

News of Hallinan's Support to Dobbs Broadcast on TV

Another set of hard-hitting television speeches on a coast-to-coast hookup by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, have increased the flood of letters and phone calls to SWP campaign headquarters.

In a half-hour program on the ABC network Sept. 20, the SWP banner bearers practiced a political division of labor. Dobbs delivered a message of particular interest to those who in previous elections voted for the Progressive Party and to those holding socialist or left-wing views. Mrs. Weiss described how a Workers and Farmers Government would deal with the problems confronting the American people today.



FARRELL DOBBS

SWP Election News Campaigning for Socialism

By Art Sharon

SWP Campaign Manager

SWP Campaign Manager Letters of support and requests for the Election Platform continue to pour into Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters as a result of the television and radio broadcasts of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the SWP candidates for President and Vice-President. At last count the total was well over a thousand. Hostile or critical letters remain in the same proportion as earlier — less than one in a hundred. So far, 46 states and the District of Columbia have been heard from. Not only have letters been received from all the Southern states but in an unexpectedly high proportion.

Many letters contain financial contributions in small amounts. Needless to say these are very welcome — money is not only the sinews of war but of campaigning and the fifty-cent pieces and dollars sent in will be put to good use.

SUBSCRIBING TO MILITANT

Although the campaign staff and its corps of volunteer workers is still behind in answering the flood of letters, a number of those who have received answers have already written again. In a gratifying number of cases they have subscribed to the Militant, a copy of which, containing the text of Dobbs' and Weiss' speeches, they received with the reply to their first letters.

In many parts of the country the acceptance speeches of the SWP candidates continue to go out over TV and radio. These are really re-broadcasts on film. They are put on by those stations that did not carry the original programs at the time of the coast-to-coast hookups.

On Sunday Oct. 14 Joyce Cowley, the SWP candidate for Senator from New York will be quizzed from 1:30 to 2 p.m. by reporters over an ABC-TV state hookup.

The good news from Wisconsin is that SWP campaigners have collected all the signatures required by law, plus a good measure for safety, on nominating petitions for Dobbs and Weiss. These petitions were filed with the Secretary of State in Madison on Sept. 20. Dobbs and Weiss will be in the independent column on the Wisconsin ballot, where in 1952 they received more votes than the candidates of any other socialist tendency.

— Campaign tour schedule of Farrell Dobbs:

Oct. 2-6 Minneapolis-St. Paul
Oct. 7-19 Chicago-Milwaukee
Oct. 12-16 Detroit

Campaign tour schedule of Myra Tanner Weiss:
Oct. 3-6 Buffalo
Oct. 8-12 New York City
Oct. 13 Newark

Presidential candidate Dobbs began the program by announcing that Vincent Hallinan, who in 1952 was the Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, had proclaimed his support for the SWP ticket. For thousands this was the first news of this significant political development. West Coast newspapers have with-hunted Hallinan ever since the 1952 campaign.

Although Dobbs disclosed at a press conference in Los Angeles that Hallinan had announced that he would vote SWP, the Big Business papers purposely suppressed this news even though accounts of some of Dobbs' statements at the conference were reported. To break this curtain of silence, Dobbs quoted large sections of Hallinan's declaration for the benefit of TV viewers.

BIG BUSINESS PARTIES

The SWP candidate told his listeners:

"Mr. Hallinan is the second important leader of the now defunct Progressive Party to declare for the Socialist Workers Party in the coming elections. Earlier this year Clifford T. McAvoy, a leader of the American Labor Party (the New York section of the Progressive Party) and its candidate for mayor of New York City in 1954, announced that he too is backing the SWP ticket.

"Both Hallinan and McAvoy point to a fact that is well known to every class-conscious worker in the nation — the fact that the two major parties are the tightly controlled political instrument of Big Business. As such, these two parties function in the interests of monopoly capitalism in all basic questions of foreign and domestic policy.

"Most of you believe this about the Republican Party because its ties to the giant corporations are plain and obvious. But it is true of the Democratic Party also.

"Let me cite but one example at random. It appeared on the front page of the September 14th New York Times. . . The article reported that \$330,000 had been raised for the Democratic Party at a dinner for about 190 members of New York's wealthiest families.

"So the big money isn't behind Eisenhower alone. It's also behind Stevenson. The industrialists and bankers are investing financially in both capitalist parties, and, as you know, these people aren't accustomed to making investments that don't pay a



MYRA TANNER WEISS

good return. They expect to win either way. . .

CP REVERSE GEAR

"Hallinan and McAvoy are representative of many thousands of radical workers, intellectuals and youth who became fed up with capitalist politics and turned toward an independent political road. That is the reason they tried to build the Progressive Party. Despite our differences with the Progressive Party — its lack of a working class, socialist program and its subordination to the liberal, capitalist politician, Henry Wallace — we have always recognized that the movement reflected the aspiration of an important section of the American people to break out of the capitalist two-party prison.

"Instead of basing themselves on this progressive aspiration and deepening the independent and socialist character of the movement, the Communist Party leaders have in the last year

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Responses to SWP Radio-TV Broadcasts (See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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Price 10 Cents

School Integration Probers Get Ready



Democrats Move To Bar Minority Parties in N. Y.

The Racists Barred This Testimony

At Congressional hearings on desegregation in Washington, D. C. schools, witnesses against integration have been given a big play. But the House subcommittee gives short shrift to those with favorable things to report about integration.

Among testimony not published is the following: Cedric Reynolds, principal of Coolidge High School, said that there had been no unusual disciplinary or sex problems (the main slander against Negro students) since integration.

SWP Launches Legal Battle to Protect Workers Voting Rights

By George Lavan

SEPT. 26 — In a move, reeking of fraud and the well-known unscrupulousness of Tammany Hall, the Democratic machine is seeking to deprive the New York electorate of its right to register a protest vote in the coming elections. This is to be done by throwing all candidates for President other than Eisenhower and Stevenson off the ballot. To this end the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party have to be struck from their rightful places on the ballot — and this is what the Democratic politicians are attempting to do.

Both the SWP and the SLP have been on the New York ballot in previous elections. Both have complied with the reactionary election laws which require them to collect an inordinate number of signatures in all counties of the state. These were duly filed in Albany with Secretary of State Carmine DeSapio who is, at the same time, the head of Tammany Hall.

On Sept. 20 DeSapio's office notified the SWP that objections had been received to the nominating petitions filed for Farrell Dobbs, Myra Tanner Weiss and Joyce Cowley, the SWP candidates for President.

See Editorial

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"Tammany Hall Tactics"

Vice-President and U.S. Senator. Subsequently the date of Oct. 3 was set for a hearing in Albany of the challenge against the SWP nominating petitions. SWP campaign leaders immediately announced that they would appear in Albany to fight to the limit this attempt to strike it off the ballot. They also declared that if the Democratic administration railroaded the SWP off the ballot they will go into the courts not only to obtain injunctive action but to challenge the legality of the election law itself.

The law contains countless provisions not only designed to make it very difficult for minority parties to get on the ballot but to make it easy for the major parties to kick them off on technicalities. Thus signatures on petitions are supposed to be of registered voters. In New York City and other cities of the state there is no permanent registration. Voters must register before each election.

THOSE DISFRANCHISED

Residents who register early in October to vote in the elections are not legally registered voters as far as signing independent nominating petitions is concerned because they were not registered for the primary election which preceded the period set by law for the collection of such petitions. In other words, though residents and registered voters, they are disfranchised by the present law as far as independent nominating petitions are concerned. Moreover, first voters who come of age after the period for primary registration are similarly disfranchised.

A host of technical provisions about the manner of signing, listing of election districts, etc., also leaves ample room for chicanery by the challengers of minority parties.

Though officially informed on Sept. 20 of the challenge, the SWP knew beforehand that a move against it was afoot. On Sept. 17 a newspaper editor in Dutchess County called SWP campaign headquarters for information.

He was following up a statement made by a local Election Commissioner, Alexander Hamilton, a Democratic politician. Hamilton had said the SWP did

not have sufficient registered signatures in Dutchess County and proceeded to rattle off the alleged results of an examination of the SWP signatures. It is noteworthy that on the same day that Hamilton was spouting the results of an alleged investigation, the Secretary of State was sent a letter by the front-man for the challenge of the SWP.

A COINCIDENCE?

This individual is one Frank J. Tarallo of Coxsack, N. Y. On Sept. 10 he had signed a letter sent to DeSapio announcing his challenge. On Sept. 17 he sent DeSapio a letter notifying him of the 13 counties in which he claimed the SWP did not have sufficient qualified signatures. Dutchess County was one. In other words, on the very day that the ostensible challenger was notifying the Secretary of State of the counties in which he wished to challenge the SWP signatures, the Democratic Election Commissioner of Dutchess County was announcing to the press that the SWP signatures were insufficient. To accomplish such miracles one needs either a crystal ball or an unscrupulous political machine.

