birmingham showed where the Negroes were sitting in the buses and how free and calm they were. It also showed that if a Negro sat by a white, if the white didn't move, he was soon contacted by a city detective and asked where he was born; where he went to school; why he didn't move.

It showed one white girl who went to sit by a Negro and a detective stayed with her until she got off the bus and then he followed her home, asking her questions all the time.

#### THE SECOND DAY

I arrived in Montgomery on Saturday, the second day. The movement was still at a high pitch. I stood on a corner where once I had trouble on a bus. I

can't remember any day when I was as ready to die as that day many years ago.

Now, when I saw these people sitting everywhere and going about, I had a feeling I don't think I'll ever be able to explain. I never dreamed I would live to see in America what I saw and felt that Saturday.

I rode that same bus line, on which I had trouble years ago, from one end to the other. I sat in the first seat behind the driver. There were a number of youngsters sitting up front with me. They were in their teens and in their twenties. One of them asked me, "How old are you?"

I said, "I'm 50."

He said, "That's bothering me. We don't see too many older ones up front like you. They sort of sit from center to back. We sit as soon as we get on the bus. We need a few more older people sitting up front like you and then the others will come up front too."

#### YOUNG PEOPLE & OLDER PEOPLE

I talked with working people. I talked with women who work in the small shirt factories and laundries. They always rolled the conversation around to

the leadership of the movement.

The older ones say the leadership is their Moses. They resent any opposition or criticism. The younger ones are different. They have the greatest respect for the leadership. Many of them are very glad that Rev. King, who is at the head of the movement, is also young, 25 or so. But they have criticism in regards to his not going forward forcefully enough. They appreciate his looking for peaceful solutions. They don't oppose peaceful solutions. But, as many of them told me, "If violence comes, we're not running away from it."

#### COWARDLY VIOLENCE

I was told that at the beginning whites were throwing lye at Negroes' cars which were identified with the movement. The Negroes organized themselves in groups of eight and watched most of those cars.

I was told they caught a man throwing lye, held him and brought him down to police headquarters where they found out he was one of the leading detectives. Since then, I was told, there hasn't been another report of lye being thrown at cars.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Report from the South

(Continued from Page 1)

On the first day, whites attacked a young Negro girl waiting by herself at a bus stop. They thought it would cause some Negroes to stay away out of fear. It only made those who didn't need to ride the bus go out of their way to ride it on purpose. They're not afraid.

Several of the Negro youth were telling me about the woman who had been shot on the bus. They mentioned other incidents. They said, "All this violence comes from the White Citizens' Council."

They said, "But look how cowardly they are. They're not shooting at the men. They're shooting at the women and the kids. They don't want to pick on us. But if they continue this way there's going to be bloodshed regardless."

(In the last days, the daily papers have carried reports that Rev. Abernathy's home has been badly bombed. Rev. Abernathy is one of the leaders of the Montgomery movement. But again, his home was bombed while he was away in Georgia and only his wife and children were at home.)

### KKK & WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL

These cowardly and vicious whites of the KKK and their unhooded brothers of the White Citizens Council are slipping and skulking behind the scenes. They strike in a sneaky way and run under cover. This is something they never thought of doing in the past. If they wanted to do something to a Negro they didn't care who knew. Now, they're nervous about what the Negro will do.

Not so long ago there was a Ku Klux Klan parade in Montgomery. Hooded Ku Kluxers marched in and out of many of the white stores. Groups of young Negroes went behind them and told those white storekeepers that if they ever wanted another nickel of Negro business, they better not let any more Ku Kluxers parade through their stores.

The storekeepers were shaken. They were afraid of being put out of business. First they tried to say that they didn't know the hooded paraders and that they were all from another city or another state. But everyone knew that plenty of the KKK'ers were from Montgomery. Then the storekeepers hastened to promise no more parades.

### EDUCATION OF SOUTHERN WHITES

Among the things I was impressed with is the education a lot of Southern whites are getting out of

this. An education I don't think will ever be blotted out.

Many whites who would like to be neutral, or support the movement, are shaken to death; they're that afraid of those violent whites. They hide behind the Supreme Court decision in order not to have to say anything.

**But if you're white and you don't speak loud and clear against the Negro, the White Citizens Councils and the KKK blast you as being automatically on the side of the Negroes. They've got those white people afraid.**

### WHITE DRIVERS CHANGE ATTITUDE

On the other hand, I talked with a white bus driver. I asked him, "How do the bus drivers feel now in regards to desegregation?"

He said, "Man, I want to tell you one thing. The morning I got a call to come back to my job, I never was so glad in my life. I don't care where anybody sits. If there's a seat vacant, whoever sits in that seat, it's just all right with me."

"I don't care how close they sit to the front or how far they sit behind. All I want is my job."

I said, "What happened?"

He said, "My family practically starved. It was four months before I made a dime. I went to some of the city officials and told them the terrible situation I was in. They finally got me a construction job."

"I worked so damn hard on that job my wife had to help me up the steps every night. I just had to take it. There wasn't anything I could do about it because they had me."

"It made me think for the first time, 'What the hell was this whole business about anyway?'"

I asked him, "How many more feel like you?"

He said, "I've talked with practically every bus driver. The majority accept it on the same basis that I do. We went through hell, and what for? All this hell has taught us something. There are some who still have the same dam ideas they had before the bus boycott began. But the majority feel like I do."

This social revolution in Montgomery has grabbed hold throughout the South, especially the deep South. Practically all Negroes throughout the South have a clear sense of unity, they have a clear sense of what they want as human beings. It gives them a clear sense of organization and that's how they're acting.

(Continued on Back Page)

## COAL AND ITS PEOPLE

### The Boss "Forgot"...The Men Almost Died

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—The cross-cut was just about cut through. Ordinarily, it took about five and a half cuts to put one through, and the fifth cut had been made. The cutters had moved on to the next heading and I went in to get the place ready to shoot.

I knew they were in the next place and would have to be pulled out of it before I could shoot. They could easily be killed if a shot blew through on their side, which often happens.

I was just about through loading the dynamite charges when my boss came around. He said the loading machine was about ready to come in. I said the machine might catch up to me, but it would never pass me. But that since he was in such a hurry, he could go around and pull the cutters out so I could shoot. He said he would and left.

### SHOT BLOWS THROUGH

I wired up my shooting cable and strung it around a corner, yelling the usual warning and put off the first shot. I went up to wire up the second shot and heard someone yell, "What the hell you trying to do, kill somebody?!"

I turned around, and there were the cutters, looking like they would like very much to kill me.

"What're you guys talking about?" I asked them.

