



Weiss in Tallahassee Blasts Jim-Crow Trial

Fighting SWP Candidates On Southern Battlefront

An Editorial

We are proud that Myra Tanner Weiss, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President, is in Tallahassee, Fla., covering the trial of the Inter-Civic Council leaders as a reporter for this paper. Mrs. Weiss, who is a member of our editorial staff, was released from her duties when the election campaign opened. But she volunteered to add to her heavy campaign schedule in order to report this important trial.

In doing so, Myra Weiss is acting in the very best tradition of a fighting socialist campaigner. Full support to the Negro people in their great battle for civil rights is a central plank in the SWP platform. But for socialist campaigners, a platform assumes flesh and blood when it is backed up by action. The presence of the SWP Vice-Presidential candidate in the press box of the Tallahassee courtroom constitutes such an action.

Myra Weiss is doing more than reporting the important story of what happens in the trial. She is making a demonstration of full solidarity with the Negro people of Tallahassee who are fighting for their rights in that courtroom against the administrators of white-supremacist "justice."

The value of such an action was demonstrated by SWP Presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs, when he went to Montgomery, Ala., last spring to report the trial of the leaders of the anti-Jim-Crow bus protest movement. While in Montgomery, Dobbs utilized every available avenue of publicity (press, radio and TV interviews) to proclaim the justice of the cause of the protest movement, to declare his solidarity and to appeal for support from the white workers. After leaving Montgomery, Dobbs toured key Northern cities to rally support for the Montgomery movement and played a significant role in sparking the successful "sta-

tion wagons for Montgomery" drive.

Today the Tallahassee movement needs help. The labor and Negro movements are obligated to extend that help because their own rights are also at stake in the Tallahassee courtroom. Last week Dobbs appealed to the National Union Civil Rights Committee of AFL-CIO unions for financial aid to the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council. Both he and Myra Tanner Weiss will follow up that appeal by using the national forum of the election campaign to drive home the need for labor to get behind the embattled Tallahassee movement. We urge our readers to lend their full support to these efforts.

Foil Insurance Maneuver to Halt Car Pool in Montgomery Boycott

After more than ten months, the 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama are still solid in their boycott of segregated buses. Their organization, the Montgomery Improvement Association, is still intact, and their car pool is still operating at 100% effectiveness.

Some of the racist blows they have had to meet in order to continue their protest include: the bombing of the homes of three of their leaders; a "get tough" policy by city officials which resulted in hundreds of traffic tickets and at least sixty-four arrests and jailings against car-pool drivers; the arrest of about 100 active participants in the protest under an anti-labor law and the conviction under this law of MIA president Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.; an attempt to disbar one of their attorneys, 25-year-old Fred D. Grey; an attempt by the local draft board to draft Grey (who is also a practicing minister) because of his protest activities; a series of "accidents" between car-pool autos and cars driven by city detectives.

Recently, the MIA blocked the latest blow — cancellation of insurance on car-pool autos — by purchase of insurance from Lloyds of London. As a result of the Montgomery protest, the present session of the United States Supreme Court is expected to rule on the constitutionality of bus segregation.

SWP Vice-Presidential Nominee Reports from Bus Case Court Room

By Myra Tanner Weiss

**Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-President
TALLAHASSEE, FLA., Oct. 17** — Today the trial of 21 Negroes began in this city. Their "crime"? They refused any longer to be humiliated and insulted daily on the city buses. They proclaimed they would rather walk than suffer indignities. They organized a car pool to make their boycott of Jim Crow buses more effective.

The City of Tallahassee accuses these men and women of operating a transport system without a license. But that is a pretext. The real charge leveled by white supremacists against the 21 is the complete solidarity they, together with the rest of the Negro community here, have displayed against segregated buses.

The real issue in the trial—segregation—was quite apparent on the first glimpse of the courtroom. On one side every seat was taken, all the aisles were filled with people standing. The other side of the courtroom, reserved for whites, was nearly empty.

When Judge John A. Radd, opened the trial, he invited all present to stay, expressing pleasure in the "popular interest in the proceedings." But he didn't invite anyone to sit down in the empty chairs over on the white side.

The chairs and benches on that side remained unoccupied all day, while many Negro men and women had to stand throughout the long proceedings. That is the kind of indignity the Negro people in Tallahassee decided to end when they launched their boycott of Jim-Crow buses last May.

The first witness called today by Prosecutor Mark R. Hawes was the General Manager of the Cities Transit Bus Co., Charles L. Carter. The financial records of the company were put in evidence. These revealed that the bus company had an average monthly income of over \$15,000 from September 1954 through May 1956.

Then, in May, the boycott be-



MYRA TANNER WEISS

gan. Carter testified that between June and September monthly revenues fell to \$4,000. Revenue from a predominantly Negro route dropped from \$180 a day to \$18 a day after the boycott started.

WEIRD TESTIMONY

The company increased fares and launched a publicity campaign to get people to ride buses. This included free rides and free refreshments. The company, however, was unable to recover its losses. The slogan of the boycotters, "We would rather walk in dignity than ride in humiliation," remained the guide to action in the Negro community.

The afternoon session of the trial today was taken up with the testimony of the prosecution's second witness, Sgt. R. J. Strickland of the Tallahassee Police Department. His testimony makes one of the strangest court records imaginable.

For several hours Sgt. Strickland related how one or another defendant had stopped on a street corner and picked up one or more persons and driven west, then north, and so on. Thus, one defendant was allegedly observed on the morning of Aug. 30, picking up a passenger at 7:18 A.M. He then turned north and proceeded two blocks, Strickland reported. At 7:36 he was apprehended.

Such activities could seriously be cited as crimes may sound incredible. What was really significant about Sgt. Strickland's testimony is what it told about the activities of the cops.

The city police force, it turns out, was deployed to track people down who didn't ride the buses and to report on who walked and who rode and with whom. Drivers and passengers were picked up and asked to fill out mimeographed questionnaires about how they traveled to and from work. And the cops engaged in still other types of harassment in an effort to try to make people ride the buses.

The trial of the 21 on the charge of operating a business without a license is only another form of harassment. As Defense Attorney Francisco A. Rodriguez pointed out (he is the first Negro lawyer ever to try a case in the city's courts), there is not the slightest basis for the charge.

The 21 are not operating a business, because the car pool is not run for profit. Individuals are volunteering their cars and offering rides free of charge. Rodriguez asked that the case be thrown out of court as having no valid basis and asked that the prosecution's "evidence" be thrown out as irrelevant. But

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Block SWP's Legal Attempts To Regain N. Y. Ballot Rights

By George Lavan

The thoroughness of the Democratic machine's conspiracy to purge all minor parties from the New York ballot became evident this week when it was revealed that the Socialist Workers Party could not even take its fight for its place on the ballot into the courts.

By legal trickery and abuse of his power as New York Secretary of State, Tammany boss Carmine De Sapio has not only deprived the SWP of its rightful place on the ballot but has prevented the SWP from appealing his outrageous ruling to the courts.

The following chronology is necessary to make De Sapio's double-dealing plain.

The period for filing independent nominating petitions is Sept. 7 to Sept. 14. The SWP filed its petitions on Sept. 7, the first day. An objection to the SWP petitions ostensibly by an "independent" citizen, in actuality by De Sapio's Democratic machine, was filed on Sept. 10.

FRAUD PROVED

The SWP was not notified that objection to its petitions had been filed. Specifications of the grounds of the objection were filed on Sept. 19. Only on Sept. 20 did De Sapio, for the first time, notify the SWP that its position on the ballot was being challenged. A hearing on the challenge was set for Oct. 3 and 4.

Despite proof advanced at this hearing that the objections to both the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Labor Party petitions were permeated with



FARRELL DOBBS

fraud and had been cooked up by Democratic politicians, some of whom had abused their positions as County Election Commissioners in the process, De Sapio's one-man hearing board ruled the two minor parties off the New York ballot.

Seeking to reverse this unjust ruling in the courts, SWP attorneys discovered that the hearing date had been set so that it fell outside the legal time limit in which an appeal to the State Supreme Court can be made.

Paragraph 1, Section 330, Article 14, Chapter 17 of the New York Consolidated Laws, which provides for an aggrieved candidate appealing a decision of the Secretary of State to the N. Y. Supreme Court, says: "a proceeding under this subdivision

must be instituted within 14 days after the last day to file petitions."

The last day to file petitions was Sept. 14, 1956. Fourteen days later was Sept. 28. De Sapio scheduled the ballot hearings for Oct. 3 and 4. In other words he scheduled them after the last date to appeal to the courts.