Interviewed by phone, Tarallo either pretended or actually knew little or nothing about the challenge to which he affixed his name. When asked about the Socialist Workers Party, he replied he had never heard of it. When asked if he was the signer of the letter to the Secretary of State, he replied he didn't know.

THE SILENT MR. TARALLO To questions about the reasons for the challenge, he replied that he didn't know anything about politics, wasn't interested in politics, and as a matter of fact, as a federal employee, was forbidden by law to engage actively in politics.

The first interview ended with his promise that he would answer questions if phoned four hours later. This was apparently to give him time to consult with his attorney or with whoever had induced him to affix his name to the challenge.

However, the second phone call brought little result. If Tarallo had been uncommunicative at first he seemed in the second phone interview to be suffering from lockjaw. While still avowing a complete lack of interest in politics, he did manage to get out a phrase he had apparently learned in the intervening four hours. It was "independent citizen." "I challenge as an independent citizen," was the most that he would say. To the question of who paid for the considerable research and clerical work in the scrutiny of over 1,620 signatures in 13 counties, Mr. Tarallo made no reply.

SWP Candidates On TV and Radio

Hear

MYRA TANNER WEISS

NBC-Radio: Thursday, Oct. 4 10:15 to 10:30 P.M.

Call station for time in your locality

Dobbs Blasts House Committee For Smear of D. C. Integration

The following statement by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, was sent, Sept. 26 to Congressman James C. Davis, chairman of the special subcommittee of the House District of Columbia Committee now conducting hearings on Washington's integrated schools.

I wish to register my protest against the brazen smear campaign being carried on under your direction against the desegregated school system of the District of Columbia. The conduct of the hearings held so far demonstrate to the hilt that you are employing the dishonest techniques of McCarthyism — using an official investigation not to establish the truth but for purposes of a political smear.

The very composition of your subcommittee shows that it was designed to smear the Washington schools and the Negro people. Of the six-member subcommittee only one is from above the Mason-Dixon line. Four are signers of the notorious Southern Manifesto against the Supreme

Court decision on school desegregation. You have employed as counsel or hatchetman for the subcommittee one William Gerber of Memphis, whose sole qualifications apparently are his firm belief in white-supremacy and a career in machine politics, which has rendered him indifferent to ethics. Finally, you, yourself, have the gall to act as chairman!

In 1954 when Washington's schools were first integrated and when the sinister Nat'l Association for the Advancement of White People stirred up anti-Negro violence, you, a Congressman, received delegations of local racists and encouraged and advised them in their attempt to stop desegregation. Yet you now dare pretend to head an official investigation of that desegregation. If you had any sense of fairness—which I know white supremacists do not have—you would resign your chairmanship of the investigation as hopelessly biased. That goes for most of the members of the subcommittee.

Indeed, some, such as Rep. John Bell Williams of Mississippi, not only should not be on

the committee but should not even be holding seats in Congress. They were not elected in free elections and consequently do not represent the people of their districts. They were elected in unconstitutional Jim-Crow elections.

While the guilt for the current attempt to smear desegregation originates with you and the other white-supremacist politicians of the South, you have accomplices in the North. These are those who hold high office or lead political parties who fail to speak out in open condemnation of your subcommittee. Among these is President Eisenhower who replied to an appeal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against your "investigation" with the falsely optimistic answer that it would not "impair" desegregation in the District of Columbia.

Another accomplice is Adlai Stevenson who could find nothing stronger to say about your smear hearings than that they "are serving no useful purpose." Northern liberal newspapers tried to make Stevenson's slap on the wrist

look like a real blow, and described you as replying in harsh terms. I note that you have corrected this distortion of your real views and have reaffirmed that you are a "Stevenson supporter."

This is all to the good because it lets the working people and Negroes of this country see whom you support and who supports you. More and more Negro and white workers in the North are realizing that you, Eastland and other racists head Congressional committees and control Congress because of their votes for Northern Democrats. The time is fast approaching when they will leave the Democratic Party to form a Labor Party thus leaving you high and dry. The next step will be when Negro and white workers and farmers of the South, see through your racist divide-and-rule game. Then they will unite in unions and in a Labor Party to smash the Democratic-machine one-party rule in the South. Your cherished system of Jim Crow will be down and out.

Farrell Dobbs

Communist Party's NC Resolution

An Editorial

On Sept. 23, the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S. published its draft resolution dealing with tasks and perspectives in this country. The draft is to be voted on at the national convention called by the CP for February. According to an NC letter to the membership, discussion on the resolution has been opened and will be conducted in a special discussion bulletin. The draft and the letter appeared in the Worker.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously by the NC, with William Z. Foster and Benjamin Davis, Jr. voting "Yes" with qualifications. Subsequently, in a letter reported in the Sept. 27 Daily Worker, Foster announced he had changed his vote to "No."

The resolution was drafted in such a way as to suppress differences known to exist in the party leadership. The ruling body fears open debate of these differences lest the membership assert control over the party through the democratic process. The top leadership is therefore determined to confront the ranks as a united body. To make sure that the discussion is only a safety valve and does not endanger the power of the ruling group, the draft resolution contains a prohibition of factions.

It remains to be seen whether Foster's "No" vote will now break the solid front the leadership has sought to maintain and allow organized groupings with rival platforms to emerge.

In its political content, the resolution presents no rupture with the Salinist past. Stalinist domination of the CP meant that its course was determined by the foreign policy requirements of the Soviet bureaucratic caste, in whose interests Stalin ruled. The bureaucracy is still in command in the Soviet Union, and its requirements continue to shape the politics of the American CP leaders. This dictates an intensified effort at this time to achieve a new Yalta-type agreement with U.S. imperialism.

Out of fear of growing revolutionary sentiment in the Soviet bloc, the bureaucracy offers aid to Wall Street in containing the colonial and socialist revolution elsewhere in the world. "Peaceful coexistence" on the basis of helping to maintain the status quo is the traditional Stalinist "peace" program.

The Draft resolution sets achievement of a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" as the strategic task in the U.S. Working for this goal inside the Democratic Party is how the Resolution applies "peaceful coexistence" in this country. The projected "people's coalition" government is sharply counterposed to the aim of working-class rule and the realization of a socialist government in America.

The Draft Resolution further preaches support for the capitalist-minded AFL-CIO bureaucracy. It endorses the union officialdom's policy of keeping the labor movement tied to the Democratic Party. The struggle for socialism is put off to a misty future in the perspective of the NC document.

The Draft Resolution claims to derive tasks and perspectives for American radicals from the new world reality. Because of this, it presents a challenge to the authentic Marxist-Leninist view of our epoch. Opportunist currents have challenged Marxism ever since its birth with the claim that the new reality had rendered invalid basic Marxist tenets. At all times in the past revolutionary socialists came forward to refute the claims of the revisionists and opportunists. In that manner the genuine socialists kept Marxism constantly abreast of events and prepared the ground theoretically for new victories of the working class.

It is in that spirit that the Militant will analyze the anti-socialist character of the Draft Resolution of the NC of the Communist Party.

Against the revisionism of the Draft Resolution we will present the authentic Marxist-Leninist understanding of the present-day world reality and the tasks and perspectives it poses for the socialist-minded workers' vanguard.

Letters in Response to SWP Radio - TV Talks

[Here are more letters from TV and radio viewers and listeners. Over a thousand people in 46 states have written in for copies of the speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss and for platforms. Many also write their opinions. — Ed.]

I have heard the speech the lady made on television and to me it was very nice. I now request a copy of said speech as soon as possible. I think that thru the speech you have gained a great amount of new friends, and I for one, will back you to the hilt, please forward me any information that you think I can use in my campaign to get more votes for the party.

R. L.
New York, N. Y.

I was watching and listening to you this afternoon on my T.V., and I was delighted so much hearing you and the other gentlemen speak so many facts about two sham parties, for only votes. I tuned in on your program late, but I am asking you to please send me one of your free copies at once.

Mr. W. S.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Mrs. Weiss, I'm sure you will agree with me, I actually think its essential to a better education, if all the schools in the United States would teach The

Switches to SWP

Heard and enjoyed your television program last night, Thursday, Sept. 20, and after listening to the platform of the Socialist Workers Party I regretted having contributed \$50 to the Stevenson campaign fund. A collection was made for Stevenson at work. This morning promptly I got my share of the collection back to contribute to your work. Here's to bigger and better programs and more votes!

R. S.
Chicago

Holy Bible and Negro history. Then they would understand us and appreciate us better. The Negro as an individual is just like classical music. If you can't understand it you can't appreciate it. Some people have too much hate to even try to understand.