"You know damn well what we're talking about! You're supposed to make sure that no one is in line of fire when you shoot a cut that's almost through. That shot blew through. If we'd have been at the front of the machine, you'd be picking us up with ink blotters now!"

I was both mad and scared. Scared at how close I had come to killing them, and mad at the boss for not having pulled them out as he was supposed to. But then the fear left me and the anger took over.

"You guys just wait right here. Don't move. I want to show you something." And with that I took off, looking for the boss.

I found him talking with the mechanic. When he saw me, he wanted to know what I wanted. He asked if I had shot the place.

I told him I hadn't, but he would find out all about

it when we got to where I was shooting.

### NARROW ESCAPE

By the time we got there, the loading crew was also there. Their faces all showed that they had been talking about the narrow escape. I knew how they felt, and I felt just as strongly about it, but for my own reasons.

I put it to him. "Why didn't you pull out the cutters like you were supposed to and said you would?"

He stopped and looked at the men. "Oh, I—I—just forgot," he stammered. "A buggy man told me the loading machine was having a little trouble when I left you and I went to tell the mechanic about it. I meant to tell them though. But you got them out all right, so what's the hold up now?"

### BAD ENOUGH WITHOUT YOU

One of the cutters exploded, "He didn't get us out! A shot blew through! That's what got us out! If we would have been standing at the head of the machine, we'd be dead right now. And all because you're so damned coal hungry the loading machine is more important than the men on the crew."

"Now look fellas—" the boss started.

"Look my eye!" yelled the other cutter. "You look! This man told you to pull us out. You didn't do it. We've got to depend on each other to keep alive in this hole. It's bad enough without having to put up with guys like you. They ought to take your papers away from you and throw you out of the mines."

"And now," I said, "I want to get one thing straight. I can see what you are. From now on,

I'm not depending on anyone but myself. I don't care if it takes all day to shoot a place or if I have to hold that loading machine up for a week. I'm going to make sure that a place is safe before I shoot. I don't ever want to hear a word from you about it. You or no other boss is ever going to put me in a position where I might be able to kill a man."

That boss was soon gone, but from that day to this, I have never trusted a boss. Nothing has happened since then to make me change my mind, but plenty has happened to make me glad that I don't trust them.

### "The Best Boss I Ever Had"

FAIRMONT, W. Va.—I've worked for many a boss in my life. I've worked in the mines since 1917, and the longest time I was out of the mines was during World War I when I was in the service.

### NEVER BOTHERS YOU

I've worked for some good bosses and I've worked for some rotten ones, but the boss I have now is the best one I've ever had. He never bothers you. You can be laying up on a machine sleeping. If it's a warm spot, the only thing he'll do is try to edge up to get enough room to get to it too.

If you're sitting down, waiting on a machine, he doesn't care how long you sit as long as your work is done. He doesn't allow the pit-boss or anyone else to interfere with his men.

He's been at the mine for years, but not as a boss. He's done a bit of almost everything in the mine. It has been just lately that they put him on salary. He said the only reason they kept after him to take the job was that he was so ornery that they couldn't get anything else out of him.

He said he has his home about paid for and his wife is working. He's going along like he is because, as he put it, his wife likes to eat and he has some kids that he doesn't want to see go hungry. He said, "I don't care. They can fire me today or tomorrow—I'm straightened out."

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## Piece Work & Speedup in the Needle Trades

LOS ANGELES.—I have been employed by a garment manufacturing company for the last three years. The first season we made good wages and our boss was easy to get along with. The second and third seasons were a different story. Our rates were lowered and our boss began to act a lot differently.

Last season and this, he threatens us by saying that if we don't want to work he doesn't worry because he has a lot of women who need the work and are ready to come to work as soon as he calls them. He says he has applications by the hundreds.

### BAD TO WORSE

Now, we have a different man running the swim suit department, and boy-oh-boy, things have gone from bad to worse. This fellow will call a certain number of girls at one time. First thing we know, he lays them off and calls in a new group of girls. He does this quite often. The rates are lower than before but he still wants good work and a lot of production.

We are often switched from one operation to another. This makes us lose our speed, but they don't care. We are operators and are expected to turn out the work.

Something just happened to me Monday. A lot of the girls got their Christmas bonus but I was one who didn't. I asked the secretary the reason for this. She told me that I hadn't worked the week before, so I wasn't entitled to the bonus.

I talked this over with the boss. I told him the reason I hadn't worked was because I had been quite ill and that he knew about it. Well, he said he would see that I got my check. I did.

But just before he gave me the check he told me he expected me to make \$12 a day. How can I make \$12 a day when the operation I'm doing pays 48c a dozen garments. Each garment has to be sewed and tacked in four different places and also the crotch of the suit has to be sewed.

### MAKE YOUR TIME

I told him this and he replied, "Well I expect you to make your time."

By making my time he means I have to put out \$9.60, my rate being \$1.20 an hour. That means I have to make at least 240 garments a day. Chances are that by this coming week I'll be called into the office, either to be bawled out or fired.

### Working Two Jobs:

## Where Has the 8-Hour Day Disappeared?

DETROIT.—One of the guys I work with owns a Ford Thunderbird. He has a few special features on it and so it cost a little more than it would have ordinarily.

I asked him how he was able to pay for it. He told me that he worked two jobs. In addition to where we work together, he pumps gas for four hours a day and full time on Saturdays and Sundays.

### WORK AROUND THE CLOCK

Afterwards, I began talking to guys about this business of two jobs. In my department, the crane operator owns a truck and does hauling. A shear operator does landscape work. A couple of welders work in other shops — welding for 16 hours a day. Another drives a cab.

Fully 60 per cent of the guys in my department hold down two jobs. Some claim they have to, to make ends meet. Others want special things, and the only way they can make it is by holding down two jobs.

## Way of the World

By Ethel Dunbar

The way of the world today has caused so many hearts to be broken for trying to run the world in the old way of life although those old slavery days have past and gone to come no more.

Why should the Negro people still stand around and wait for this white world to give them their freedom, when we cannot see any way out but to fight for what we want?

The white man doesn't seem to think that the Negroes have sense enough to stick together and fight for our rights.

### NEGROES HAVE LEARNED

But the Negroes of Alabama have learned to do unto the white people as they do unto us. That is, to live as any other nation of people are living — by fight, wars and rumors of wars until we can get things settled as we wish so that all mankind can live in peace forever.

There is one thing that the Negroes of Alabama want to know: Why do the white people want them to cook for them, wash for them, and some-

times stay with them but we can't sit with them on a bus? That is the simple thing that we could do.

Our black hands are used to cook their food and wash and iron their clothes and it costs them just as much to sit on a bus as it costs us.