WRITE-IN VOTE

The SWP sought to prove the validity of their petitions at the administrative hearing scheduled by the Secretary of State. If it had gone into court without this step, De Sapio's department would have argued that the SWP had not sought the administrative remedy provided by the Department of State. Having sought administrative remedy, the SWP has now been foreclosed from appealing the adverse administrative decision to the courts. De Sapio had set up a typical Tammany heads-I-win, tails-you-lose deal.

Unable to fight this perversion of the free ballot in the courts, the SWP is calling for a write-in vote in New York. This is the only available way to accomplish what the Democratic machine is so dishonestly trying to prevent — a substantial protest vote by workers and the Negro people. On Nov. 6, New Yorkers can vote for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the SWP presidential candidates, and for Joyce Cowley, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, by writing their names on the ballot. (See below for explanation of how write-in votes may be cast in New York.)

Joyce Cowley Explains Truth About Socialism on ABC-TV

The following are excerpts from a transcription of a TV press conference with Joyce Cowley, candidate for U.S. Senator from New York on the Socialist Workers ticket, as presented over station WABC on Sunday, Oct. 14. Those interviewing her were John MacVane, Cecil Brown and George Hamilton Coombs. All three are ABC commentators.

Q. Miss Cowley, can I ask you, why do you think there would be a conspiracy to keep you off the ballot?

A. Because the Democrats are worried about New York state. They feel it's a state in which there will be a close election and they are worried about the fact that the ALP—American Labor Party—is not on the ballot this year, and they don't know where those votes will go. There were 50,000. They are afraid that we will pick up a sizeable vote for a minority party and that this would influence certain decisions in New York State.

Q. Miss C., you say that you don't advocate violent revolution, except that you are a Trotskyite party, aren't you? And Trotsky did advocate violent revolution to establish the type of government that he and you presumably want.

A. Our party is actually a combination of the original Trotskyist organization which broke with the Communist Party in the United States, and the left wing of the Socialist Party. We organized the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. Now we do not say that violent revolution is a desirable way to effect social change. On the contrary, we advocate the formation of a labor

party based on the unions and with the support of the Negro masses and the working farmers. We say that this party can overcome these restrictions on the ballot, and we will have an opportunity to achieve our success democratically with the support of the majority of the people.

Q. I've been reading your literature here, and after all you quote Leon Trotsky as saying the only way out is the world socialist revolution, or else civilization will relapse into barbarism. There are other arguments of Trotsky which you believe in, certainly, which show that the Trotsky party does support the use of force.

A. The question involves your definition of the word revolution. If we transform society in America and set up a Socialist state, that's a revolution, whether it has been achieved by the ballot or any other means. It's a revolutionary change in human society. On the other hand, there have been cases—a number of them in history—where the legally elected government of the country was attacked by forces that wanted to combat the majority of the people in expressing their will and establishing the kind of government they wanted.

For instance, in Spain, Franco



JOYCE COWLEY

attacked the legally elected government of Spain. We certainly think that such a government has the right to defend itself. Another example would be in our own country, in the Civil War, which we also characterize as a revolutionary struggle. The Union was attacked in the sense that the Southern states seceded and did not acknowledge the legally elected government of the country. We certainly would have supported the North in such a conflict.

Q. Miss Cowley, according to

your booklet here, you condemn the AFL and CIO because you think they are in a conspiracy with management to preserve the capitalist system. Is that your actual opinion?

A. No, it is not—this is the role of the labor bureaucracy and we don't consider that this applies to the 15 million members.

Q. Then you think that George Meany and Walter Reuther and so on don't really represent the labor movement in the United States.

A. That's right. We don't think that they correctly fight for the interests of the workers. We want to build up a left-wing leadership in those unions to fight for a labor party. We particularly feel that these labor leaders are betraying the workers in supporting the Democratic machine, saying that this is a way out for the working class.

DEMOCRATS AND GOP

Q. Miss Cowley, do you think the Republican and Democratic parties represent the will of the American people?

A. No, I don't. I don't think they have an opportunity to express their will in elections where minority parties are kept off the ballot. Do you know it's the first time since 1840 there hasn't been a minority party on the ballot in New York State?

Q. You're enough of a realist to know you aren't going any

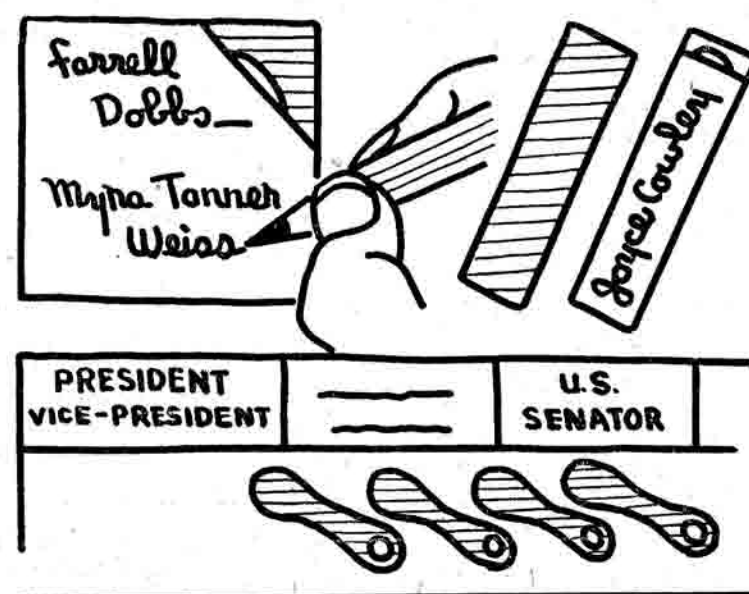
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HOW TO WRITE IN VOTES FOR THE SWP

This is how to cast a write-in vote in New York State.

For President and Vice-President, lift up the sliding panel covering an approximate two-inch square in the far upper left corner of the voting machine. In the area exposed write the full names of the candidates, "Farrell Dobbs" and "Myra Tanner Weiss." Then find the listing for U. S. Senator to the right. Locate the slot directly above this listing and slide up its covering panel. In the exposed area, write "Joyce Cowley." It is necessary to write the full name and spell it correctly in all cases.

Do not touch the levers. These are for the candidates whose names are printed on the ballot.



Hallinan Explains Views on SWP

Following is the full text of a letter from Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party. Mr. Hallinan sent copies of his letter to other publications, including the Daily Worker and the People's World. These papers carried stories with brief quotations from Hallinan's letter which gave a one-sided version of it. The views contained in this letter obviously transcend the immediate question of the elections and have bearing on the entire problem of a socialist regroupment in the U.S. We invite all our readers to submit their views and comments on this question. — Ed.

Gentlemen:

The publication in the DAILY WORKER of my views on the coming presidential election has aroused considerable comment. Particularly my endorsement of the candidacy of Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers Party's nominee, has evoked both praise and criticism. I think it proper, at this time, to offer you some suggestions which I am forwarding also to other publications in which this endorsement has been discussed.

It is my belief that there is no substantial difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties and that the determination of which of them is the worse is not even of academic importance. In this situation I believe that the Left forces in the United States should use the national election as a platform from which to educate the American people to turn to a socialist solution of the crises which are rapidly developing. I also believe that a substantial vote for the left-wing parties would give encouragement to the socialist movement in this country and would aid in developing a sympathetic consideration of socialist principles.

RE-APPRAISE ROLE

The approach of the Socialist Workers Party to other progressive groups is correct, both in principle and tactics. If this party is to poll a substantial vote, it must rely upon the left-wing political groups who have no candidates of their own, such as the Progressive and Communist Parties. Therefore, it must win over the support of the individuals affiliated with these parties.

Under the circumstances, it behooves the Socialist Workers Party to make a new appraisal of its role in the national picture. It has a national ticket; it offers a vehicle for the expression of political convictions. While it is highly improbable that its candidates will be elected, at least theoretically they

are asking the voters to place them in the highest positions of power in the United States as the leaders and representatives of all the people of the country. The people of the country are widely divided upon many vital issues. It is quite impossible to find substantial conformity upon more than one or two. Yet, as a political party, the SWP must endeavor, by political means, to persuade the people to act in a desired direction. Obviously, this must take into consideration the biases, prejudices, stupidities and follies as well as the just and generous impulses of those whose aid is sought to be enlisted.

It is necessary, then, to find areas of agreement among conflicting groups and to ignore or waive, for the time being, the areas of difference. The correctness of such procedure is, apparently, recognized by the MILITANT. In the first issue in which it discussed my endorsement of its candidates, it printed an editorial describing what it called my "principled action." In this editorial it stated that certain differences existed between me and the SWP but that, as an honest person who subscribed to the main planks of its platform and who was dedicated to socialism, I could not but support this Party as against the two major political organizations.

But having made this correct observation, the MILITANT has failed to follow the logical path inherent in it. This letter is designed to point out some failures in that behalf and to suggest their correction.