W. W.
Paducah, Kentucky

I heard the speech of Mrs. Myra Tanner Weiss, Sunday evening, and it was wonderful the way she stood up for us Negroes, and I wish that there were more like her.

Miss R. T.
Chicago

I am writing to you to let you know that I saw and heard you on my TV, Saturday afternoon, and I think your speech to the American people regardless of race, creed, or religious beliefs

was in my opinion one of the best speeches I ever did hear come out of a man's mouth, and it was said at the right time at the right place. My husband and I are White Southerners and we just deplore the sorry mess that is going on in our own state of the blue grass of Kentucky and Tennessee.

The White and Negro peoples of the South with an open mind will rise up against the demons of the Southern white leadership of the South and strike them all down, for I am ashamed of the Southern leadership of the South that represents us all in the U.S. Senate as of now. I think that we need a change to a Socialist Society. Please send me a copy of your speech and send me a listing of the books and magazines your party sells and I would like to have a sample copy of one of your paper if you have one to send me.

I have seen all of the demons and demagogues of both parties in action and I am sick and tired of them all.

You are the only one that makes sense to me and you sure don't look and act like a brazen demagogue to me. You appear to be an honest man and that's something I can't say about either man of both parties and they are not fooling me at all.

Mrs. H. P.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

I just heard over the Radio about a third party movement that I personally would like to see started. Let me hear from you and let me know what I can do for you and the movement.

P. G.
Baldwin Park, California

P.S. Send me anything I can distribute.

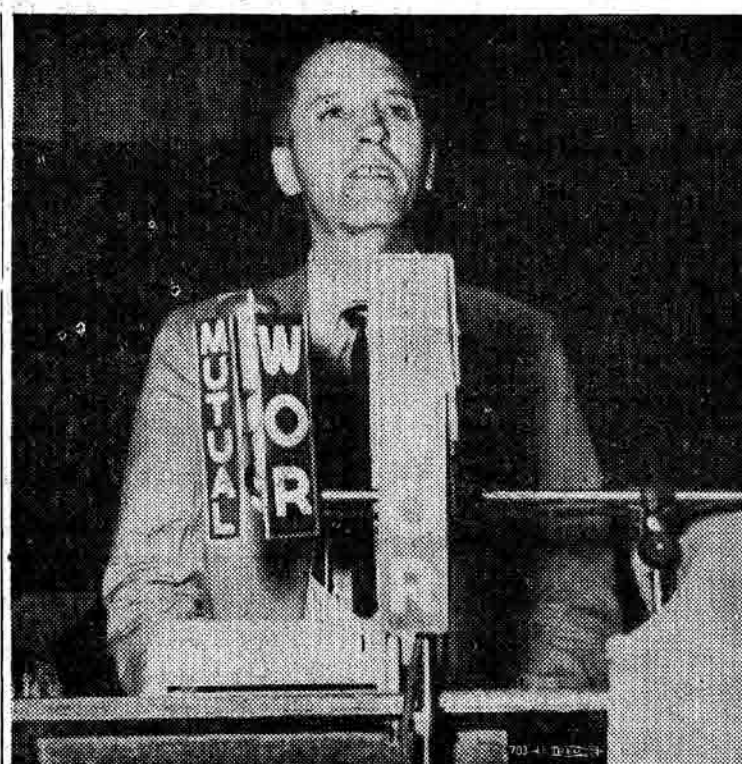
I have been attempting for some time to obtain a copy of the national platform and other literature of the Socialist Workers Party for this coming election. There is no doubt that your stated program is important to this country now as well as in the future. We, therefore, believe that copies of all your publications should be available for current use as well as for future preservation in the State University of Iowa Library. We would greatly appreciate receiving from you either copies of this literature or information as to where we may obtain the same.

W. C. J.
Iowa City, Iowa

May I have a copy of your speech? I like to make a report on it in school. I'm very interested in your talk on Negroes (colored people). I'm going to give you a point which might help toward the problem.

There are three or four schools in our city which have colored people. I used to go to Garfield High where most of the students are colored people. With the help of colored people we have more

Dobbs in 1948 Campaign



ideas and talent. Without Negroes there wouldn't be the entertainment we have in this world of today. Most of the bands (jazz) are made up of Negroes. Negroes are human beings just like white people. They have to get an education somewhere. It hurts in a Negro when he gets turned down from anything, just as white people. A Negro person might have talent in football, physics, or talent which might help the school or college go higher than they ever did before.

Negro-white relations always lack three things to me—faith, spirit and feeling. Without those both relationships lack ability. When both are working together they create bigger and better ideas in any case. Many of our doctors, nurses, high officials are Negroes. Many of them are white. Without their ideas and ours, our world won't be where it is today. I hope you understand what I mean. Without Negroes we won't be where we are. It is just an idea. One in a million. I enjoyed writing it, because it means a lot to me.

D. M. (white girl)
Seattle, Wash.

I would like several of your pamphlets on the subject of your platform. I would like to distribute the same to my fellow workers.

B. A. G.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

I was especially interested in the speech of the lady candidate for Vice-President, of the statement she made on general economics, it seemed to me no truer words were ever spoken. Though, I have never actually affiliated with any political party, I do think a change to

your precepts might do some good. Please hand this note to the lady candidate together with the dollar enclosed.

H. H.
Brownmead, Oregon

I would like to have about 150 copies of your program. Please rush me as many as you can to give my friends and the people who believe in Freedom.

Newman, Ga.

I have always been a Democrat, but I feel that they and the Republicans no longer serve the good people and working man. We are going to have to turn to some other party. I wish you would send me some pamphlets to give to my friends and one of his pictures that I could put up in a window. I will do all I can for him.

R. C.
Rockwood, Tenn

I am nearing the three-quarter century mark in the sands of time, and I recall I have advocated a farmer labor party longer than a half century ago. So, frankly, when I will the worker in what ever class he will be, know enough to abandon the industrial field, and cultivate the political field, for all fellowmen.

J. A. P.
Phoenix, Arizona

I heard your broadcast on September 15, at 10:30 P.M., on C.B.S. Radio, and find myself very sympathetic toward your views. I would like to know how I can, by personal effort, advance this cause.

In particular I am interested in the Socialist explanation of such questions as why the U.S. is maintaining Chiang Kai-Shek on Formosa, why U.S. refuses to recognize Red China, what plans does U.S. have for Germany, what position does socialism take toward religion, how does socialism refute capitalist claim that the operation of industry by socialist bureaucracy is not as efficient as the quality of operation when capital is privately owned and operated.

Finally, I would like to have some explanation for why some wealthy capitalists support a socialist program and others do not do so.

E. M.
Jamaica, N.Y.

Thank you very much and the best of luck in the forthcoming political campaign. I don't see how you can lose if all citizens knew of your activities.

Mr. W. D. S.
Fort Myers, Florida

Please send me information or a copy of the marvelous speech a gentleman gave over KNX Tuesday night, September 11th. I was very grateful for the things I've heard, and I would like to know exactly when voting time comes, when to vote to help your party. Many years ago my late husband and I voted for Debs.

B. C.
California

I heard your radio program Thursday evening, and must admit that I agree with your viewpoint. Please send me more information concerning the Socialist Workers Party.

S. W.
Brooklyn, New York

I am a 31 year old Negro living in the South as you can see by the post mark on this letter but I consider myself too farsighted to be misled by the sham platforms the other two major parties have adopted.

From Mr. Dobbs' speech your party offers the only solution to the present crisis in this country, I am truly hoping that we can have a meeting of the minds after I have studied your literature more thoroughly.

J. D. H.
Mobile, Alabama

Fraternally,
Farrell Dobbs

I was greatly interested in a talk given recently by Farrell Dobbs. Quiet by accident I heard this television program, and because I took the time to listen I became interested in what your party may have to offer.

I am not registered to vote in the coming election because I felt that if I had only the Democratic and Republican parties to choose from, I really had no choice.

I will appreciate your sending to me some information about your party and will pay postage due.

D. K.
Portland, Oregon

Please send me a copy of your Presidential platform and other campaign literature figuring in the struggle of the peoples versus monopoly imperialism and fascist capitalism.

J. T.
Vancouver, Washington

That was a true and a wonderful speech.

G.
Philadelphia

Please send me some of your convenience, forty (40) copies of whatever literature your Party has available at the present time. If it is not possible to furnish this quantity, please send us as many copies of your literature as possible for use in our 12th grade English Social Problems course. We are particularly interested in your Party's origins, history, platform, and candidates.

D. A.
Oregon

Please send me some of your literature as per your broadcast of September 12. As a young voter, am trying to gather material of as many viewpoints as possible to help me vote objectively.