### SIMPLE WHITES

That is why Negroes today are saying that some white people are simple. They carry on so over something so simple as sitting on a bus and going to the same school.

This doesn't mean that the Negroes are trying to take away their white color, or live in their house to take their white life.

No. No. That is not the thing we want. We want to live a happy life just like the foreigners that the white Americans are bringing to this country to live and to try to put them over the Negro after they stay here a while.

But oh, no. We are going to live and let them live who do not interfere with our right because it belongs to us for years.

## Women Workers Try to Work Out Seniority Problems Not Covered by Union Rules

WEST VIRGINIA.—I used to work in a shop where the women had been hired in two "bunches." One group had been hired when the departments were first being set up. The company didn't hire any more large "groups" until almost ten years later, when another large group of women were hired again.

### LAY-OFF TIME

When it came time for a lay-off, naturally all the younger-seniority women were going to be laid off and the older-seniority ones kept on. The only thing was that a lot of the older women wanted to be laid-off. They could use a "rest"; would be able to collect unemployment; and quite a few had husbands working and weren't desperate for the money.

Most of the younger women didn't want to be laid off. They were mostly supporting themselves; had no "nest-eggs" stored up; and were desperate for the money.

### STRICT RULES

The women got together and asked the Union if the older ones who wanted to be laid-off could "volunteer" to take the place of the others. But the Union said "no soap." The rules were strict—last hired, first laid-off.

I've often thought about how the women would have handled that situation so much better than the "rules."

Just the other day a friend of mine told me about the same sort of situation a friend of hers was in—and how the women did handle it in that case.

Her friend had a lot of seniority, but really wanted to be laid-off to catch up with her work at home for a while. Another girl at work needed the job badly. They asked the Union if they could switch places in the layoff. The Union said,

"No." The younger girl was laid-off.

### TALK IT OVER

The two women talked it over. They decided that since the one with seniority would be making enough money, she would keep working and pay the other girl to come in and help her with her work at home. She had a garden, too, but a lot of the vegetables were just going to rot since she didn't have enough time to can most of them. The girl who was laid-off would come over and can enough for both of them. Some of the others who lived near her would stop and pick up fresh vegetables and drop them off for her. It worked out fine for all of them.

It would have worked out better if they had been able to handle the seniority rules themselves in the first place. But they made the best of the situation anyhow.

## The Working Day

By Angela Terrano

Well, the shop that spreads the most propaganda throughout the city of Detroit, of never having lay-offs (except, of course, if the workers vote the union in, the company "cannot promise steady employment") has shown its colors as all true-blue patriotic souls do.

Burroughs Corp. has just come around with another 250 people laid-off. A few months ago they laid off 300 or so.

### REAL GENTLEMEN

They do it in true gentlemanly fashion, of course, but where will that get you? The workers might get called back by June. What happens if they don't? That's just about the time when unemployment compensation will run out.

Very few of the women there work just to save money or to buy something. Even if their husbands are working they need to work. Still, it will be easier for the woman who is married and whose husband is working, than for the single girl who is supporting herself, or for the woman who is raising and supporting a couple of kids by herself. There are 125 men who are being laid-off. What of their families?

Their so-called "fair seniority policy" turns out to be not so fair when it comes to production and whom they want to keep.

As one of the girls who was just laid-off told me, "We knew we could do very little about it, and we didn't want to cause anyone to lose a few more week's work. But we did want to give our 'boy' foreman a little bit of trouble. He knows nothing, sees nothing and acts like he knows it all."

"We asked him why some girls with less seniority were being kept and we were getting laid-off. We caught him at every turn, and he finally resorted to, 'Well, I can't give you an answer but if you really want to know ask the company. They'll have an answer.' Really!"

### SCHEDULES VS. PEOPLE

It will never cease to amaze me that a society can be built up in which the most important thing is production. The most important thing is the person who puts out that production. But to the company schedules are the thing to watch. Schedules, mind you, not people!

## EDITORIALS

*What's in Store Now?*

President Eisenhower ran for re-election as the "man of peace and prosperity". He celebrated his victory on the "peace" platform by making Dulles' "brink of war" policy the official mark of the Administration.

He has just implemented this policy with a demand for Congressional authorization to send American troops to the Middle East at his personal discretion. Time, place and incident unspecified.

As if this request for a blank check were not large enough nor blank enough, President Eisenhower has transformed his State of the Union Message into a demand for interference on a world scale. His grounds are that the world has now shrunk to such a point that every part of the world has become his imperial concern.

Just as Khrushchev in Russia, so the President in America has left out only one thing—the American people: not only their voice, but their very lives.

The elections were no sooner over than many workers found themselves unemployed.

The New Year began with an inflation that has taken away what wage gains the American workers were able to win.

The union movement no sooner announced its intention of fighting for increased wages this year, than the President of the United States came out, in his State of the Union message, against wage increase.

Worse than that, Eisenhower's delicate expression—that increases in wages must reasonably be related to labor productivity—gives Big Business the go-signal for all manner of speed-up, and the continuance of the lower-than-minimum wage level of \$1 an hour that exists in non-unionized industries. This is the period of the allegedly highest prosperity this country has ever seen.

President Eisenhower is playing the field at home and abroad, and wearing well his blinders on the tensions in the South. Indeed, he has just demanded in that same message, that the schools and education bill not be tied to de-segregation.

This implicit blessing to the White Citizens Council members, in or out of Congress, is for free—in the same manner in which he is ready to hand over the development of the natural resources to profiteering private business.

Now, all we have to do, while sitting on this powder keg, is to wait for "an incident."

Nero's fiddle-playing while Rome burned pales indeed before the powder-laden leaders of today, armed with an H-bomb, standing on the brink of war, and daring each other to start the world conflagration which will put a question mark over the very survival of civilization as we have known it.



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Saul Blackman ..... Managing Editor

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## ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

I've just been told by a friend who visited here that Walter Reuther, the president of the CIO, said that the next big drive to organize the unorganized workers would be the people who work in banks.

Right here is where he better come and get into a fight that means something. Right here in the South is where we got to organize the people and stand up against these white companies and politicians.

Has Reuther ever bothered to find out what it means to work in some of these little shirt factories and laundries that our women work in?

If he's serious about his Union he'd better come here. If he don't whip the white South, the white South will sure as anything whip him.

Birmingham, Ala.  
Steelworker

\* \* \*

For years, the Unions have mentioned organizing the bank clerks and now Reuther has said that's his next goal. I'm not sure that I want him to organize me. First of all, whenever I'm sick I get paid just the same. I don't know if there will be the same liberal policy with the union. Then too, we get more paid holidays than most any other employees. Will it be the same with the Union?