The MILITANT has published an invitation to the members of the Communist Party to support its candidates in this election. Apparently, in the past, there have been bitterness and animosities between these two parties. These are exposed in the discussions which each make of the other in their respective publications. At this moment, I see no useful purpose in arguing such position with the Communist Party. They have no

Hallinan After Witch-Hunt Imprisonment



Vincent Hallinan (center) shown when he began his 1952 national campaign tour in San Francisco as Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party on the theme of, "End the Korean War Now." The tour began a few days after lawyer Hallinan ended a prison term for "contempt of court" arising from uncompromising defense of ILWU leader Harry Bridges. Picture shows Hallinan after leaving prison greeted with shamrocks and flowers by representatives of a 500-strong delegation. With him are James McDaniel (l.), then King county (Seattle) Progressive Party chairman and PP secy. C. B. Baldwin.

candidates in the field and the political initiative is with the SWP. This is no time for it to engage in a collateral contest with another left-wing party. It must determine what is the enemy against whom it is engaged and concentrate its assault upon it.

Fundamentally, and on a broad basis, the conflict now dividing the world is one between the public and private ownership of the means and instruments of production and distribution. An analysis of other issues will persuade one that they will resolve themselves upon a solution of this primary conflict. In this country, the public ownership forces are small and without adequate resources. The champions of private ownership embrace every vested interest in the country, all the media of mass communication, and the tremendous repressive machinery of Government. Here are the elements against which the struggle must be waged.

I accept that the SWP is sincere in its support of the principles contained in its platform. Then it must recognize that its enemy is not the Communist Party, the Progressive Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party, nor the past or present Governments of the Soviet Union. For many years, England was permitted to govern Ireland by opposing Catholics to Protestants, and to govern India by opposing Hindus to Mohammedans. Similar folly prevents the left-wing forces in the United States from cooperation. Its present position presents the SWP with an opportunity to heal some of these breaches and, from a loftier position, to work for union rather than for the continued division of the Left. This appeared to be the atmosphere in which the SWP intended to operate.

It did approach progressive forces and invite their assistance. I fear that the method of approach negatives any advantage obtainable from it. In a letter to the Communist Party National Conference urging the endorsement of the SWP candidates, the Communist Party is "fraternally" advised that (1) it is in effect endorsing the policy of top labor officialdom in keeping the working class tied to the Democratic Big Business Party in violation of basic socialist principles and that such support renounces the struggle for socialism; (2) that crossing class lines in politics leads to betrayal of the interest of the working class; and (3) that party coalition is a betrayal of the

socialist aspirations of numerous radical workers, including Communist Party members, and of the interests of the American working class as a whole.

The Socialist Party is "fraternally" denounced as socialist in name only and of being guilty of crass violations of socialist principles. The Socialist Labor Party is dismissed as refusing to participate in the world revolutionary movement. In his acceptance speech, Farrell Dobbs dismissed the Progressive Party as just another capitalist party and stated correctly that although it had been formed on an anti-war basis, its leader, Henry Wallace, supported the Government in the Korean war. Fairness would have compelled him to add that not a single Progressive Party member supported Wallace in that position and that the Progressive Party invited its political death by permitting him to walk out of it.

Returning to the MILITANT's praise of my "principled action" and taking the Communist Party alone, let me ask: Does not that party advocate socialism? Is it not opposed to war, racial discrimination, the exploitation of man by man—for friendly relations with China, the Soviet Union and the other nations of the earth? Is it not opposed to pressure upon Egypt with relation to the Suez Canal? Is it not anti-colonial and anti-imperialist? Are there not, among the foregoing, areas upon which these parties can cooperate? That the DAILY WORKER has published letters from its subscribers describing the SWP in the most invidious terms or that, in the past, hatreds were generated between these two parties is no reason for a continuation of them, or at least, is no reason why they should not be forgotten for the purposes of the coming election.

As a matter of fact, the publication of insulting statements by one or the other is only a sad reflection upon the manner in which the Left in this country has allowed itself to be torn and divided and to waste its energies in such conflicts. We are reminded of the perils which the Earl of Dundee faced when leading the Scotch against the English when he would discover, as authentic history narrates, that in the midst of a battle, his left flank had fired upon his center in revenge for a wrong committed 200 years before.

Gibbon narrates the conflict between the Christians of the 5th century which erupted into riots in which thousands were killed. The conflicts arose from the argument as to whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son through a process designated as "Homousion" or through that known as "Homoiousion." We are unable to learn from the most eminent of those who care to devote themselves to such concerns just what the distinction was, I feel that the liberal people of the United States are now concerned with very grim and practical problems, and not whether a par-

ticular political party derived from the Father or the Son.

FOR CHARITABLE TONE

A political party should endeavor to promote its ends by political means. Such means involve a conciliatory and charitable approach toward those whom it may persuade to support its policies. It specifically excludes a revanchist attitude. It has been said that revenge is a luxury which few can afford. It can have no place in a political party's armament. If in the past it has been in the right and somebody else in the wrong, it will

not enlist recruits from that other by crowing, rubbing salt in wounds, or saying "I told you so."

It should also remember Macaulay's axiom that "Compromise is the soul of politics." I would like to express some thought upon another facet of this matter: the right to differ in opinion is a fundamental one. I claim no especial sagacity or prescience. I do not consider myself affronted if my opinions are completely rejected. In its issue of October 1, the MILITANT published an article concerning a criticism of my position by Alan Max in the DAILY WORKER. The article described Max's statement as "a hatchet job on Hallinan."

In my opinion, his statement was a very reasonable and moderate one, and certainly not a "hatchet job." I have no quarrel with the Communist Party; I admire and respect it and my relations with it have always been cordial. I emphatically extend it the right to differ with me, as I reserve the right to differ with it. The world has suffered much from those who believed that they were entrusted with the true faith and that anyone who refused to accept it from them deserved what ill they could inflict on him.

I hope that it will not be considered that I have undertaken to lecture the SWP or the MILITANT. I stand, of course, upon my endorsement of Farrell Dobbs. I again urge progressive people to vote for him. If they have anything against the SWP or Mr. Dobbs, then I urge them to vote for Mr. Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party, or for Mr. Darlington Hoops of the Socialist Party.

I also suggest that it would be useful if each of the small parties which has assumed the tremendous and crushing burden of opposing the McCarthyite forces in this country would cause to be engraved and placed in each of its meeting places a copy of Oliver Cromwell's apothegm to the English Parliament: "I beseech you, by the bowels of Christ, to conceive that you may possibly be wrong!"

Sincerely yours,
Vincent Hallinan

Debate in Los Angeles On Socialist Unification

LOS ANGELES, October 12—Nearly 500 people attended a debate between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party on "America's Road to Socialism" at the Embassy Auditorium here to-night.

This was the first public meeting of its kind in Los Angeles for many years. Dorothy Healey, one of California's Smith Act victims and CP County Chairman, called for an end to the "historic split" between the Communist and Socialist parties because of immense changes in the world situation and in the United States. Among the latter she cited the greater political consciousness of the merged labor movement, the militancy of the Negro freedom struggle, and the setback to McCarthyism by the civil liberties forces.

She acknowledged that the Communist Party was in deep crisis but stated that the entire left was in similar crisis because "of their common isolation from the masses." The road to socialism and its outcome was necessarily different for each country.

She made it plain that for the U. S. Communist Party that road now runs through the Democratic Party. Polemicizing against all those who refused to support capitalist candidates in the present elections, the CP spokesman declared: "Until the working class is through with Stevenson, I won't be through with him and you shouldn't be either!"

Charles Curtis of the Socialist Party State Committee stated that the nature of the Russian regime couldn't be excluded from such a debate because the crimes of Stalinism repelled the American workers and thereby impeded the struggle for socialism in the United States. The road to socialism had to lead through unrestricted democracy and had nothing in common either with the totalitarian dictatorship of the Stalinists or the proletarian dictatorship referred to by Marx. However, he failed to answer Dorothy Healey's criticism that the endorsement of the screening of government workers in the SP platform was far from democratic.

Curtis called for liberation of political prisoners within the Soviet Union and rejected unity of action with the U. S. Communist Party until it "had first washed its hands" and protested against slave-labor camps and other wrongs within the Stalinist dominated countries.

The Los Angeles local of the

British CP Leaders Ban Publication

Radical-minded American workers will be interested to learn that a group of prominent British Communist Party members have issued a public discussion bulletin

called, The Reasoner. In their first issue, published in July 1956, the editors say, "Our first aim is to provide a new forum for the far-reaching discussions at present going on within and close to the Communist Party—on questions of fundamental principle, aim, and strategy."