K. S.
Edwardsburg, Mich.

Being a man of color I had given up voting but after hearing Mr. Dobbs and Mrs. Weiss on TV Thursday I have changed my mind. The only program that has been presented in many a moon with real red meat in it. More power to you and send me the paper and speeches.

A. P.
Chicago

Student Supports Workers Program

Please send me a copy of the Socialist Workers Party platform. After hearing the acceptance speeches of Mr. Dobbs and Mrs. Weiss I am very much impressed with the desires and aims of your party. Though I am not a worker but a college student I have long been interested in the work of both the Socialist Workers Party and the American Labor Party. It seems that your party and the American Labor Party are the only two parties which offer the American worker any relief from oppression of the capitalist imperialists which hold the reins of government in this country. So I would deeply appreciate it if you could send me one or more copies of your presidential platform.

I say one or more because if I can receive more than one I would be only too glad to circulate the additional copies among my friends and classmates.

J. N.
Jamaica, N.Y.

This letter is in response to your nationwide television broadcast of the acceptance speeches of your presidential nominees. You have my heartfelt admiration for your efforts and courage.

I am a college instructor in sociology but I spent this summer doing steno and warehouse work here in Green Bay. It was an opportunity for me to again become aware of the working and living conditions of the majority of our people.

Enclosed find some postage to cover mailing costs for the pamphlet describing your platform and a sample copy of the Militant. Can you give me the address of the nearest Socialist Workers Party organization?

F. W.
Green Bay, Wisc.

After listening to the wonderful speech of your most capable Vice-Presidential nominee, I became interested in your party. I would appreciate your sending me a copy of the speech and any more literature you may have that would assist me in learning more about the work of your most splendid organization.

J. L. C.
Atlanta, Ga.

I was very much inspired by an election speech one of your candidates gave on Sept. 15. It was on the plight of Negroes and other minority groups. So I would like very much to receive a copy of that speech.

S/Sgt. E. M.
Wilmington, N. C.

Today, while listening to my TV, you came on and made a wonderful speech. The words you spoke is just how I feel about this voting. Also integration. And I don't think enough has been done about it. Some one needs to step in and lead out.

L. S.
Washington/D. C.

I enclose a \$5 contribution to your campaign fund.

Manteca Calif.

I saw your acceptance speeches on TV last night and in my opinion it was one of the best speeches I have ever heard so far yet. . . . Send me a listing of all the party's books that you have got for sale as I would like to have some of the books for my own study and use.

Mrs. H. P.
Milwaukee, Wisc.

I am glad there is an organized party that thinks the way I do. . . . Do you have a party office here in Alameda County?

J. S.
Oakland, Calif.

Ever since hearing your vice-presidential candidate's acceptance speech, I have been wondering about your party. I have made it my intention, therefore, to study it and learn as much as possible about it.

I would like very much for you to send me, if possible, a copy of the Vice-Presidential candidate's acceptance speech, the party platform, and any other information which will acquaint me with the Socialist Worker's Party.

J. B.
Albuquerque, N. M.

I happened to see the acceptance speeches of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates for the Presidency of the United States on channel seven, ABC, on Thursday evening, Sept. 20. I am very much interested in the points that you mentioned. Would you please send me a copy of the platform of the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist newspaper the Militant. I thank you very much. Good luck with your coming campaign. Perhaps the people of the United States will realize soon that "capitalism has outlived its usefulness."

S. H.
New Jersey

It was my good fortune to hear and see your television discourse. It was typical of what is truthful and wholesome and refreshing. It is most difficult to bring home the truth to our people, because they are enjoying a false balloon like a false economy based on the blood business.

The current trend is to close your eyes to ugly truth, but reach out and to be sure to get the blood money, for the mortgage and the finance racket.

Working conditions are not really good because of the crushing effects of the false economy based on a dreadful wildcat inflation.

I would appreciate any literature you can send me to read, especially a copy of your talk. Since I am now unemployed, I regret deeply I cannot donate a contribution to your most worthy cause and political progress.

The two major parties spend millions to promote ballyhoo, while the management of government is directed by the power of Wall Street and the money barons dictating the everyday life and destroying the American people.

J. L.
Rhode Island

I am very interested in your party. I missed half of the speech on TV. In my work I am in contact with quite a lot of people. Sure would like you to send me some copies of the paper you mentioned. I have voted the socialist ticket all my life. But since my father died I have lost contact with the paper and other important facts. Would like to hear more on how it is possible to get rid of the Democrats and Republicans once and for all. I am sick of their lies and promises.

D. P.
Appleton

Please send me literature you spoke of on television as I am greatly interested after hearing you and Mr. Dobbs speak the other evening. Being the mother of three, two of whom are boys, I try to be a cautious and conscientious voter. Am plain fed up with the Democrats and the GOP. Will be waiting to hear from you.

Mrs. M. S.
Illinois

The Truth About A "Red Menace"

I have just heard with enthusiasm part of Myra Tanner Weiss' speech of acceptance for the nomination to vice-presidency. This carries me back to when I used consistently to vote for Norman Thomas.

But the "Communist threat" has me confused. Please tell me how the Socialist Workers differ, if they do, from Thomas' socialists and how sharply they may be differentiated from the Communists.

Right now I feel like helping to vote Stevenson in, to replace like if possible. But I'm open to argument.

May I commend Mrs. Weiss especially for her discussion of the segregation issue.

Mrs. E. H.
Alexandria, Va.

Dear Mrs. E. H.

Thank you for your letter which has been forwarded to me here in Ohio during my cross country speaking tour. Its thoughtful contents stimulated me to answer it now even though my present schedule makes possible only a brief answer to your questions.

I would like to comment first on the question of the "Communist threat" to American liberties. Your stated "confusion" on the issue indicates a healthy suspicion of its validity. The cold fact is that the so-called "threat of Communist aggression" is a smoke-screen that has been created to conceal a real and present assault on the Bill of Rights.

WITCH HUNT LAWS

In the guise of fighting "Communist subversion," American Big Business has already badly crippled our civil liberties. It has done this through its twin political agencies, the Republican and Democratic parties. These parties enacted the Smith Act which proscribes freedom of thought and the Communist Control Act which set the deadly precedent of proscribing a political party. The "loyalty" program, the Congressional probes and politically-motivated court decisions have combined to virtually nullify the First and Fifth amendments.

On a world scale, the "threat" of "Communist imperialism" is the pretext for stationing American troops across the globe and for alliances with reactionary despots in country after country. These American guns and dollars are being used to prop up a dying world capitalist order and to thwart the demands of the colonial people for freedom. For Wall Street this is the real threat. They see the rising movement of the colonial people and the international working class as a menace to their system of exploitation and profit.

Unfortunately, the present Soviet government does not even extend the kind of aid to colonial and socialist revolution that it should.

As privileged bureaucrats striving to prevent the Soviet masses from wresting them from power they are driven to help preserve the status quo throughout the world. To keep world "stability" they seek a deal with the capitalist countries of a kind that would sacrifice the interests of the workers and colonial people

Sincerely yours,
Myra Tanner Weiss

Conscientious Voter States Opinion

Please send me six or eight copies of the speeches made (over TV) by the candidates for President and Vice-President of the Socialist Workers Party. Those who heard it and saw it said they were remarkable speeches as they outlined the great benefits to be derived from such a form of government. Any other literature of interest, concerning Socialism you care to send will be given a wide circulation.

F. S.
Glover, Vermont

Farrell Dobbs Tour Information

St. Paul
Tues., Oct. 2, 8:00 P.M.
American House, 444 Rice St.
"Labor Needs Its Own Platform in 1956 Elections"

Minneapolis
Fri., Oct. 5, 8:00 P.M.
Labor Temple, 115 E. 4th St.
"Why Unions Must Enter Fight Against Segregation"

Willmar, Minnesota
Thurs., Oct. 4, 8:00 P.M.
The Labor Home, 500 W. 12th
"Your Stake in a Workers And Farmers Government"

Minnesota Campaign Dinner
Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 P.M.
10 South Fourth Street
Minneapolis

Dobbs Explains SWP Position on Soviet Union

TV Viewer's Letter

Your correspondent is an aircraft mechanic who is accepting your invitation to write in for a copy of Farrell Dobbs' television speech and to comment on his remarks.

In my opinion, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are making a major contribution to the socialist movement in the U.S.A. by warning the workers and farmers that those who urge them to steer the Democratic Party in a left direction are leading them up a blind alley. The analogy of the man attempting to steer the whale from inside the animal's belly, was a vivid one and should be followed up by quotes from such figures as Eugene Debs, who had a less tenuous relationship to the labor movement than has Vincent Hallinan. As you undoubtedly know, Debs was also emphatic on this subject.