Bank Teller  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Reuther has his nerve saying that the way to organize the unorganized is to start the next drive in the banks.

Our trade is supposed to be highly organized, but just go out Los Angeles and even right here in New York and you'll see plenty of open shops—sweat shops—just like the kind we fought bloody strikes to improve when I was young back in 1910 and -1913. Where are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, or the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union when all this is going on under their noses? They know

## Readers'

about it but they don't do a darn thing.  
Retired Needle Worker  
New York City

\* \* \*

## LEADERS &amp; RANKS

You don't know how far back the Union has gone until you talk to GM workers. You can't get a thing done to relieve anything the company tries to put over.

Right after the last GM wildcat, they threatened to fire wildcatters, especially those workers they tabbed as leaders. Naturally, the Union didn't say anything about that except, "Amen." That was bad enough.

Now, the foreman walks around and says out in the open that if there's another wildcat, the company will see to it that the next wildcat leaders are put in jail. And the Union hasn't said a damn thing about that.

Chevy Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Those Negroes down South have a lot more guts than the Negroes here up North. They know the only way is to fight. We know it too, but we don't do anything. The Union does anything it wants to, and the company does anything it wants to, and we just let them. I think we ought to take a few lessons from those Southern Negroes.

Negro Auto Worker  
Detroit

\* \* \*

There are guys in the shop today who are as different today from what they were ten years ago as day from night.

When they were younger, and when their wives were working, back in 1946, 1947 and 1948, anything the company did, they were out.

Today, the younger ones have got the ball. These older ones won't even shout when there's a touchdown. They better wise up in a hurry or they'll be mobbed in the pile-up.

Chrysler Worker  
Detroit

## THIS WHITE WORLD

Somehow, when you read about thousands and thousands of people

fleeing in Hungary in order to escape tyranny it seems unreal and far off.

The pictures of the fighting make it more real and you know it's really happening, but still it's something at a distance and its easy to turn off the TV if you don't want to see it.

The idea of having to leave our own homes never really occurs to most of us and we feel comfortable in being where we are.

But right here in our own backyard a very similar thing is happening.

I just read an article which tells of a Negro family that gave information to a reporter on the inequality that surrounds them. Because the article appeared in the magazine this family was driven out of their home.

All their credit was cut off and the wife, who is a school teacher was fired. No one would sell them anything. In order to survive they had to move and then hurriedly because even as they did so the white population was beginning to threaten bodily harm to them.

This happened to a family that had established roots in a community; had lived there all their lives. Then had to get out quick because the white population didn't like an article they helped write.

When I read this it made me real mad. I think of how magamous Mr. Eisenhower sounds in calling for financial aid to the Hungarians and how all the big shots are climbing on the bandwagon. They put on such a good show and words like "Freedom and Democracy" spill out of their mouths. How much can they mean when they said virtually nothing in their civil rights planks during the elections and people in their own country are forced to leave their homes because of tyranny?

Nurse  
Los Angeles

# Views

## NEGRO STRUGGLE

Here's something you don't see in the daily papers. The bus boycott in Montgomery was only the beginning. But the people are using this strength in all phases of their fight for full human rights, especially in relation to any white business.

Not only that, they also threaten to use the boycott against any Negro businessmen who don't give them full support. They're using it against the Uncle Toms so the whites don't have any tools through whom to maneuver the way they used to.

This has put more fear in the white supremacy Southern whites than the bus boycott ever did.

Negro Resident  
Montgomery, Ala.

The white officials of Montgomery are going nuts. They just do not know what to do. Here's an example: the Thanksgiving football game between Tuskegee and State Teachers College is an annual high point. The white Crampton Bowl in Montgomery is turned over these two Negro colleges for the game and the city gives the "key to the city" to the leading Negroes. There are big parades and floats and so on. The police route traffic down the side streets—it's a gala event, as big a day as the inauguration of the governor.

This year, with the bus boycott and all, the Negroes were a little leery about the Thanksgiving event. The leading professors of the two schools approached Mayor Gayle and asked, "Do we get the key to the city as usual?"

The Mayor practically screamed at them: Why are you coming to me? Go to King (Rev. M. L. King, Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn.) and those fellows. Ask them. They run this town, lock, stock and barrel.

The Thanksgiving Parade this year was bigger than ever before.

Boycotter  
Montgomery, Ala.

## "OFFICIAL" TALK

The only time I ever heard our UN Ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, say anything sensible was recently when he told the UN

that it was senseless for the Russians to call the Hungarian Revolutionaries "counter-revolutionaries." Because, Lodge said, that was like saying that the Russian Revolution was the last revolution history will ever see.

Intellectual  
Chicago

All this talk, that 1957 will be the best boom year to come, is a joke. Especially when it appears in the Detroit papers. There was no less than 20 per cent cut in payroll this year over last, and this was on the basis of so-called wage increases that auto workers supposedly won this year. That means more than 20 per cent increase in unemployment, particularly among auto workers. How many unemployed do they want before they quit calling it prosperity?

Statistician  
Detroit

## AMERICAN WOMEN

A lot of people in other countries who read the LIFE issue on American women, and see all those glamour girls, are going to believe that we're all that way when it's not true.

Housewife  
Los Angeles

I didn't think it was a realistic picture of our lives. They present the picture of what's supposed to be an average housewife but her husband makes \$25,000 a year and she has a gardener and a full-time maid.

If they want to show an average woman, they should pick one with a husband who works with his hands and who makes under \$5,000 a year, and she wouldn't have a maid or a gardener. She'd have at least two children.

Working Mother  
Los Angeles

## BEHIND WAR & PEACE

Dear Editor:

People who should know better, people who, wanting to be admired for liberal views, speak bitterly about injustice and vaguely about freedom, tell me that the Hungarian "Freedom Fighters" don't want freedom for anyone but themselves. My friends tell me that Hungary is engaged in an old-fashioned Nationalistic revolution which is a threat to One World: what if West Germany should try to help East Germany in a similar revolt? They also tell me that the Hungarians, being Catholic, are ideologically opposed to freedom, and that Russian domination of East Europe is probably the only alternative to World War III.

Recent violence in Ireland reminds me that the Irish Revolution, especially the Easter Rebellion of 1916, was criticized for similar reasons. The "democratic" English had, of course, been smashing the Irish brutally for centuries; but "democratic" Americans also criticized it for weakening the stand of England, and thus worldwide "Democracy," in the war against Germany. They said that the Irish, being Catholic, were ideologically opposed to freedom. And finally, they said the Easter Rebellion was a futile attempt.