The opening statement of the Reasoner further declares, "We believe that the self-imposed restrictions upon controversy, the 'guiding' of discussions along approved lines, the actual suppression of sharp criticism—all these have led to a gradual blurring of theoretical clarity... A crisis demands crisis measures. It is now clear to all that the fullest discussion is a necessity. It should also be clear that theoretical clarity can never be won unless disagreements are brought to the point of written expression."

STATEMENT ON BAN

In the second issue of The Reasoner, published in September 1956, the editors announce that they have been requested to cease publication by the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party, and issue the following statement:

"This number of The Reasoner was already printed when we received the resolution of the E. C. of the Communist Party (Sept. 9) calling on us to cease publication."

"We wish to make it clear that we have at all times been willing to find a solution to the problem of our unofficial publication, provided that this gave effective guarantees that means will be found whereby minority views in the Communist Party can be fully posed, developed and sustained; and whereby full and frank discussion, of the type to be found in this number of The Reasoner, can continue. In our view the present facilities in the official press are quite inadequate to meet this crisis in Communist theory; and the editorial control is not such as to give confidence that minority rights can be safeguarded."

"Up to this time the leadership of the Party has refused to enter into any discussion with us on the various proposals which we have made, nor have they offered any compromise on their behalf. We are confident that if the leadership will suggest means by which full and frank discussion can continue, and minority rights be safeguarded, a solution can be found which will end the present danger of dissension."

"We, on our behalf, are—and always have been—willing to give way to an official discussion journal (with certain obvious safeguards) and would be glad to discuss turning the Reasoner outwards, to fight the intellectual battles for Socialism among the people in the manner of the old Left Review, with a broader and more representative editorial board."

"After studying the statement of the E. C. which is to appear in World News we will be willing to submit further information, and answers to specific questions, to any branch or committee of the Communist Party."

"Finally, we wish to make clear two points. 1) None of the contributors to this number are in any way committed to the above statement. 2) We state categorically that we were not responsible—directly or indirectly—for releasing information dis-

closed in a Tribune (Bevanite paper) report of last week.—J. S. & E. P. T."

The editors of The Reasoner have not put forward any fully developed point of view on the issues under discussion. Their primary concern at this time seems to be with the necessity for a free, full and frank discussion as a prerequisite for the solution of the crisis in the Communist movement.

On the nature of the discussion, the editors say, "It must be honest: it must cross party barriers. How the discussion shall be conducted, the personal position of the editors, the continued existence of The Reasoner as an unofficial publication—all these are secondary questions."

A wide range of views are published in the two issues that have come out. Explaining why a letter from a non-party member, Lawrence Daly, is published in the September issue, the editors point out, "Until recently [Lawrence Daly] was a member of the Scottish District Committee of the Communist Party, who has recently resigned his membership... We regret his decision. But it is possible to consider realistically the problems of recruiting... questions of unity, etc., if we are unwilling to receive and reply to the arguments of responsible Communists who have left the party on political grounds?"

THE "STALIN BUSINESS"

In answer to those who want to drop the discussion on "the Stalin business," the editors state, "But 'the Stalin business' is here to stay. It will not be forgotten next year nor in ten years time. At the worst, the capitalist class will see to that. Nor will Communists, in ten years time, be able to look with indifference upon those aspects of the history of the first Socialist revolution which destroyed—by torture, death, and slander—many of its own best sons. The 'business' is part of Socialist history; it forms a central experience to which Socialist theory must constantly return."

In a Note to our Readers, The Reasoner reports that "advertising space in the [London] Daily Worker has been refused to us, and we do not intend to advertise elsewhere. We rely on our readers, who know the importance of this discussion, to see that The Reasoner gets around." The Reasoner gives its mailing address as: J. Saville, 152 Westbourne Avenue, Hull, Yorkshire, England.

O'Connor Praises Campaign Of SWP at Chicago Meeting

CHICAGO, Oct. 15—Harvey O'Connor, author and National Chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, shared the platform with Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, at an election meeting at the SWP hall here, October 10.

Previous to the meeting Mr. O'Connor made the following statement in a letter to the Chicago office of the SWP: "May I compliment you and the Socialist Workers Party for the courage and vigor you are showing in the current presidential campaign. Certainly it is essential that socialist ideas be expressed now. I don't know Mr. Dobbs or Mrs. Weiss, and I am not familiar with your platform, but I wish you the best, as socialists fighting for the common good. I hope to be at your meeting early in October to hear Mr. Dobbs."

In his speech, O'Connor expressed this appreciation that Farrell Dobbs had presented a program for America and had not overlooked the question of the working farmers. "They are an important factor in American life," he said "and cannot be led around by the nose."

This underscored his opinion of a symposium held previously on October 5, at which representatives of several radical tendencies (not including the SWP) had, according to O'Connor, been "unduly fascinated" with problems outside this country to the point of forgetting about the business at hand, namely:

"What's next for the American Left?"

During the discussion period a question was put to Dobbs by a person who was attending her first SWP meeting and who had attended the October 5 symposium to which O'Connor had referred. She asked, "What is the reason for the dissimilarity within the Left and particularly for the division between the Communist Party and the SWP?"

In his answer, Farrell Dobbs traced the historical and programmatic differences between the parties of the left. He summed up with a proposal for active collaboration between all sections of the left in the carrying out of democratic tasks such as the common defense of civil liberties and civil rights.

He called for common efforts to advance the organization of the workers in their own organizations such as unions and Negro organizations. He also proposed a full and free discussion of all sections of the Left to facilitate a sober and objective examination of the questions of a working class program that would be basic to the growth of a mass socialist party in America.

To this answer the questioner responded: "I paid \$1.10 at the October 5th symposium and failed to get an answer to that question, but I did get it here."

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Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President

and
Clifford T. McAvoy

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Monday, October 22, 1956

The Issue of the H-Bomb Test

Why did Stevenson come out, Oct. 15, a few weeks before election day, with the proposal that the U.S. government "take the initiative" in stopping H-Bomb tests? The subject wasn't mentioned at the Chicago Democratic party convention. It wasn't included in the Democratic platform. It wasn't even whispered about in the campaign speeches of Stevenson and Kefauver up to now. What has changed? None of the scientific information Stevenson gave on his television program is new. Scientists throughout the world have been warning humanity about the harmful effects of these tests for many years. The Soviet Union has insistently proposed an agreement between the powers to end these tests. India has appealed to the U.S. to enter such an agreement. And tens of millions of people throughout the world have expressed a deep and overwhelming desire that the tests be ended.

The Socialist Workers Party has been fighting against the irresponsible nuclear maniacs of the Pentagon all along. It has demanded that the Soviet proposal to end the tests be accepted. For example, four months ago on June 16, Dorothy Schultz of Minneapolis, a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations to demand such a ban. She also demanded that the great issues of foreign and military policy be taken out of the hands of the generals and diplomats and submitted to referendum votes of the American people.

The SWP acted out of principle. But what prodded Stevenson into suddenly declaring this proposal to end H-Bomb tests to be the "main issue of the campaign?"

The Steve Nelson Decision

The Oct. 10 decision of the Supreme Court ordering a new trial for Communist Party leader Steve Nelson and his four co-defendants in the Pittsburgh Smith Act case is welcome news to every supporter of civil liberties. In ordering a new trial, the high court rejected a Justice Department motion to remand the case to the District Court to consider the evidence of its star witness, professional informer Joseph Mazzei. The court held that Mazzei's lurid testimony invalidated the conviction of the five completely.

The government's new concern with the credibility of its witnesses, and the court's decision, indicate that the witch hunt has receded to the point where prosecutor and judges are compelled to show concern for legal procedures.

CP's Ban on Debate with SWP

At the Oct. 12 debate between representatives of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party in Los Angeles, the question of the continuation of such debates arose, and it was proposed that they be broadened to include the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party. (See story, page two.) The spokesman for the Communist Party, Dorothy Healy, replied to this proposal during the question period:

"I am personally for such a debate. But a provision in our party constitution forbids it. A national referendum would be required to change that. This would split our party right down the middle. The discussion around the Trotskyists would take precedence over basic questions of policy now being discussed in our party. For that reason such a debate cannot be arranged now."

The logic underlying this explanation is somewhat faulty. The Communist Party has agreed that a free and full discussion within the Socialist movement, in which all tendencies would be represented, is necessary. It expressed this view immediately after the Khrushchev revelations made it crystal clear that the anti-Trotskyist purges in the Soviet Union were frame-ups, based on false confessions extracted through torture. A basic mistake made by the American Communist Party, according to all its spokesmen, was precisely that it had accepted these frame-ups and vilified all who dared to make a critical examination of them.

This acceptance of the Moscow Frame-Up Trials was the basis for the clause in the CP constitution that is referred to by Dorothy Healy.