I am in minor disagreement with your candidate on the question of the Soviet states. Farrell Dobbs' speech gave the impression of equating the problems of the Soviet worker and the worker in the U.S.A. The Soviet state was described by Lenin shortly before he died as a workers' and peasants' state with bureaucratic distortions. It remains essentially as Lenin described it. The tasks of the Soviet worker, therefore, are evolutionary and those of the American worker revolutionary.

Sincerely,
D. L.

A Three-Month Subscription To THE MILITANT Only 50 Cents

116 University PL. N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Dobbs Comments

Dear D. L.:

Your support of our efforts to advance the independent political action of the American working class is most welcome.

On your point of disagreement: I did not intend to leave the impression that the problems of the Soviet workers in their fight against the Kremlin bureaucracy are the same as the problems of American workers in their fight against the capitalist class in the United States. On the contrary, the problems are different because the social structures of the two countries are basically different.

The task in the capitalist countries is to replace capitalist property relations with the socialist foundations of society—in other words, to make a social revolution.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was that kind revolution. It nationalized the means of production, eliminated foreign domination and introduced a planned economy. It also established a revolutionary political structure—workers' democracy. This structure was still in existence, though badly strained, when Lenin made the statement that the USSR was a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions. The growth of bureaucracy was serious enough for Lenin himself to spend his last energies launching a fight against it.

Given a timely extension of the Russian Revolution and alleviation of Russia's isolation and economic backwardness, an evolutionary movement away from bureaucratic rule would have been possible at that time. Such a turn was too long delay-

ed, however, and in spite of the fight continued by Trotsky after Lenin's death, the privilege-seeking bureaucracy grew until it strangled all workers' democracy and physically destroyed Lenin's party. A political counter-revolution had occurred.

The basic conquests of 1917—that is, the planned economy—remain. The Soviet Union was transformed into an industrial giant thanks to that fact. But the political structure established by the October revolution—workers' democracy—is dead.

American workers are familiar with a similar process. Powerful unions were built by the democratic participation of the workers. They are now largely taken over by bureaucrats interested in enlarging their own privileges rather than in the class interests of the workers. The solution is not to get rid of the unions, but to eliminate the bureaucratic cliques which distort them, and revive democratic control by the membership.

It is true that evolutionary changes are taking place within the Soviet Union which undermine the bureaucracy and make its replacement inevitable. Industrial and cultural progress requires just those qualities which the bureaucracy stifles. Workers' democracy is a necessity for the further advancement of the Soviet Union. But it is not going to be established with the consent of the bureaucracy. It is our opinion that a political revolution will be required to get rid of the bureaucracy's rule and to permit another great advance to socialism.

Fraternally,
Farrell Dobbs

Daily Worker Does a Hatchet Job on Hallinan for His Support to the Socialist Workers Ticket

By Harry Ring and
Daniel Roberts

The Communist Party leaders are in a bad way when they try to defend their vote-Democrat line against those on the left who have taken the principled stand of supporting a socialist ticket in the 1956 elections. This fact is underscored with the attack on Vincent Hallinan in the Sept. 21 Daily Worker by Alan Max, the paper's managing editor.

Earlier this month, Hallinan declared that socialist-minded people ought to vote for "those who sacrifice their effort and time to carry the banners of the Left" and urged "that as high a vote as can be mustered be given to Mr. Farrell Dobbs, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party."

Max goes to work on Hallinan with the instrument of Stalinist polemics — the hatchet.

HOW MAX ARGUES

Here is Max's "argument" in a nutshell: (1) Hallinan's reasoning would more logically lead to support of Eisenhower; (2) the Socialist Workers Party's foreign policy "dovetails neatly" with McCarthy's program. The conclusion, Max wishes to suggest is this: Hallinan is promoting Eisenhower and maybe even McCarthy.

Here is how Max operates: He takes from Hallinan's statement the observation that the blatant jingoism of the Democrats has "provided the Republicans with the irresistible slogan: 'Everything is Booming but the Guns.'" If this is really so, says Max, and if the Democrats are "rightly regarded as the 'war party,'" as Hallinan says, then Hallinan should logically support the Republican ticket.

Max is very careful to conceal the context in which Hallinan makes his point. Hallinan makes the argument about the Democrats' foreign policy to expose the "lesser evil" concept of politics. Many progressives, he says, will be voting Democrat on the grounds that it is a lesser evil, although just as good a case can be made out for the Republicans on that ground. Hallinan, for his part, rejects "lesser evil" politics within the two capitalist parties as having led left-wing forces "from the rock of principle to the morass of expediency."

HALLINAN'S REAL VIEWS/

You would never guess it from Max's article, but Hallinan states plainly that he considers the main issue in the country today is capitalism vs socialism. He says that the most urgent task is to forge "a united front of left-wing forces which will unite to educate, inform and lead the American people toward a socialist solution of the dilemmas which confront us."

It is on this basis that Hallinan very logically endorses the SWP candidates in the 1956 election.

Ah, says Max, but what about the fact that the SWP opposes peaceful coexistence, which Hallinan favors? The SWP position on coexistence "dovetails neatly" with McCarthy's, is his slanderous charge.

Does it? The SWP platform calls for recognition of Revolutionary China. McCarthy is violently against it. The SWP platform calls for hands off Egypt in the Suez crisis. McCarthy called for armed intervention. The SWP platform calls for withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil. McCarthy would reinforce Chiang militarily on Formosa, etc.

The Socialist Workers Party defends the Soviet Union despite the bureaucracy's rule, whereas McCarthy favors the Soviet Union's destruction and restoration of capitalism. "The foreign policy of the SWP," says the party's platform "aims to align the United States with the world social transformation now in process, mobilizing our country's full power in support of the advance to a world system of planned economy." Does that "dovetail" with McCarthyism?

There is nothing illogical about any socialist supporting a party with that kind of platform even if there is disagreement on what it says about peaceful coexistence. Bad logic — not to mention betrayal of principle — are all on Max's side.

IT FITS MAX BETTER

Max says: "I wonder how Vincent Hallinan squares the well-known views of the Progressive Party on co-existence and peaceful negotiations, with support for the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party." But how does Max square his own views on the subject with support of the Democratic Party, which by his own admission is a Cold War party "at a time when the crying need is to end the Cold War altogether?"

Furthermore, Max calls himself a socialist. How does he square his belief in socialism with support for the Democratic Party? How does he get around Hallinan's indictment of the Democrats as the "organization which initiated and brought to its fiercest expression the current witch hunt, which started and maintained the ruinous and dishonorable war in Korea and which rests upon two broad pillars of reaction — the Southern, white supremacists and the

politico-ecclesiastical machines in the Northern cities?"

The Socialist Workers Party does not oppose peace negotiations between the U.S. and the USSR. Max never found such opposition anywhere in its platform. The SWP welcomes every easing in the cold war. But it warns against illusions that this state of affairs can be prolonged even if a treaty is signed.

The SWP platform is very explicit on this question: "The war drive has been slowed down primarily by the revolutionary gains abroad. World capitalism has been dealt a series of setbacks and defeats weakening its power in relation to the anti-capitalist forces. Revolutionary China has emerged as a factor of great weight in world politics. These reverses have compelled the imperialists to mask their war aims through hypocritical maneuvers but militarism remains the ultimate instrument of capitalist rule. In the attempt to achieve world domination American imperialism won't hesitate to risk atomic war at whatever cost to humanity."

Lasting peace is possible only with the world-wide victory of socialism. At that time it will be assured. This is what the SWP proclaims.

KREMLIN POLICY

The SWP further states that to sacrifice revolutionary advances for the sake of "peaceful coexistence" is wrong. On this point, if not in its estimate of the possibilities of enduring coexistence, Hallinan undoubtedly shares the SWP position.

The SWP charges the Kremlin bureaucrats with offering to help imperialism preserve the status quo throughout the world and says that this is a betrayal of the struggle for socialism and therefore peace.

It is for affirming all these socialist beliefs that Max — a defender of the Soviet bureaucracy's foreign policy — declares that the SWP "dovetails neatly" in its outlook with McCarthy.

Shortly after the 20th Congress of Soviet Communist Party, Alan Max and the other editors of the Daily Worker took a solemn pledge not to resort to frame-up in their relations with other left-wing organizations. Max wasted no time to break the pledge and resort again to the old Stalinist methods.

From the S.W.P. Plank On Foreign Policy:

Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Congress and the President. Let the people vote through a nation-wide referendum on the question of war or peace. Withdraw all troops from foreign soil. Halt all nuclear weapons tests.

No secret diplomacy. Abolish all military alliances. Recognize the government of Revolutionary China. End all trade restrictions against anti-imperialist countries. Hands off Egypt. Solidarity with all colonial and socialist revolutions against imperialism and with the struggles of the workers in the Soviet sphere for the establishment of workers democracy.