In reading about the Easter Rebellion I came across a remark by Lenin that cleared the air. In replying to a Polish "Marxist" who had attacked the Easter Rebellion for being a petty-bourgeois putsche, he wrote: "Only those who imagine that in one place an army will line up and say 'we are for socialism' and in another place an army will line up and say 'we are for imperialism,' and believe this will be the social revolution, only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic opinion could vilify the Irish rebellion by calling it a 'putsch.'"

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is . . ."

—Detroit Teacher

# TWO WORLDS

## Youth and Workers in Present Revolts

One aspect of the report from the South (see page 1) once again discloses how organic to the youth of today is organization and revolt. No one has to teach them that. Quite the contrary. The older generation has much to learn from them. It has much to learn from the youth because there is nothing "technical" about mass organization. Revolt is only the obverse side of organization when that revolt is motivated by the struggle for a totally new way of life.

The vision of totally new human relations dictates the Negroes' method of struggle, their organization, their endurance, their heroism. This, the white South does not have. It is the white South, therefore, not the Negro, which cowers in face of the reactionary White Citizens Council.

Everyone recognizes 1956 as the year of revolution when the talk is of Hungary. Few see the social revolution going on down South. The Hungarian Revolution is the most dramatic and courageous. At the same time, the struggle of the Southern Negroes—and especially of the Negro youth of Montgomery, Alabama—is undermining the whole monstrous institution of oppression and segregation which the capitalist press so daintily calls "the Southern way of life." **This, and not guns, is the true mark of a social revolution.**

With or without guns, this social revolution has been undermining the whole world of capitalist crisis and wars by questioning the right of either of the two gigantic poles of world capital—Russia and America—to dominate the world.

In this struggle out of world chaos, the much maligned youth of this generation—whether Hungarian or Southern Negro, Russian or Kenyan—has come to the forefront. Everywhere the youth is in revolt against this corrupt society which is in a perpetual state of warfare, moving from one crisis to another, and balancing the very fate of civilization on the tip of the H-bomb.

1950 marked the first sharp dividing line between the youth of this generation and the so-called "lost generation" that arose after World War I. That "lost generation" found itself as part of the intellectual and administrative bureaucracy, trying to order the new generation about.

Contrast the high school youth of 1950. In that year, 30,000 high school youths in New York City burst forth in demonstration for such seemingly trivial matters as sports and extra-curricular activities. **They weren't led by any radical group. They led themselves.** They hadn't yet undergone the discipline of a factory, and yet in their methods of struggle they used working class forms—mass action.

One point in that demonstration had all the old radical leaders with no one to lead, gasping. It was when the youth had crowded onto the two vast sets of stairs in front of the court houses in Foley Square. The cops were trying to drive them off. Suddenly, the cry "Sit down!" went up and down the steps. In half-a-minute every kid was sitting down.

## THE COHESIVENESS OF WORKERS

It was the same sort of action—on a much grander historical scale—that electrified the whole world on October 23, 1956 when the Hungarian youth sparked the revolt against Russian totalitarianism. The weight soon shifted, however—of necessity it had to shift—to the working class.

The working class alone has the cohesiveness and power which comes from being so strategically placed at the point of production as to be able to stop all production. No true social revolution can persevere unless it begins on the factory level and changes the relations at the point of production. It is here that capitalism—which is being undermined from its position astride the backs of the workers, and resting on the division between mental and manual labor—attempts to regain its position by bringing forth a seemingly new weapon against the new society. That seemingly new weapon is intellectual domination.

The important thing about the present revolts, the world over, is that the youth is in the forefront because of the totality of their own opposition to the existing society. This creates in the youth, including the intellectual and middle-class youth, attitudes very similar to those of the working class.

Once the working class takes the leadership and puts its stamp upon the form of struggle, its impulses merge with these impulses from the youth, and the doors are open for every layer of the population (that is, all those not connected in any way with the two state-capitalist societies fighting for world domination) to reorganize society on totally new beginnings. In this respect the struggle has only begun. It will not be complete until a new social order has emerged. —R.D.

# YOUTH

## Thinking It Out

By Robert Ellery

A few years ago, a worker, in response to a safety campaign initiated by the company, turned in a safety idea. He suggested that all workers in the plant be required to wear safety glasses.

The company liked the idea. They can provide impressive statistics to show a real decline in eye injuries since the adoption of safety glasses. More important, so far as they are concerned, is that there are fewer loss-of-time accidents.

### DOUBLE IRRITATION

The glasses are uncomfortable. Some workers complain of irritation behind the ears. Others say that their eyes have become worse since they've been forced to wear the glasses.

The guy whose brainstorm started it all has long since left the job, encouraged to seek other work by the scorn and

derisive activity of his fellow-workers.

Most will admit that the glasses really serve a good purpose. A steel splinter in the eye is no fun. But still, the vast majority are against wearing them because of the manner in which management insists. **Anyone can be fired for not wearing his glasses.**

### "GUFF" IS WORSE

If someone comes down on the floor from the locker rooms without his glasses on—as frequently happens—one of the foremen, supervisors, superintendents, or what have you, will rush up to him and shout, "Get those glasses on."

Often, this kind of guff is a lot more painful than a steel splinter. I feel that the majority would gladly risk the physical danger if they could win from the company the right to wear or not to wear the glasses as they see fit.

The spiritual uplifting of such a victory would be a thing to see.

## West German Youth Oppose Induction in New Army

According to a recent issue of the NATION, a national magazine, the youth of West Germany are rebelling in large numbers against the new military machine being set up and staffed with former Nazis.

More than half of West Germany's 19-year-olds recently refused to register for the draft. In Munich, for example, only ten per cent showed up.

### GROUNDS FOR EXEMPTION

In America, only objectors to war on religious grounds are legally exempt from service in the armed forces. But in Germany—as a result, I am sure, of the constant opposition of the people themselves since World War II—exemption is "guaranteed" to anyone who is "opposed to every use of weapons between states on grounds of conscience."

Many of the youth, currently refusing registration or induction, are joining large organizations which are opposed to war and the draft itself.

### ORGANIZATIONS FOR OBJECTORS

Some of these organizations are connected with religious groups like the Quakers. Others are connected with the trade unions. Still other organizations are organized solely for the purpose of providing objectors with legal information and defense.

The Communists seem to have little influence in this youth movement—no doubt because of German experience with ruthless Russian military occupation, as well as current Soviet military action in Hungary.

### YOUTH RESIST PROPAGANDA

The West German government and military machine, presumably backed by the American Administration, are using every means at their disposal to intimidate the youth and glorify the military. So far this seems to have served only to intensify the resistance of the youth against the draft.