It was the basis for the grave mistake made by the CP in refusing to support the SWP defendants in the first Smith Act trials in Minneapolis, 1941, and for urging

The Democratic Party strategists became convinced that mass opinion among workers, farmers and all strata of American people is powerfully concerned with the question of peace. Moreover, the propaganda of the Republican spokesmen to the effect that the Democrats are the "war party" has had its deep effect. The reason for this is that this charge is at least half the truth. (The other half is that the Republicans have shared joint responsibility in each of the wars for billionaire profits that were managed by Democratic administrations.)

Stevenson came out for an epd to nuclear tests, as his major campaign issue, in order to take the curse off the Democrats as war mongers.

But the American people are right in their apprehensions about the war plans of the Democrats. And they are also right in fearing the similar plans of the Republicans. The problem is that the working people are caught in the trap of the two party capitalist system. They are trying to determine what they can best do about the big issues — peace, civil rights, civil liberties, automation threat to jobs, etc., — within this system of choosing between two evils.

We say that the time has come to smash the political monopoly maintained by the two parties of American Big Business. The issue of peace is too urgent to be entrusted to the creatures of the corporate wealth and the brass hats. We say the American working people should build their own Labor Party and place it in power. When we have swept out the political hirelings of capitalism and installed a Workers and Farmers Government we will have no difficulty in coming to peace with the peoples of the world.

At issue in the Smith Act trials, however, is a double frameup. The persistent use of the false testimony of paid informers in the various Smith Act trials flows logically from the basic frameup of the act itself which twists the advocacy of ideas into "acts of force and violence."

Although the Supreme Court has, in its latest decisions, avoided review of the constitutionality of the Smith Act, the fact that it is now compelled to correct some of the more glaring injustices arising from the act's application demonstrates that mounting public civil liberties pressure is making itself felt. A new trial in the Nelson case should be the signal for a major protest against the Smith Act itself. Such organized protest is essential for the restoration of free thought, speech and assembly.

the government to prosecute the Trotskyists more vigorously.

It was also the basis for the CP's refusal to support the fight of the legless veteran, James Kutcher, who was fired from his government job, during the Truman witch hunt, for membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The clause "outlawing" discussion with Trotskyists was written into the CP constitution obviously as an integral part of the system of blind acceptance of Stalin's frame-ups. And now that these frame-ups have been exposed by Khrushchev himself, it is inconceivable that they should be used to prevent the free play of discussion among all the radical tendencies.

It should be noted that the CP leadership has explicitly declared that its attitude towards the civil liberties of the SWP defendants and James Kutcher was a serious mistake. And this was done without benefit of a national referendum and did not "split the party down the middle."

Actually the discussion between CP and SWP members is going on all the time in all parts of the country. The old barriers are breaking down. It is impossible to prevent such a discussion. Why not clear the air and eliminate all the old practices from the scene? Let's have done with outlawing opponent tendencies with prescriptions on what can be read, who can be talked to and who shall get the floor. The discussion is on. It must be deepened and carried through until all issues in dispute are clarified.

Let the workers then be the judge of who is wrong and who is right on the disputed questions. Let ideas tested by the actual class struggle have their free expression. This alone can assure the best outcome of the crisis within the radical movement.

Left Shift of British Labor Seen in Bevan's Win

By John White

BLACKPOOL, ENGLAND, Oct. 5.—Aneurin Bevan is now treasurer of the British Labor Party. His election was one of the most important events of the annual conference of the party which ended here today.

Its importance has, of course, absolutely nothing to do with the fact that the treasurer nominally administers the finances of the party. The treasurer is a member of the party's National Executive Committee. In his election the block vote of the trade union leadership is decisive. For two years Bevan has stood for the position (he was defeated last year), and the contest for the treasurership has been the focal point of the conflict between Bevanism and the right wing of the Labor Party. These are the things which give Bevan's election its significance.

LEFT TREND CONTINUES

His election measures the continuing movement to the left of the rank and file of the labor movement, which, this year, forced a section of the trade union leadership to cast their votes for him. The profound movement which first showed itself in the elections to the Executive Committee at the Morecambe Conference in 1952, has now resulted in a further shift in relationships at the top of the Labor Party.

Bevan now takes his place in the official leadership of the party in a far stronger position than when he left it in 1954 to campaign for the trade union vote against the nominee for



ANEURIN BEVAN

treasurer of the trade union right wing.

A few words on the structure of the National Executive Committee will perhaps make clearer the nature of the change. There are twenty seven elected members of the NEC. Twelve are elected by the trade unions—their leaderships wielding the votes of their members in block.

Seven members of the NEC are elected by the Constituency Labor Parties, the local organizations of the Labor Party. Five others, supposedly representing the women's section of the Labor Party, and the treasurer are elected by the combined votes of the Constituency Labor Parties and the trade unions. In such a combination, the block vote of the trade unions is decisive. The other two members of the NEC are the leader and deputy leader, elected by the Labor Members of Parliament.

At Morecambe, in 1952, the Bevanites including Bevan, swept into six out of seven of the seats allotted to the Constituency Labor Parties. Their votes showed that the rank and file of the Labor Party in these local organizations was overwhelmingly in support of Bevanism.

The trade union bureaucracy and right wing parliamentarians, however, dominated the NEC in a solid block determined to beat back the left. They failed. Wellington out of opposition to the Anglo-American war alliance, out of discontent at the rising cost of living and the Tory Government's anti-working class policies, the radicalization of Labor's rank and file continued. Its surge forward destroyed all attempts to suppress "Tribune," the paper of the Bevanites, and effectively prevented the expulsion of Bevan himself.

Over the past year the pressure on the trade union bureaucracy has increased. The rank and file of the trade union movement have been demanding a militant stand against the employers and against the threat of unemployment. The leadership has been forced to adjust itself to the pressure from below by adopting a left phrasology.

There is, for instance, the example of Mr. Frank Cousins, now leader of the Transport and General Workers Union, who is currently attempting to build a reputation of being to the left of his predecessor—Arthur Deakin. The bureaucracy of this union has been the central pillar of the right wing of the Labor Party,

the bitterest enemy of Bevanism and all militancy. In former Labor Party Conferences their speeches were interlarded with threats against the left. This year Mr. Cousins informed the Conference delegates that he was an "old-fashioned socialist" and made a play for the rank and file.

Cousins, we can be sure, has no intention of mobilizing the members of his powerful union to seriously challenge capitalism and the Tory Government. He is merely an "old-fashioned" opportunist accommodating himself to the prevailing situation so as to maintain the privileges and power of the bureaucracy he represents. At this year's Labor Party Conference he continued to cast the votes of a million of his members against Bevan. But the pressure which has forced left phrases from Cousins have pushed other trade union leaders into voting for Bevan.

MINE UNION SHIFTS

Last year Bevan received 1,225,000 votes, just a little above the vote of the Constituency Labor Parties. This year he polled 3,029,000 as against the right wing candidate, who received 2,755,000. In that three million were the votes of the National Union of Mineworkers. The leadership of this union, in the past, was part of the anti-Bevan block of trade union bosses.

It was miners' leader Will Lawther who, at the Morecambe Conference told the left wing to "Shut your gob." His bureaucratic rudeness provoked a loud

and sustained uproar. Sir Will Lawther—he received a knighthood from Her Most Grateful Majesty—is now retired. Meanwhile the movement to the left has proved more powerful than any bureaucratic "gob-shutting" as, during the past year, area after area of the National Union of Mineworkers went on record for Bevan.

"The central direction of the party has moved to the left" was Bevan's comment on his election. That is undoubtedly true. The right wing, although by no means routed, have been pushed back. The Conference certainly did not adopt or even thoroughly discuss the policies necessary for socialist leadership in the struggles facing the British working class. The platform sought by abstract discussions on "Equality" and "Freedom" to avoid a discussion on immediate policy. It was rank and file delegates who penetrated to the rostrum who fought for principled socialist policies to tackle the concrete problems of the struggle against capitalism at home and imperialist oppression abroad.

However, it is in the future struggles—and, in Britain we are certainly on the threshold of big industrial and political struggles—that the vast base of the British Labor Movement will be won to principled socialist policies. The new stage of development marked by the weakening of the right wing in the leadership of the Labor Party gives greater opportunities for the achievement of that aim.

...Joyce Cowley on TV

(Continued from page 1)

place, so why do you keep up the struggle unless you feel that maybe you're going to become an instrument sometime of another and broader plan for the upsetting of the American government.

A. I disagree with you. I think I'm going someplace. I think we have every reason for the greatest optimism. One of the signs of it is the struggle of the Negro people in the South for their civil rights which I would characterize as basically a revolutionary struggle. I mentioned before our difference in our definition of the word revolution. Now to me when the bus boycotters hold out as long as they have and the Negro children have the courage to go to school and face the racist mobs in the South and demand immediate enforcement of the Supreme Court decision, they are taking an action which we consider a part of our struggle and we're very optimistic about it.