For a free copy of the Socialist Workers Party platform write to 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Tammany Hall Tactics

Why is the Democratic machine in New York state, which has been trying so assiduously to cover up its Tammany stench with the perfume of liberalism, undertaking the dirty work needed to throw the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party off the ballot? They know that neither of these parties is going to capture New York's electoral vote or state office in this election. They also know that this crass violation of the right of minority parties to a hard-earned place on the ballot will arouse the anger of many people, who may not intend to vote for these parties, but who do believe in a free and democratic ballot. They also know that this move will do much to reveal to the public the notorious hand of Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio reaching out from behind the drapery of the supposedly liberal administration of Harriman.

The reasons are obvious. Fearing a close election not only for President but for Senator as well, the Democratic politicians have determined to prevent any possible loss of votes to minority parties. They did this once before in 1946 when they arbitrarily kicked the SWP, the SLP and the Socialist Party off the ballot. Their motto, civil liberties and a free ballot, is to be honored — except in close elections.

This year the danger of workers protesting against the Democratic Party by voting for a minority party is much greater than before. Particularly is there danger from the SWP. It is an open secret that the Negro people of New York are disgusted with the Democrats', sell-out on civil rights. Because of this the Democratic strategy committee was afraid to let Stevenson speak in Harlem. It is also known in Democratic circles that the SWP TV broadcasts have been getting a strong response from the Negro people because of their forthright stand on civil rights and school desegregation.

Thus the number one purpose of the

attempt to get the SWP off the ballot is to deny Negro and other pro-civil rights voters of a way of expressing their protest on election day.

The second reason is that the American Labor Party, for the first time in two decades, will not be on the New York ballot. This section of the defunct Progressive Party has gone out of existence. Yet it is well known that many of its former supporters are reluctant about supporting either of the two Big Business parties. Not only would many of them on their own vote for a minority party, but important leaders of their former movement have urged them to vote SWP in this election. In New York Clifford T. McAvoy, the ALP mayoralty candidate in 1954 has urged support of the SWP. Similarly Vincent Hallinan, the Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, has come out in support of the SWP.

But the Democratic politicians want to denude the ballot of all possibilities of protest. No alternative for voters in New York but the Tweedledee-Tweedledum of Democratic and Republican!

The SWP is going to Albany to fight for its rightful place on the ballot in the hearings before DeSapio's Department of State. It is going to fight in the courts if the Democratic machine persists in its move to strip the ballot of all minority parties. It is going to test the legality of the election law which facilitates the railroading of anti-Big Business parties off the ballot.

In this the SWP is not only fighting for its own rights, it is fighting for the political rights of all those who wish the opportunity of voting other than Democratic or Republican. It is fighting for the rights of those who may in the future desire that opportunity. In such a fight the SWP deserves the support of all, regardless of political affiliation, who believe in a free and democratic ballot.

The Hooligan Attack on Bridges

We have frequently discussed the need for full democracy within the trade union movement and the need to settle inter-union disputes by the democratic decision of the workers involved. The use of strong-arm tactics is too often favored by union bureaucrats as the way to settle their differences with other unions or as a method of crushing opposition within their organizations. Such tactics serve only to divide and weaken the labor movement, particularly at a time of stepped-up employer assaults on the unions.

The need to eliminate such methods from the union movement was again underscored when Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union was beaten up in a restaurant outside of San Francisco Sept. 21 by two members of a rival waterfront union.

One of the men who committed the assault is a business agent of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, a division of the Sailors Union of the Pacific which is headed by Harry Lundeborg. The two who attacked Bridges have been indicted

on a charge of conspiracy "involving other persons."

The top officials of the waterfront unions have for many years created a foul atmosphere characteristic of high-handed bureaucratic rule. And once policy-making is taken out of the hands of the membership, the field is cleared for the goon squads and the methods of terror.

We have often criticized Bridges for his union and political policies. Not the least of our criticism has been directed against Bridges' own bureaucratic practices in the past. And today, for example, we criticize his recent act of registering as a Republican and thereby abandoning the struggle for labor's independent political action just as much as the pro-Democratic Party labor officials.

These differences with Bridges do not prevent us for one moment from sharply condemning the hooligan attacks upon him, just as we have condemned the anti-union efforts to deport him. We believe that all honest unionists should take the same stand and raise their voices against this latest use of bosses' methods within the ranks of labor.

You're Out of Order, Alan Max!

We recommend to our readers a careful study of Alan Max's article in the September 21 Daily Worker entitled, "Thoughts of a Former Progressive Party Voter." The article purports to be a reasoned comment on Vincent Hallinan's announcement of his support to the 1956 Presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. In actuality, Max's comment is a scurrilous attack on both Hallinan and the SWP.

Attempting to discredit Hallinan's statement, Max confines himself to the use of a single quotation from it — and that quotation was torn out of context to distort Hallinan's position. The same method is employed against the SWP. Max "proves" his case against the SWP with the use of literally one sentence from its election platform.

To accomplish his double-barrelled smear, Max employs the tested device of frame-ups known as the amalgam. The SWP is opposed to the foreign policy of the Kremlin. Would-be fascist leader McCarthy is opposed to the foreign policy of the Kremlin. Ipso facto, the views of McCarthy and the SWP "dovetail neatly."

The fact that Max feels compelled to use such disgraceful tactics indicates the impact that Hallinan's declaration has had on the ranks of the Communist Party. His declaration of the need to get behind a socialist ticket in this campaign

comes as a breath of fresh air to many in the Communist Party who have grown increasingly disgusted with the opportunist line of their leaders.

Max's attempted frame-up strongly suggests that insofar as the Party tops are concerned, the "new look" of the Communist Party applies strictly to the right. Disagreements with treacherous liberals, with labor bureaucrats and with State Department "socialists" can be discussed in the most polite fashion. But disagreement from the left is answered with the old Stalinist mud slinging. But such tactics won't go any more. This is 1956. Max's clumsy effort to lump Trotskyism with fascism comes after Khrushchev's speech revealed what dastardly crimes were committed by Stalin through the vehicle of this frame-up.

The principle of free and honest discussion of differences within the workers movement demands strong protest against the "big lie" tactics employed by Max. For the membership of the Communist Party there are additional reasons for voicing protest. The rank and file of the Communist Party is striving to resolve the "moral crisis" that grips their organization. They are seeking the road to an effective regroupment of the socialist movement. "Discussion" of the Max type can serve only to thwart such aspirations and to further blacken the Party's already badly damaged reputation.

World Events

SAUDI ARABIA AND SYRIA have declared their full solidarity with Egypt's efforts to end domination of the Suez Canal by Western imperialism. After a conference with Egyptian President Nasser, the heads of the two states declared Sept. 24 their support to Egypt, "the owner of the canal," and demanded negotiation of the crisis "free from pressure of any kind or intention to impose any unilateral solution." The declaration has special significance in that Saudi Arabia, a major oil producer, has an important stake in the uninterrupted operation of the canal.

Meanwhile Britain and France have moved to utilize the United Nations as a vehicle to regain control of the Egyptian-owned canal and U.S. Secretary of State Dulles continued to mount pressure on Egypt to force her capitulation. On Sept. 23 Dulles announced that he planned to have U.S. Treasury regulations amended so as to block toll payments to Egypt by American-owned or controlled ships. Such a move would cut in half Egypt's

already limited revenue from the canal. France and Britain had previously taken the same action. At the same time Dulles continued his sabre-rattling threats, declaring that unless Egypt yielded to the "rights" of the Western powers he didn't think "you can expect to go on forever asking nations not to resort to force." Hinting at the possibility of a deal with the Soviet Union, Dulles said that he would not "take it for granted" that the USSR would veto any requested UN action.

YUGOSLAVIA IS THE TARGET OF RENEWED KREMLIN CRITICISM, reports New York Times correspondent Sydney Gruson in a Sept. 23 dispatch from Warsaw. He writes that a document has been circulated by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to party cells in which sharp criticism are again made of the Tito regime.

The central point of attack, Gruson says, is that the Yugoslavs are held to be "provoking" differences between Moscow and the various countries in the Soviet orbit. He sees the document as reflecting a victory in the Central Committee of the CPSU for First Deputy Premier and former Foreign Minister Molotov, according to Polish CP sources, has never approved of Khrushchev's reconciliation with Belgrade and the declaration of Yugoslavia's right to its "own road to socialism."

Crucial to the present "reassessing" of the role of the Yugoslavs are the present developments in Poland. There the party leadership is divided as to how far it should go in meeting mass pressure for democratization, with one group taking a stand for greater reforms despite the wishes of Moscow. It is now being pointed out that the reconciliation with Tito has served to bolster such groups in their reported defiance of the Kremlin.