—Detroit Teacher

## Mother Says Today's Schools Are the Same As Ever

LOS ANGELES—I don't think it's any difference now than when I went to school. I don't think kids are being trained for anything any more now than we were then. I just floun-

dered around when I got out of school.

I think they shouldn't be told what to do, but I think that it should be brought to their minds.

—Housewife & Mother

## Miner's Wife Wants to Work, Family Opposes

WEST VIRGINIA—It seems as though you ought to find it harder to get your work done at home when you have a job, but it seems to be just the opposite.

When you're working out, you decide just what you have to do each night, and you do it. But when you're home all day, you always seem to be putting it off until "tomorrow." You figure that if you're too tired to do it today, it can wait—you have "plenty" of time. That's part of it.

### MORE ENERGY

But I think there's more to it than that. You have more energy when you're working out than when you're not. It's hard to put into words, but I know that when I was working out, helping in a store, I'd be plenty busy all day, and still be looking for something else to do. It wasn't like being home all day. At home I'd just drag along. You seem to feel freer when you're working out. You feel like you're doing drudgery when you're home.

### MENTALLY TIRED

I really believe that the reason you feel more tired doing your housework than working outside, is because you're just mentally tired. You sit around at home and think about all you have to do. You hate to get down to it. By the time you get started you're all worn out just thinking about it and dreading it. It's more mental than physical, lots of times.

It may be different with men or with women who have to work to support themselves. They have to go to work. But if you're working by choice, getting out to your job is a pleasure. It's something you're doing because you want to. At home, the housework is just something you have to do, and it winds up just plain drudgery. Outside, you feel somehow that your work is more appreciated than at home. At home, it's your "duty." What you do is just taken for granted.

### WORK WITH OTHERS

No matter what you do, a job is something different every day. There are the routines, of course, but there's always something different during the day that's different than the day before. At home it's the same thing, day after day—washing, cooking, cleaning.

Part of what makes it different is the people you work with. At home you work by yourself, but outside you're working with others. Each person is different, and they're all part of your job.

You feel as if you're doing something bigger

outside. It's not just your own little sanctuary. You're part of the whole world when you're out working. You don't feel that way about your own little house.

### HATED TO QUIT

That's part of the reason I hated to have to give up my job. Yet, since I'm back home, I don't want to go back. I didn't really accomplish anything, except in my own mind. The more money we had, the more we spent (even though it did feel good to have my own money, and not have to ask for it.)

But the worst part was that my family wasn't satisfied when I was working. The reason you have the desire to get out, is because you're not satisfied. But if the whole family

isn't satisfied, it just isn't worth it. When you have small children, they seem to get away from you when you're not home. And when everybody else was upset, I couldn't be satisfied either.

### THERE'S NO WAY

If there were some way a woman could work out, and still keep the family together, some special hours she could work or something, that would be "it." But things aren't set up that way. You can't "choose" your hours. My only choice was between working out and upsetting everybody else. Or staying home and getting it back to "normal." I liked working out, but now I'm back home, and the family's settled again. So that's it.

—Miner's Wife

### A "GIANT" HOAX:

## HOLLYWOOD TOUCHES BURNING PROBLEMS-- AND DROPS THEM, MOVIE-GOER SAYS

In the movie "Giant," Hollywood has once again caught hold of some burning social problems only to drop them like a hot potato. The movie revolves around three main crises: wealth, the younger generation versus the older, and the relations between "whites" and Mexicans. And in the final analysis, every one of these is sidestepped.

Oil Tycoon Jett Rink's deterioration is caused not so much by his wealth, as by the fact that he is a questionable personality all along, a "wild-cattin' so-and-so." The other rich man, Benedict, though he has his blind spots, is shown as a "good guy" and a hero. Since he is not a vulgar newly-rich like Jett Rink, but comes from a long line of aristocratic land-holders, he is therefore "fair" and "brave."

Young Benedict, the son and namesake, breaks away from the family traditions and from his father's authority by marrying a Mexican girl. He sees his father for what he is, bigoted and selfish, but he still lives within the family fold, and pretty much relies on his old man to fight his battles for him. But at least the son comes to grip with the race question in his own marriage. Still, he seems to consider it a personal, and not a social, question.

The mother's attitude to Mexicans is patronizing and sentimental. She tries to "help" the Mexicans, but shies away from an outspoken defense of them as a class.

Jett Rink, who in his younger days attacked Benedict for stealing the land from the Mexicans, ends up by barring Mexicans from his luxury hotel. Bick Benedict will fight for his daughter-in-law's honor, but he obviously considers Mexicans inferior, and cannot accept his own half-Mexican grandson.

There is one strangely symbolic scene, however, that seems to me to point the way to the future. During the funeral of the young Mexican ranch-hand, who was killed during the war, the camera points to a young Mexican boy who is playing with a ball outside the cemetery. He says nothing, he yawns, kicks the dust, but there is a feeling about this little boy. He is independent, he is indifferent to the hypocrisy that is going on behind him at the funeral. The movie didn't say it explicitly, but I had the feeling that he was not going to let himself be killed in "white people's" wars, or be kicked out of hotels, or live in slum shanties, or work for a white boss, or be done out of his rightful place in the world. Maybe Hollywood didn't mean it that way, but that's how it came through to me.

—Detroit Movie Goer

**Automation in the University:**

**Movies and Tape Recordings to Replace Teachers**

DETROIT.—Aldous Huxley offers a plan to help solve the problem of America's lack of good teachers. He suggests that our top-most teachers, of all subjects and at all grade levels, join in the making of a graded series of half-hour films to be shown in classrooms all over the country. Every student would thus be assured of getting a high percentage of genuinely first-rate instruction.

After a film had been shown, the flesh-and-blood teacher would take over, so, presumably, the plan would not reduce the number of teachers required in the schools.

**ELECTRONIC LECTURERS**

When we get to colleges and universities, however, the implications of automation become more interesting. Already, colleges are beginning to offer courses over radio and TV. Through these media a lecturer can reach a far vaster audience than in the classroom and reach them far more cheaply. And, since a tape or film can be used for years, the number of students reached by one lecture can be multiplied hugely.

So far, such courses have relied chiefly on local talent, but add Huxley's plan to the present development and you will see that three or four hundred professors

could easily take care of the great bulk of undergraduate lecturing. For example, a dozen people should easily be able to prepare a film course in Elementary French that should be good for a generation.

From a rosy, dehumanized, engineering point of view, the partial automation of college education is attractive. For less time, money and effort, automation can bring a college education within the price range of everyone. What is more, it can be a boon to college teachers by allowing them more time for research, for leisure, and for more direct teaching of students than lecturing permits. See how both student and professor stand to gain.