Q. Let's go to basics. I see on page four you say in this program you have of the Socialist Workers Party—I quote—"In the attempt to achieve world domination American imperialism won't hesitate to risk atomic war at whatever cost to humanity." Do you in all seriousness make that charge against the American government?

A. We certainly do. It's the American government that is the aggressor in the present situation, certainly not the Soviet Union. You know if we had Russian bases in Mexico, Canada and Cuba, we would certainly feel threatened.

Q. And why do you think the United States has bases in North Africa and in Japan, do you think that's a part of American imperialism, or a reaction to Soviet policy?

Mao Reported Backing Poland vs Kremlin

Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist Party head, has indicated his approval of efforts of the Polish government to win a measure of independence from the Kremlin, according to an Oct. 16 New York Times report from the paper's Warsaw correspondent, Sydney Gruson.

Gruson, whose past reports were proven to be based on reliable sources of information, says that Mao's expression of support was given to Edward Ochab, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party. Ochab attended the recent congress of the Chinese Communist Party. According to Gruson, "Mr. Mao told Mr. Ochab that the Poles should go ahead in their efforts to obtain internal independence and develop their own Socialist system as the Yugoslavs have done."

Gruson attaches additional significance to the fact that the Mao-Ochab conversation took place at the same time that Khrushchev and Tito were discussing Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

A. I think the United States is afraid of the colonial revolution in these countries and want men and arms on hand to prevent these revolutionary struggles.

Q. (interrupting) Do you think we maintain jet bombers in remote areas to put down an uprising of a native tribe? That wouldn't be very realistic, would it?

A. Do you call the Chinese revolution the uprising of a native tribe?

Q. (conflict of voices) nor did we intervene—the point is that the entire far-flung system of American bases has not been established for the purpose of territorial or economic expansion on the part of our people—we gained no such expansion or enlargement—but solely to stop the steady encroachment of the Soviet Union and the Communist countries, through the vehicle of nationalism which you encourage. The air bases in Morocco weren't used at the time the Moroccans threw off French control. We were very careful to keep entirely out of that—

A. It's the United States that is establishing all these air bases. As I said, Russia hasn't established an air base in Mexico.

Q. Specifically, what is your position about the Suez Canal? Would you uphold Nasser and the seizing of the Suez Canal Company or would you suggest that this was a violation of international agreements which still had ten years to run? Which side do you put yourself on?

A. I believe the canal belongs to the Egyptians. It's on Egyptian soil, it was built by Egyptians. It was manipulated by the imperialist powers for their own advantage in order to exploit the oil fields on the other side. Those oil fields, too, belong to the people who work them and I would certainly be in favor of their nationalization as well as the Suez Canal.

Q. So in this you agree with Russia, don't you? Because Russia is pulling the strings behind Nasser, and you evidently think that's all right, Miss Cowley.

A. The real force behind this is the Egyptian working people. The other people do some manipulating on the top—

Q. You know Miss Cowley when you speak of the Egyptian working people, that sounds beautiful, but as a matter of fact the Egyptian working people count for nothing in terms of Egyptian foreign policy or in terms of Egyptian domestic policy. That's true all through the Middle East. It's the educated people who really run the situation.

A. That's another disagreement I have with you. In a revolutionary situation when tremendous changes are taking place as they are now, it's the pressure of the masses that forces the educated classes to take these moves. They couldn't act without backing from the Egyptian working people. What do you think Nasser is basing himself on if he doesn't have any support from the working people?

Q. Do you think Soviet Russia is an imperialist power?

A. No. I think that the Soviet Union has a planned econ-

omy and we support that economy and think that it has achieved many remarkable advances in the industrialization of the country. But we do think that it is controlled by a bureaucratic caste, which is not in the interests of the working people, and it is necessary for the people in that country through a political revolution to overthrow that regime. We supported the East German workers in their uprising against that regime and the Poznan workers who rose against it.

Q. What do you hope to achieve in the United States? Do you want to eliminate Congress, the government, our whole social structure? Is that your desire?

A. No. It's not at all necessary. The socialist transformation can occur through the democratic set-up that we now have. If we vote in a majority, we can call a constitutional convention to make whatever changes are necessary in the constitution in order to emphasize human rights rather than property rights.

Q. You would eliminate all private property, wouldn't you?

A. No, we certainly wouldn't, only capital property, the means of production.

Foster's Stand On CP Resolution

In the October issue of Political Affairs, Communist Party chairman William Z. Foster explains why he switched his vote on the National Committee's draft resolution from a "qualified yes" to "no." His original conditional "yes" was based, he says, on his agreement with the resolution's program of practical work for the Party (i.e., support for the Democrats, etc.). He decided to change his vote "on the fundamental grounds that it [the resolution] seriously weakens the Party's stand on Marxism-Leninism."

"Exaggerations of Party errors," Foster says, "were seized upon by the strong right tendencies in the Party which proceeded to inflate them still further for their own liquidationist purposes." As a result, Foster charges, "the developing Right tendency, of whom Comrade Gates is one of the outstanding spokesmen, had a free hand and it grew rapidly in the uncertain Party situation. It entrenched itself in the Daily Worker and in the New York State Committee."

Since he finds himself in agreement with the resolution's practical program, Foster does not present a counter-resolution to it but proposes instead that it be revised. His proposed revisions to combat the tendency he labels "liquidationist," include a "general endorsement of Marxism-Leninism." (Foster charges that the Gates-led wing was instrumental in keeping a formal endorsement of Marxism-Leninism out of the resolution.)

In addition, Foster would "de-emphasize [the] slogan for a new mass party of Socialism . . . to the status of a possible long-range objective," and would restore to the resolution the "ultimate" objective of a mass farm-labor party.

Reader Questions Our View on CP

Editor:

In the Oct. 1 issue of the Militant Myra Tanner Weiss declares that "In this country Communist Party leaders implement Kremlin foreign policy by trying to prove that they are really an asset to capitalism, not a 'threat.'"

If this is true, how does the SWP and Mrs. Weiss explain the well-known fact that Wall Street is doing everything in its power to destroy the CP leadership through long jail sentences, while SWP leaders have been free to peddle their anti-communist leadership and anti-Soviet leadership line?

Poor Wall Street!! It seems that they don't know who their real "friends" (the CP leaders) are or who their real "enemies" (the SWP leaders) are.

A Buffalo Worker
P.S. Looking forward to a reply in the Militant.

Editor's reply:

The Socialist Workers Party holds that the support of capitalist parties in elections, such as the support the CP is giving the Democratic party, is a policy detrimental to the interests of the working class. Historically, such policies always served the interests of capitalism.

But, there have been many cases in history when the capitalist class, for reasons of its own, savagely persecuted the leaders of working class parties whose policies were reformist, or "pro-capitalist."

One vivid example is the fate of the Social Democratic bureaucracy under Hitler. The Social Democrats of Germany had followed policies, starting with the outbreak of World War I, that served the interests of capitalism. This did not prevent the capitalist rulers from jailing, torturing and murdering the leaders and members of the Social Democratic party (along with tens of thousands of Communists) when it switched its political form of rule to fascism.

In the years of the Weimar Republic, the function of the Social Democracy as an agency of capitalism within the working class, was all too evident. The German Social Democrats saved capitalism in 1918 when it was in danger of being overthrown by a socialist revolution. For this the German capitalists were grateful. But when the continuation of their rule depended on the destruction of all workers' organizations, they instituted the bloody dictatorship of Hitler and persecuted every Social Democratic and trade union leader, that they could lay their hands on.

That, incidentally, is one of the reasons why the SWP always reminds the American labor bureaucrats that their collusion with the witch hunt against the radicals helps to prepare an assault on the entire labor movement in which their heads could also get chopped off.

The American capitalists don't recognize the pro-capitalist character of the CP's policy of supporting the Democratic Party

because they have no need for the CP's support at the present time. But, they do have need of a target for their red-baiting hysteria about an alleged Russian menace to the security of the U.S. The CP is such a target.

Does this capitalist persecution of the CP automatically prove that the CP policy of supporting a capitalist party is correct? We don't think so. By that reasoning we could just as readily "prove" that the SWP program is correct merely by citing the fact that it has been placed on the witch-hunting Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist; that the leaders of the SWP were the first to be convicted under the Smith Act; that hundreds of its members are being hounded and persecuted by the government witch hunters, the employers, and the right wing union leaders. We don't resort to such reasoning. We ask workers to judge our advocacy of a labor party, for instance, on the merits of the question.