IN NORTHERN RHODESIA, clubs and tear gas are being used by the government in an attempt to suppress protests against racial discrimination at the big Mulufira copper mine. A Sept. 14 UP dispatch reports that additional police and troops are being flown in from Southern Rhodesia while negotiations between mine workers and Government officials are in progress. Working conditions of native copper miners are reported in the July 16 Militant, where it is noted that Negroes are forced to work under conditions of involuntary servitude in order to pay arbitrary taxes. Those leaving their jobs before their term of servitude has expired are hunted down as criminals.

Report from England

(The following account of how the junking of the Stalin cult is explained in England was sent to us by a Militant reader in London. He describes himself as "not a Trotskyist, but an deeply sympathetic by virtue of the obvious correctness of the prognosis of the Soviet Union and my profound dissatisfaction with the idealist explanation offered by the CP." — Ed.)

Communist Party leaders in public debate is news in this country.

The discussion called by Professor G. D. H. Cole's International Society for Social Studies between Emil Burns, a leading theoretician of the C.P., and editor of its Marxist Quarterly, and

Tony Turner, once the star speaker of the sectarian SPGB and now a Fabian, drew a capacity audience last night. The subject — "Post-Stalinist Marxism."

Burns opened by denying the existence of the subject. "Post-Stalinist Marxism is Pre-Stalinist Marxism — the fundamentals are the same but their application depends on the particular conditions."

Turning, with an apologetic simper, to the Stalin era he said "the excesses carried out by the autocracy did not upset the development of democracy in the Soviet Union." As proof he cited the Moscow bus-drivers who told him, in 1935, that they pre-

pared their own schedules! His use of the word "autocracy" was purely accidental — all subsequent references were to "Stalin" in accordance with the catechism of the "cult of the individual in reverse."

SLIGHT DIFFERENCE

Turner's contribution was a plea for the study of group psychology for the understanding of modern society and the definition of socialism as an "unestablishable" (his word) goal.

In supporting the current C.P. slogan of "Labour Unity," Burns stated "there are no fundamental theoretical differences now" which led to the retort "why don't you disband and join the Labour Party?"

Turner's suggestion that party card holders in the Soviet Union are an elite comparable to the "old school tie brigade" of England was countered by Burns with "there is a slight numerical difference!"

The utter intellectual bankruptcy of Burns — Turner was hardly treated seriously — was confirmed by his summing up after contributions from the floor.

Several speakers referred to the development of the Soviet bureaucracy and one asked "what socialist forces did Stalin represent?" A reference to Burns as a Pre-Leninist Kautskyst rather than a Post-Stalinist Marxist brought cheers and laughter. Burns' reply to demands for a Marxist explanation of Stalinism was a masterful silence.

THE MILITANT ARMY

There are opportunities galore in the present subscription drive as a result of the SWP election campaign and the aftermath of the 20th Congress of the CP-SU. This is the time to get subscriptions from workers who are disgusted with the two capitalist parties, and of the radicals, particularly those around the Communist Party, who have received introductory copies of the Militant. The results so far show that consistent work brings good results.

As of this writing Newark is out in front. Militant agent Morten Gold writes: "Enclosed are results of our last Sunday mobilization, all new introductory subs. This was obtained by four people working an hour to an hour and a quarter. We also sold nine single copies while we were at it."

"We began our campaign with the idea of working our way systematically through the city's housing projects. We have obtained 30 subs in a single project so far. The segregation issue is of course the prime question with the people we are seeing. As one campaigner remarked — the moment we state our position, the people react with a flood of response. You do not have to argue the fact that Democrats and Republicans offer nothing to the Negro people."

Seattle has been concentrating on the radical workers who have been introduced to the paper before. Helen Baker sent in one batch of eleven subscriptions with this note: "One of them is from a couple who received some introductory copies. The other 10 are from fellows the husband works with."

Cleveland Militant agent Betty Lewis writes: "As you know, a Labor Youth League leader here is now subscribing. Enclosed are two subs from two more LYL members."

Minneapolis and St. Paul Militant agent Winifred Nelson sent in five subs obtained at the Myra Tanner Weiss Minneapolis public meeting. "Election campaigns spark sub drives don't they?" she writes. "Perhaps during the Dobbs tour we can do something too, but until then we'll be too busy getting our signatures in order to get on the ballot." They are not too busy to send in additional subs, however.

The New York local will start its drive this week with an old-fashioned doorbell ringing campaign. The big city workers will also visit people who have received introductory copies of the paper and those who have written in as a result of election broadcasts.

The broadcast responses are a source of subs which has hardly yet been touched. We anticipate good results from that field.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

THE SUEZ CRISIS
Friday, Oct. 5 — 8 P.M.
EUGENE V. DEBS HALL
3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

A Special Offer!

Should radical-minded workers support liberal Democrats and Republicans? Are they wasting their ballot by voting socialist? How do the different working-class parties answer these questions? What is the platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 campaign? For clear-cut answers to these questions take advantage of our special election-period offer to new readers. Get a three-month introductory subscription to the Militant for only 50 cents.

The Militant

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

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The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

Stevenson and Kefauver's Southern Speeches

Candidates Stevenson and Kefauver must often curse the fact that this country has such an efficient communications system. If we were only back in the good old days of the pony express it might take months for what they said in speeches in the North to reach the South and vice versa. The price of progress they must pay is the heavy one of knowing that their utterances on civil rights or desegregation in one part of the country will be reported in the papers next day in all the other parts.

This makes it tough. In the North they must woo labor and Negro votes — but not go so far as to alienate their white supremacist supporters in the South. Suspicious voters in the North have already demanded whether they were going to say anything about school desegregation in the South. Being put thus on the spot, they had to answer yes. Now both of them have been in the South. Just what did they say?

Kefauver chose Orlando, Florida, where, as the papers say, "the race issue is not as intense" as in other parts of the state as the site on which to mention school desegregation. During the primary campaign he had chosen the same place to bid for Negro support in the North as a bold champion of civil rights who did not dodge the issue in the South.

Now as candidate he softened his words. As the New York Times (Sept. 16) put it, "Kefauver brought out a new, modified model of his civil rights stand." He dwelt on his sympathy for the "especially difficult problem today in light of the Supreme Court decision." He had high words of praise for the Democratic platform with its sell-out plank on civil rights and which does not endorse the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. He emphasized that he stood firmly on

that platform. He came out against lawlessness and also against federal intervention.

Stevenson's site for Southern mention of the Supreme Court's decision was also carefully chosen. The state was Arkansas, the city Little Rock. Arkansas is one of the Southern states with the smallest Negro populations. Half of the state has no, or very few, Negro students. The southern and eastern part of the state have almost all the Negro population. Little Rock, the capital, is not in this part. In other words Stevenson chose Arkansas rather than Mississippi or South Carolina as the Southern state where his words on school desegregation would do the least damage with white supremacists. This is of note because pro-Stevenson newspapers like the N. Y. Post are playing up the speech as having been made "in the Deep South" (any geography book will tell you Arkansas is one of the mid-South states).

In New Orleans Stevenson made no mention of the desegregation issue. He did however, issue a blanket endorsement of Louisiana's Congressmen, all of whom signed the Southern Manifesto against the Supreme Court decision.

At Little Rock Stevenson said he was for the high court decision and it was the law. Some people were for it, others against it but as "the Democratic Party had risen above this division," he hoped "the nation, too, will rise above this division." Stevenson neglected to mention that the Democratic Party "rose above" the school desegregation issue at its Chicago convention by surrendering to the Dixiecrats.

One thing the Democratic presidential candidate emphasized in his Little Rock speech was his opposition to any federal intervention to enforce the Supreme Court decision.

An Appeal to Auto Workers Union from Michigan SWP

(The following is reprinted from the Michigan Socialist Voice, a campaign folder, issued by the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit. It was distributed to delegates at a special United Auto Workers' conference, held Sept. 15, to decide 1956 election policy. The UAW conference voted to support the Democratic ticket. The SWP in Michigan is running Rita Shaw for Governor in addition to Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the party's presidential slate. Campaign Headquarters are located at 8737 Woodward, Detroit 1. Phone: Temple 1-6135.)

Your leaders have called you to Detroit to get you to endorse the Democratic national ticket this year. But why should you? In recent years the Democrats have been moving steadily to the right. In 1948 the Dixiecrats walked out of their party, and in 1952 many of them bolted to Eisenhower. In 1956 they are satisfied with both the candidate and the platform, and for good reason. They got what they wanted at the national convention—a "moderate" candidate and assur-

Reuther Should Answer These

At the UAW Education Conference on April 24, Walter Reuther said: "If they (the Democrats) . . . take the easy way of compromise and convenience, then I say . . . they will have no moral right to win and they will not win. I believe we ought to say to the Democratic Party . . . that in 1956 you've got to make a choice—you cannot have Mr. Eastland and have us at the same time." On May 12 at the ADA convention, Reuther attacked the "moderation" policy Stevenson stands for and said: "If the Democratic Party attempts to compromise the civil rights question to try to hold all of those incompatible elements together, then it does not deserve the support of the American people."

ence that a Democratic victory in November will change nothing fundamental. They can live with Stevenson. They will still control Congress and be able to block all progressive bills.