**TEACHERS AFRAID**

Yet college teachers are afraid of it. For instead of being used to improve education and the status of the teacher, it will probably be a means for hard-up administrations to cut expenses and staffs. Administrations can pay a man to tape some lectures, use the tapes over and over again, and politely tell him that his services are no longer required.

Can you blame college teachers for being unenthusiastic about automation in their profession?

After all, automation can spell unemployment or a reduction to the status of a mere reader of exercises and examination papers: coolie labor in effect. By so resisting they are accused of standing against "progress," of opposing a major breakthrough in university education.

**SAME PROBLEM**

They are in a similar position as miners in West Virginia who oppose continuous miners—the same position as workers anywhere confronted by automation.

This is additional proof that the intellectual is in the same boat as the worker. The sooner he wakes up to that fact, the sooner will he improve his status and cease to be alienated.

—College Teacher

**That Xmas Bonus:**

**GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN**

LOS ANGELES. — My shop is non-union. Everyone got a bonus for Christmas and the company threw a big party. Before Christmas rolled around, however, the collections started.

There was a dollar apiece for the two big bosses, and another dollar for our lead-girl. We drew names to exchange gifts at the party, and we were told not to spend more than \$3. This was a total of \$7.

I only make \$1.25 an hour. My husband told me I was a fool for giving to all the collections. But everyone was giving, and they collected by a list: your name and how much you gave.

The day of the party finally came. There were all the drinks you could drink, a ham, turkey, potato salad and all the trimmings. There was a live band too.

**BIG DEAL**

When they gave out the presents we had bought each other, the company threw in a box of candy with our bonus.

No one was expecting much because the rumor had gone around that the bonus would be smaller this year, instead of bigger, because the company had bought some new property.

Everyone got half of what they got last Christmas. They all felt the company should have kept it's party and, instead, given us the money they spent on it.

I'd only been there three months so I wasn't expecting much anyway. I didn't get much. They took \$1.05 in income tax out of my \$5.00 bonus, leaving me with a Christmas bonus of \$3.95.

—K.R.J.  
West Virginia

**A DOCTOR SPEAKS**

By M.D.

**PIECE-WORK AND ULCERS**

Ulcer in the region of the outlet of the stomach is not as common in women as in men, but seems to be on the increase. It is estimated that in the U.S. at least one person out of 25 has this disease.

This week, I found an ulcer in a woman who complained of abdominal pain and nervousness. She has been employed in the needle trades for many years, operating a machine. She does piece-work on dresses and says she prefers getting paid for each article, rather than by the hour or day, because she can make more money.

**INCREASED STRESS, TENSION & HURRY**

It is evident, however, that to make money in this hurried manner, she is paying a price in increased stress. This tension and hurry she also carries over into her home.

The shop the woman works in is non-union. She is not particularly concerned over this. The union doesn't appear important to her. In fact she believes she is the gainer in not having to pay union dues. Though she says that the unions have done a lot in the past to improve working conditions, this past doesn't seem to mean much to her now.

A few months ago I read a newspaper report of a conference on job evaluation and time study. The conference was sponsored by the University of California in Los Angeles Institute of Industrial Relations. There, Dr. William Gomberg, head of the management engineering department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, stated that the object of management is "to maximize profits by minimizing costs," while the object of unions is "to assure that the worker gets a fair share of what he produces and has a pleasant place to work."

**UNION 'EXPERT' RECOMMENDS IT**

He said further, "It is the job of unions to remove wages as a competitive factor in business, so that management can compete on its ingenuity—use of wage incentives such as piece-work can be one way of accomplishing this."

The idea of strength through union is as old as the tribal life of mankind. However, with the beginnings of industrialization and modern civilization, the unity of "factory hands" became an absolute necessity for survival. It had to take a revolutionary form in complete opposition to the factory owners, who paid no attention to age or sex, to health or disease, to pleasure or pain. Gradually and brutally an unstable compromise was forced on the working man.

**DIFFERENT ROADS**

The rise of the CIO pointed to a new direction—a different road. With the first sit-down strike and the CIO, the American worker began to question the very nature of labor in modern society and what it was doing to his life.

In the 20 years since, however, the American unions have not kept pace with the feelings and actions of these ordinary working people. The union's main concern is still in wrestling a few small concessions from the employer.

A large union bureaucracy has arisen which seeks to prevent the involvement of ordinary people in solving their own affairs. Instead, it tries to force them to look to "specialists" and "leaders" for guidance. This kind of unionism blocks, rather than opens, the road to the totally new and healthy human life that the worker is seeking.

Dr. Gomberg, the ILGWU official, in spite of being "the only industrial engineer with a Ph.D. degree in the labor movement," shows little wisdom when he looks to the removal of wages as a competitive factor through the use of piece-work. He glorifies an activity which is the most intensified exploitation of human beings ever devised. It drives the worker to become his own foreman.

In reality, the factory owners and the union bureaucracy have joined hands. Both are concerned with disciplining the worker and keeping him in the same old place. But the worker can no longer remain in this place. "It is not merely the product that the laborer produces that is alienated from him. In this alienation is crystallized the renunciation of the labor itself." And through this is created the stress that gives birth to ulcers as well as to other illness.

**A Woman's Viewpoint**

**AN EVENING OFF**

Every day you hear women saying how they are tied to the house and kids and never get out to see other women. I don't think that's necessary half the time.

I think if women had an understanding with their husbands, that they also should have free nights off from the home and kids, everyone would be better off. It's good for a woman to get out with other women for a hen-session once in a while.

Just before Christmas my friend invited me and two other women with families to a cookie party at her house. There were just the four of us. I haven't had such a good time for ages—just by getting out to spend an evening with them. We talked about everything from husbands, work, kids, and cooking right up to the situation in Hungary, and we all enjoyed every minute of it.

We were so busy catching up on all our news that we nearly fixed some of the cookies real good! While we were supposed to be making chocolate macaroons everyone was try-

ing to out-talk the others. Now and again you would catch a voice saying, "Who added the salt?" or "Did the vanilla go in yet?"

We were getting along fine until we suddenly realized that one of us was following the recipe for chocolate macaroons while another one was following the lemon drop recipe. But the cookies turned out wonderful!

The evening was perfect in spite of the fact that though we had to run back to the store once to exchange some sour milk; another time for more flour; we ran out of eggs and coconut and had to "improvise"—and even though the car broke down every few miles when my friend was taking us home after it was all over.