Nor is it true that the American capitalists have given the SWP a free hand to criticize the Soviet bureaucracy. During World War II the State Department held up, for a number of years, the publication of a book by Trotsky which fully exposed the crimes of the Stalin regime. On the other hand, the State Department gave its approval to the notorious moving picture, Mission to Moscow, which whitewashed the frame-up of the Trotskyists in the Moscow Trials. At that time it suited the interests of Wall Street to collaborate with Stalinism—at the expense of the revolutionary opponents of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is futile and misleading to judge the basic class character of policies by the momentary attitude of the capitalist regime toward the proponents of these policies.

When we say that the policy of supporting capitalist parties serves the interest of the capitalist class, it is not because we want to slander anyone. It is a question of principle and the test of historic experience. It is a question that should be judged on its merits in the discussion that is now unfolding within the radical movement.

NEW YORK

Militant Forum

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SWP Candidate for

U.S. Senator from N.Y.

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Questions and Discussion

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

From the Frying Pan into the Fire

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's announcement that he supports Eisenhower for President is no world-shaking event. It creates a certain stir among political commentators because the memory of Eisenhower's attack on Powell's anti-segregation amendments in the last session of Congress is still green.

But the Negro Democratic Congressman's support for the Republican candidate who opposes anti-Jim Crow legislation won't affect the election, for two reasons: First, because there is no significant difference between the Democratic and Republican parties or their candidates. Second, because Powell is widely recognized as a political playboy and demagogue rather than a leader.

His critics have plenty of evidence to show how irresponsible and unreliable Powell is. When he attended the conference of Asian and African people in Bandung as self-appointed representative from the United States, and attempted to "sell" American democracy, American Negroes disclaimed him in no uncertain terms.

Impressed by the mass opposition to imperialism that he saw among colonial peoples, Powell returned home full of uncritical praise for Bandung. But the only lesson he drew from the colonial struggles was "Vote black."

Voting on the basis of color is impractical, as well as unprincipled for a minority in a national election, so Congressman Powell attempted to make the single issue of program on civil rights the criterion for support of the two capitalist parties in the 1956 election.

When it became quite clear that neither

major party would support an acceptable civil rights program, Powell suggested a "third party" may be needed.

Last Sunday, according to an Associated Press report, Powell told his church congregation in New York that he could not campaign either for Eisenhower or Stevenson.

"How can I," he was quoted as saying, when both parties "take Negro money and send it to Mississippi and other Southern States to build separate schools for whites and Negroes?"

But four days later Eisenhower deigned to talk things over with Powell, and the Congressman emerged singing another tune. Now he is organizing a committee for support of the man who, he says, "made the greatest contribution in the field of civil liberties of any President in history."

Powell's latest switch will net him a great deal of vigorous criticism, which he deserves, but before it becomes too vituperative, it would be well to recognize the facts in the case:

Powell's opportunism is the logical alternative to principled politics. The only way to avoid his fate is to vote for program and principles, not for individuals or personalities. It is necessary to build an independent labor party with a program in the interest of all the working people, not to play with the idea.

And it is not necessary to wait until after the November election. The first step is to vote against the Democratic and Republican parties by voting for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, the only ones campaigning for the building of an American labor party.

Balance Sheet of Settlement In Packinghouse Struggle

By Sam Jordan

SOUTH ST. PAUL, Oct. 6.—The ten-day strike of 25,000 Swift & Co. workers in 26 states ended Sept. 30 with an agreement between Swift and the two AFL-CIO meat-packing unions. The settlement, including a 25 cent-an-hour wage increase spread out over a three year contract, follows the main pattern of the earlier Armour contract except that the Swift agreement does not include the union shop.

The two unions, the United Packinghouse Workers of America and the Amalgamated Meat

Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America united in joint negotiations and strike strategy to meet the Sept. 1 contract deadline in the packinghouse industry.

The leadership followed a "one at a time" strike strategy, striking first the Swift plants, while those of Armour, Cudahy, Morrell, Hygrade, and Wilson were allowed to operate.

Five days after the strike began Sept. 20, the union leadership reached an agreement with Armour. The pact includes a general wage increase of 10 cents starting Oct. 1, and an additional 7½ cent increase each Sept. 1 in 1957 and 1958. It provides a one-half cent an hour increase between each of 26 job classifications.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

Other points included are: an escalator clause based on the conservative cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; a compromise on the unions' demands for premium pay for weekend work which grants a small percentage of regular premium pay; major gains on sick leave, and slight gains on other fringe benefits such as pensions. One of the major improvements was the elimination over the three year period of the wage differential between men and women workers.

Swift is the only one of the major companies that has not agreed to a modified union shop. When the union leaders were asked why they dropped this de-

mand for Swift, they replied that Swift has plants in 17 states which have right-to-work laws and do not permit union shops anyway. (Actually, most Armour plants are 100% organized while many Swift plants even in states where the union shop is legal still have a large holdover of company union elements who have never accepted the AFL or CIO.)

A serious shortcoming of the agreement is the long term contract which leaves the workers in a poor position to meet the effects of automation and inflation during the uncertain three years to come. The demand for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay, the practical answer to the replacement of workers by automation, was put on the shelf until 1959. (Many of the packinghouse workers are now on 58 hour weeks.)

The unions are tied to a no-strike pledge without a wage reopener for the next three years. The negotiators also dropped the demand for a supplementary-unemployment-benefits plan such as was won in auto and steel. Among many of the Swift workers there is dissatisfaction with their settlement because of the number of major demands that were not realized.

There is also a good deal of discussion about the "one at a time" strike strategy. In the major meat packing centers like St. Paul and Chicago, Swift plants are close to plants of other companies and in many cases use the same entrances and docks. Under this arrangement, pickets could never be sure that scabs were not being imported into the Swift plants. Watching other workers pour through their picket lines with consent of the union didn't help moral any, either.

In spite of difficulties, however, the Swift strikers succeeded in keeping the struck plants closed tight. This rank and file militancy plus the fact that the two unions were united in the fight was responsible for the relatively quick settlement and for whatever gains were made.

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VOLUME XX

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The Story of Tallahassee

By Henry Gitano

Tallahassee's mass trial on Oct. 17, marks the climax of desperate attempts by city officials to smash the heroic bus boycott by 14,400 freedom fighters. This massive struggle was touched off when two Negro co-eds of Florida A & M University were arrested for sitting in the "white" section of a bus on May 26.

Among the 22 who will face the bar of white-supremacist "justice" will be the entire leadership of the Inter-Civic Council set up to direct the protest, as well as operators of service stations and drivers working with the car pool. The leaders were arrested, Oct. 4, for operating "an illegal transportation system." The Council as a whole was also indicted on this count. At the same time, records of service stations said to be supplying the car pool have been subpoenaed. Officers of the Council were ordered to bring all records dealing with their organization to court.

CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

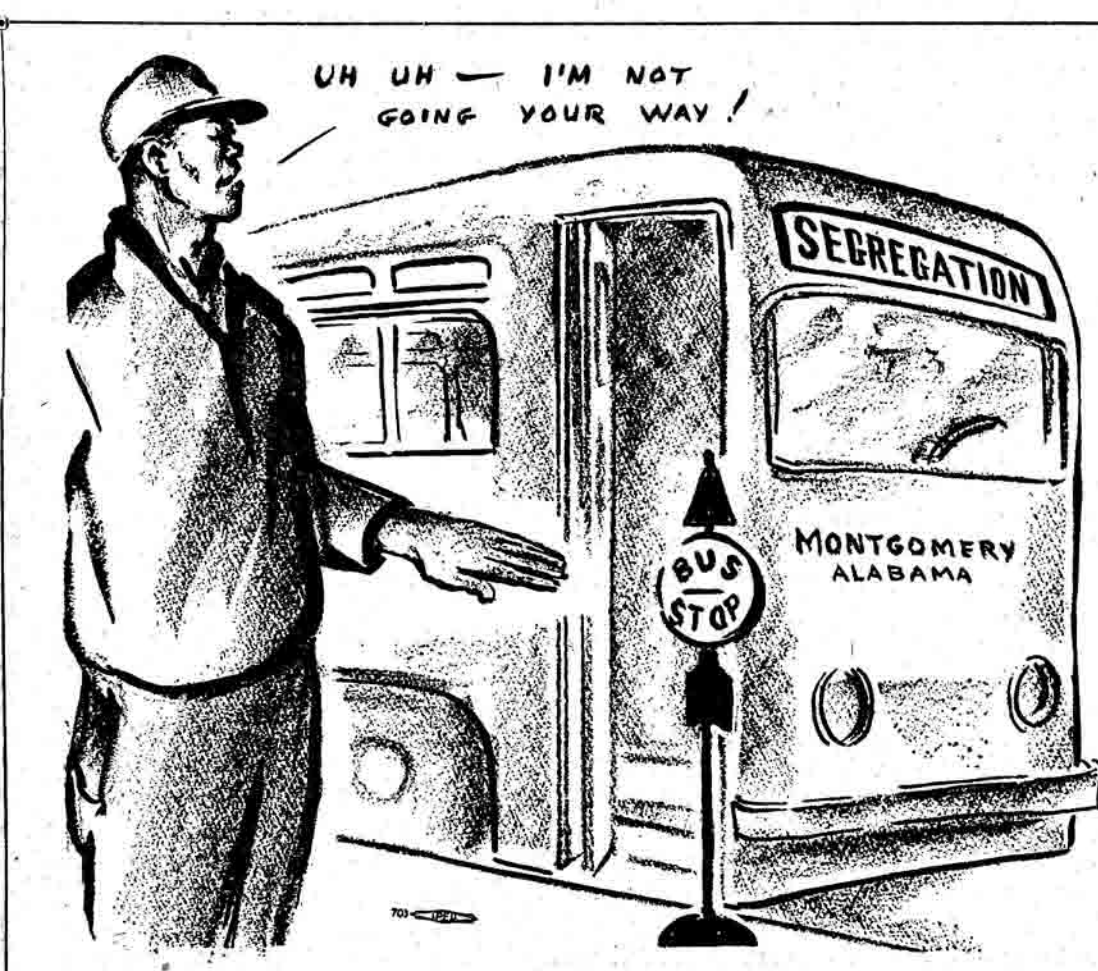
Rev. C. K. Steele, Council president said last week that he is considering asking President Eisenhower and the FBI for an investigation of civil rights violations during the boycott.