CIVIL RIGHTS SELLOUT

A few months ago Walter Reuther was saying the Democrats have no right to win if they compromise on civil rights (see quotations in box). Well, the Democrats did compromise, or more exactly, they knuckled down to the white supremacists. What ever fancy arguments Reuther uses now, can you honestly claim that the perpetrators of this sell-out deserve the support of the American people?

Reuther also said the Democrats this year must make a choice—between Eastland and us

(the UAW). They chose Eastland. Are you now going to become party comrades with this enemy of labor and Negro rights?

You will be told, "True, the civil rights plank is bad, but there are some good planks. For example, the Democrats favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act." But that's just window-dressing. The Democrats advocated T-H repeal in both 1948 and 1952. But what did they DO about it? During the last eight years they controlled both houses of Congress for six years, and the White House for four. But they didn't repeal T-H, and they have no intention of doing so if elected this year. They'd rather talk about it than actually repeal the act.

The things you want—higher living standards, shorter hours, full employment, an end to the cold war, enforcement of civil rights and civil liberties for all—will not be won through the Democratic Party. They will be won only when you break with the two-party system and form an independent labor party.

Labor is already strong enough to do this. Sixteen million union members, their families and allies among the working farmers and Negro people can, as an independent party, vote out the big business stooges of both old parties and elect their own representatives to office.

It can be done. Those who say it can't are like the people who used to say that the mass production industries could never be unionized.

The time to begin is now. The sooner you break with the Democrats, the sooner you will become the majority party. A labor party may not win its first election, but labor will be better off with 50 of its own people in Congress than with 500 Democrats who will not represent it.

It's not true that labor would lose all influence by running its own candidates. The Dixiecrats get concessions from the Democrats because they threaten to walk out. Your leaders get few or no real concessions because the Democratic bosses feel they have your votes in the bag, whatever they do. Your political influence will grow enormously when you form your own party; in addition, you will be laying the basis for the day when the workers will govern this country and not have to beg anyone for concessions.

If you agree with these views, you ought to express opposition to endorsing the Democrats and speak up for a labor party. At the polls this year you can express that desire by voting for the Socialist Workers Party, the only party in this campaign whose candidates stand for a labor party and a fundamental reorganization of American life through working class action.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX

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NUMBER 40

Packinghouse Unions Strike Swift & Co. -- 25,000 Out

Brief Enforcement of Law



Two of eight Negro students leave school at Sturgis, Ky. under escort of National Guard. After a week-long boycott by white students, the board of education bowed to racists and barred the Negro students, Sept. 18. An opinion of the state's Attorney General paved the way for the move.

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Sept. 20 — Approximately 25,000 Swift & Co. workers struck 42 Swift packing plants across the nation today as all of the meatpacking companies refused to make any fair wage offers. Although contracts with all the

meatpackers have expired, the leaders of the two big meat unions — the United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO — have chosen to strike only the Swift chain.

Offers by the companies are all very similar. They are demanding a three year contract with no wage reopeners. This will tie the hands of the union in the next period in which a drop in meat production is forecast and a rapid mechanization and job-eliminating will begin.

On the eve of the strike Swift made the best offer of a 22 cent wage increase over a three year period. The company has refused to make a single offer on such major items as the union shop, guaranteed wage, shorter work week and severance pay. At the same time they are demanding the union give up clothes changing time and the first week of sick benefits during which 80% of the benefits are paid.

Last year the packers gave a

14c wage increase. In the first half of last year Swift & Co. made 8 million dollars in profits and figures released show that for the first half of this year they have already made 21 million dollars. In face of such swollen profits and the fact that the steel workers got a 45c package increase in a three year contract, Swift's offer is outrageous.

Union strike strategy to conduct a "one-at-a-time" strike against Swift is based on the assumption that the other packers, particularly Armour, will produce at top capacity and take away Swift's markets. This the union leaders claim will force Swift to save its customers by granting the union's demands, after which the other packers will quickly follow Swift's example.

This is the first time this kind of a strike has been tried in the packing industry. Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers, has tried it in the highly competitive automobile industry and it has not proven effective.

Among the Armour workers, traditionally more militant than the Swift workers, there is much doubt about the effectiveness of such strike strategy. If the strike proves to be a long one, they hope that they will be on the picket line also before they have filled Armour's coolers with plenty of cheap meat and the company is in a position to hang tough.

There are a number of serious arguments against striking only Swift & Co. First, it is doubtful that Armour nor any other packer is going to cooperate with the union in order to cut its own throat. Armour knows perfectly well that any settlement Swift makes because of competitive pressure, Armour will also have to make. Why should they force Swift to give more when they will have to give it also?

PACKERS ORGANIZED

Secondly, the meatpackers have a union, too — The American Meat Institute. This is the first time each company has had to negotiate with representatives of both unions at the same time and the individual offers made by each company, with minor variations, have been strikingly similar. The packers understand that to beat a united force, they must unite also.

One can certainly question how much real competition exists among the packers. If there was

real sharp competition how could they buy pork for 15-17c per pound and sell it for 60-90c a pound?

Again, Swift & Co. may very well take a list of their customers to Armour & Co. and ask Armour to fill the orders while they fight the union's demands. Another possibility, which appears more likely at this writing, is that Armour and the other packers will just fill their own order and let Swift's customers sit tight. It appears that Swift does not intend to try to produce at all. After the foremen have cleaned up the plant they intend to leave. Swift can certainly afford to leave the market altogether and sit tight for many months.

Then, with the packing plants clustered around the stockyards forming an integral production center, it is impossible to effectively picket one plant. In South St. Paul, for instance, Armour and Swift lie right next to each other with the railroad lines into Armour running right through Swift's plant.

PICKET LINE CONFUSION

The only way the Swift plant can be picketed and the Armour plant permitted to work is by letting the Armour workers go through two picket lines. In the morning and night the traffic is so heavy that the union has put sticker passes on the cars of the Armour workers and personnel. Once through either picket line, anyone can go directly into the Swift plant. Even watching hundreds of cars passing through these lines daily is demoralizing.

The first weeks of the strike, the Swift workers will receive their own checks and then some union benefits. But when these benefits run out, the Swift workers will be faced with losing their homes, cars and appliances. The "one-at-a-time" policy will then certainly come up for re-examination in the ranks.

One problem long facing the packinghouse workers may well be resolved by the strike. Swift & Co. has been the most poorly organized packing chain due to the existence of a number of Swift plants in an independent union, the Swift Brotherhood. If Swift & Co. has decided to do away with unionism, the Brotherhood will be forced to stand up and be counted.

In any case the meat companies will certainly pay for this strike with a much increased class, consciousness and militancy by the union membership.

Bus Boycott Attorney Wins Draft Deferment

SEPTEMBER 25 — According to protests, Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey last week ordered an indefinite draft deferment for Fred D. Gray, the militant

young attorney for the Montgomery Improvement Association in its nine-month Jim Crow bus protest movement.

Gray, who had been deferred as a practicing minister, had his deferment yanked suddenly by his local draft board last February as he filed suit to compel the City of Montgomery to abandon its Jim Crow travel regulations. During the suit he was the target of an attempted legal frame-up so crude that it could not stand up even in an Alabama court. Gray's court action at that time resulted in a Federal court ruling that Montgomery bus segregation was illegal. That decision is now on appeal to the Supreme Court.

RACIST REPRISAL

Gray, one of the two Negro attorneys in Montgomery, is also a practicing minister in one of the local churches. When he became prominent in the anti-Jim Crow movement, his draft board decided that he was no longer entitled to deferment as a part-time minister since his legal activities were taking up so much of his time. Gray has not relinquished his church duties.

Gray was slated for induction Aug. 16 but won a 30-day-stay of induction on appeal to Washington, although the Presidential Appeals Board at that time rejected his appeal for reclassification. After Gray's draft board ignored two directives from Hershey to re-open his case, Hershey finally ordered,

that Gray be restored to his proper deferred status.

The Alabama racists who tried to railroad Gray into the Army are now howling mad at his victory and are trying to force a reversal. A draft appeals agent, A. L. Turner of Gresham County, has resigned in protest against the deferment, asserting that Hershey was wrecking the draft system.

In addition three members of Gray's local board, three county appeals agent, a state appeals board member and the entire board in Barbour County have all resigned in protest. In Bullock County the draft board has asserted that it will not call up any of its registrants for induction "until Gray is drafted."

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