Give me an evening like that instead of an expensive evening at a night club! They say too many cooks spoil the broth. But this broth wasn't spoiled. As a matter of fact, it wouldn't have been any good without any one of us!

—K.R.J.  
West Virginia

### Report from the South

(Continued from Page 2)

If something happens, many Negroes will say to each other, "The people in Montgomery would have done something about it." And they think what they should do and how to do it.

#### BIRMINGHAM STEELWORKER

A steelworker in Birmingham told me, "We're going to start next week." I said, "What?"

He said, "Thirty or forty of us are going to sit anywhere we want to. If we're arrested, we'll boycott."

It happened the way he said it would. Those who were arrested were on different bus lines and not just on one line as the white Birmingham papers tried to say.

#### MISSISSIPPI CONSTRUCTION WORKER

I met a construction worker from Jackson, Mississippi. He said, "It can happen in Mississippi tomorrow. I'm just waiting for it to happen. One day we'll stop riding and it'll be the same as it is here in Alabama now."

#### FROM NEW YORK

I met a Negro from New York. I was raised with him as a kid, but I hadn't seen him in 30 years. He said he came down to see what the people were doing and to carry the word back to New York.

He said, "How come this couldn't have happened 30 years ago? I wouldn't have left the South if it did."

Maybe it couldn't have happened 30 years ago. Who can tell how or when these things happen? It's true that things are much different now than they were then. The Negro has become an economic and political power in the South.

Large numbers of Negroes are voting now, especially in the big Southern cities; and they're breaking through in many of the rural counties and districts as well.

The economic level has risen. There are many Negro businesses now and 30 years ago the Negro in business didn't mean anything.

Today, the mule and wagon days are gone. All the Negroes can get to trucks and cars and make their own decision where

and with whom they're going to trade. They're not tied to the local white storekeeper who used to rob and abuse them.

#### CONSTANT FIGHT

But the Negroes have fought constantly, for more than 30 years, for everything they gained: whether it was by standing up as individuals against a brutal Southern sheriff as during the Depression; or whether it was in the rising CIO in 1937; or whether it was in the March-on-Washington Movement in 1941; or whether it was in the New York and Detroit "race riots" in 1943; or whether it's in the boycott movements today.

When I came back to Detroit and went in to work, soon after the first of the year, I was telling some workers in the plant what I saw and felt in Alabama.

One of the Negro workers told me, "My aunt passed in Georgia during Christmas. I wanted to go down for her funeral. But my mother was afraid of trouble with all that's going on now. We didn't go. If it was Montgomery, we'd have gone. I wish it was like that in Georgia, that would be my happiest day."

#### TO GEORGIA

It wasn't but a few days later that the daily papers carried long stories about the new Boycott movement in Atlanta, Georgia.

Leading Negroes from New Orleans, Tallahassee, Montgomery and Birmingham were visiting and discussing with leading Negroes in Atlanta.

The white city officials blustered and threatened that they were not going to tolerate "foreign agitators."

The Atlanta leadership answered: We know all of these men. We're discussing with them. But they're here as visitors; we're not members of the same organization. We have our own organization.

The Atlanta movement calls itself "Law, Order and Liberation."

The leadership has just told the world: We'll ride the buses in Atlanta, non-segregated; or we'll ride a chariot to heaven; or we'll push a wheel-barrow in Hell.

—Charles Denby

### State of Civil Rights

The progress of mankind is measured in different ways by different individuals or groups. The only true measure of progress is the extent to which mankind has increased their civil liberties, gained their freedom, the self determination of all peoples from the factory level up. Scientific advancement and technological development, which result in more leisure for the few and less for the broad masses of workers in any country become quite meaningless in this context.

This year-end review of the world will try to measure what, if any, progress has been made.

### Hungary

The most outstanding blow struck this year for freedom was the Hungarian Revolution under the guidance of the workers and students of Hungary. Though they are no longer in power, at the moment, the revolt demonstrated the possibility of workers and youth overthrowing a despotic communist dictatorship on their own initiative, against overwhelming military odds, without "leadership" other than their own self organized committees. It exposed the fraud and hypocrisy of the intellectuals and the government leaders who believed that it could not be done.

### United States

Despite the heat of the election campaign, civil liberties in the United States have not advanced during the year and show no promise of doing so next year. The notable struggle of the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, has set a new pattern in the struggle against segregation and their successful fight to secure integrated buses has struck deep into the stronghold of the reactionary south. But the reactionary laws, like the McCarran Act and Taft-Hartley, not to speak of segregation, remain.

### England and France

These two countries turned back the pages of history with their unwarranted invasion of Egypt. By resorting to force they have completely disrupted the

By PETER MALLORY

Middle East, and left a power vacuum into which Eisenhower proposes to throw the weight of American military and financial might. The people of the Middle East will be no better off under American domination than they have been under the British and French.

### Africa

Africa is moving fast. Its people no longer accept exploitation and domination by the big powers. GHANA, formerly the Gold Coast, has won its independence. Africa still suffers under the segregationist practices of its dictatorial government. Elsewhere native African movements are gathering strength to throw off foreign rule. The concentration camps of Kenya still hold thousands of Kikuyu, Meru and Embu people but liberty and freedom do not exist.

### Russia

Russia still stands at the top of the list of those countries where no civil liberties exist. The discontent of the people has broken out into the open in the Ukraine. Student demonstrations and factory strikes are widespread. The government is weaker than at any time in the past 20 years.

### Far East

The dominant power in the Far East is Red China. During the last year some improvements have been made in the living standards of the vast millions of the Chinese people, in terms of more and better housing, some consumer goods. The number of factories, railroads and irrigation projects have increased.

Yet, the vast population and resources of China, under the rule of

Chou En Lai and his vast armies, cannot but dominate the thinking and political activities of the neighboring countries like Burma, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and even India. Civil liberties are still a long way off in China today.

Indonesia is in the midst of a large-scale military revolt.

Japan has rebuilt its industry and economy but remains pretty much under American domination as it has since the war.

The Philippines remain an area of economic distress. Inflation and political mismanagement have created a critical situation there. Political opponents of the Magsaysay government live in fear of their lives.

### South And Central America

Political dictatorship continues to thrive in Central and South America. Revolts continue to take place with clock-work regularity. The rich have grown enormously wealthy and the masses of workers and natives live in increased poverty.

Cuba, under the dictatorship of Batista, was shooting down oppositionists in the streets as recently as Christmas Day.

None of the South American dictatorships could live for an hour without the active support of the American State Department.

Only the self-organized Hungarian workers have struck blows for real freedom this year that will be long remembered. They and the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, U.S.A. Organized governments everywhere have either stood still, or tried to roll backward the progress of mankind.

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