I was in Tallahassee during the boycott's first week. A former rider of the buses told me: "I wouldn't ride the buses, even if they give in to all our demands." The mass protest had put an end to his being an individual helpless victim of the racists. Now, in solidarity with 14,400 other fighters, there was pride and confidence—a purpose in life. As another expressed it: "This is the best thing that ever happened to Tallahassee. It's long overdue. Now we're all together."

Don Meiklejohn, a reporter for the daily Tallahassee Democrat said to me: "It's just a fight between the bus company and the Negroes. If it wasn't for these out-of-towners sticking their noses into it, it would have been all over with. There's no tension here; we've always gotten along." The widely touted "lack of tension" was actually the silent suffering of insults and degradation for decades.

PROUD STUDENT FIGHTERS

Tallahassee's challenge to the southern pattern—popularized as "If you're white you're right, but if you're black get back"—was sparked when two Florida A & M co-eds were arrested Saturday, May 26, after demanding a refund of their fare rather than bow to segregation by va-



The above cartoon by Laura Gray was published in the Militant, Feb. 13, to demonstrate the determination of the Montgomery bus protest movement which began last December. This struggle, which is still going on, served to inspire the present militant protest movement in Tallahassee.

outing their seats. These two young students represent the spirit of the proud fighters for full and equal rights. The next day a flaming cross was burnt in front of their residence.

Florida A & M students called a mass meeting for Monday, May 28. Out of 2,600 students at the university, 2300 attended. Broadus Hartley, president of the student council said the arrests "were the latest in a series of incidents in which we have been humiliated by bus drivers."

Following this mass meeting the students formed a human cordon around the first bus to pass the university and thereby announced the boycott in effect. The Tallahassee Democrat, May 28, reported that the "first bus after the boycott went through the campus empty. Students cheered. . . There was no violence."

The weekly Tuesday noon meeting of the city's Negro ministers organized in the Ministerial Alliance, was expanded to include student and civic organization representation because the boycott was the sole business on the agenda. From interviews with

participants at this meeting, I learned there was a clash between those who wanted to extend the boycott by rallying the Negro community into a solid organization, and those with a "let's wait and see" program, who were wary of mass meetings, desiring only to discuss with the white leaders about amicable relations within the segregation pattern.

The session was inconclusive. A nine-man Inter-Civic Committee was formed to sound out the city administration and bus manager. The call for a mass meeting that very night was proposed. In the meantime by word of mouth, the mass rally was organized. Rev. Steele told me: "Our people kept calling, wanting to know what we were going to do."

By 6 P. M. Rev. Steele's Bethel Baptist Church was jammed, with over a thousand people crowded in.

ORGANIZE COUNCIL

The mass meeting voted unanimously to continue the boycott which had already enveloped the city. The committee was dissolved and the Inter-Civic Council elected to lead the protest movement, including Rev. C. K. Steele, president; Rev. K. S. Dupont, vice-president; Rev. J. Metz Rollins, treasurer. At that meeting the basic machinery was moved into gear. Cars were registered, lists of drivers drawn up, a car pool dispatching headquarters organized, and funds collected.

On Wednesday, May 30, police charges against the two co-eds of "placing themselves in a posi-

tion to incite a riot" were dropped. But the boycott continued. One of the leaders said: "It's a matter of principles, not personalities."

Sunday night, June 3, the second mass meeting was scheduled. The Sunday paper ran a banner headline: "City Commission Moves To End Bus Boycott" it detailed the concessions: first come, first served, within the segregation pattern; acceptance of applications for Negro drivers, and a policy of courtesy.

A motion was made from the floor that the position of the Negro community be spelled out: "When you pay your fare, you can sit anywhere you want." This was adopted unanimously, and remains the policy of the Council.

In a period of one week, 14,400 oppressed individuals became transformed into one solid struggle for freedom and dignity. They organized an efficient transportation system from scratch, hammered out demands for the complete abolition of Jim Crow seating, rejected the leadership of capitulators to segregation, disregarded the paternalistic connivings of racist "friends" and newspapers, and elected a capable leadership functioning as spokesmen for the sentiment expressed in the highest body wherein lies the power—the mass meeting.

At the mass meeting on July 5, there was no longer any question about the boycott. To the question "Do we want freedom?" all present expressed their willingness to suffer and fight for it.

Since the boycott began, drivers for the car pool, which has over 60 vehicles, have been subjected to continuous police harassment. They have been arrested and heavily fined for trifling traffic violations.

Rev. Steele was arrested two days in a row, Aug. 28 and 29, for driving a car-pool auto without a "For Hire" sign. Referring to the police crackdown at the time, he said: "Actually the police are helping us every time they make an arrest, as it makes our people more and more determined." The Oct. 13 Pittsburgh Courier, reporting the mass arrests, says: "The protest seems to be gaining momentum rather than diminishing. . . The slogan, 'We'll walk with dignity rather than ride in humiliation' has held the group together."

BUS SERVICE SUSPENDED

As far as the effectiveness of the boycott is concerned, the Cities Transit Inc. in a full page ad, last June 15, announced its "intention to suspend operation. . . The boycott has been successful." In spite of the company's being granted a fare hike and reduction in taxes, bus service in Tallahassee was suspended on July 1.

On Aug. 2, the buses resumed operations after the Chamber of Commerce had launched a "ride the bus" drive to get more white patronage for the Jim Crow buses. The company hired its first two Negro drivers, expecting the embattled community to flock back on the buses. But the unity of the Negro people in the fight for their rights was maintained. Rev. Steele told the mass meeting: "We will not be herded like cattle to the rear of a bus, though driven by Negro drivers."

With courage, dignity and resourcefulness the Tallahassee boycotters are holding out not for concessions as Negroes, but for equality as human beings. Defenders of the rotten Southern system have answered with the politics of desperation: mass arrests, intimidation and raising the specter of "outside influences."

Rev. Steele said: "It's a growing thing, you can feel the power." This power would be vastly accelerated through AFL-CIO financial aid to the steadfast boycotters. Recently, the Council made an appeal for funds to cover costs of necessary appeals in the forthcoming trials, and the need for additional station wagons. The appeal explained: "Within the last six weeks there have been times when our treasury has been as low as \$37. Send all contributions to the Inter-Civic Council, Inc. 803 Floral Street, Tallahassee, Florida."

From the SWP Platform

Take the war-making power 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.

... Weiss in Tallahassee

(Continued from page 1)

Judge Rudd overruled him consistently.

The city authorities are out to smash the boycott and don't care whether the license law validly applies to the 21 or not.

A white taxi driver I talked to, however, took a different stand. At first he told me that he thought the 21 should be punished for conducting a business without a license. But when I told him the facts—that they weren't running a business at all, but offering rides—he said, "Well, that's different. Nobody should be punished for doing that with their own car." A few other white workers I talked to also took the side of the 21 defendants after I explained the facts.

A meeting of the ICC was held at St. Johns church tonight. The church was packed, as the court room had been during the day. But now no one was compelled to stand. Everyone could sit and relax. The tension of the trial was gone and everybody was gay and enthusiastic. The speakers were full of praise for the persistence and sacrifices of the assembly and the people were just as anxious to bolster and encourage the 21 who were indicted.

The Rev. C. K. Steele, president of the ICC, received an ovation when he answered the Tallahassee indictment with the following pledge: "If they take away our cars, we'll ride bicycles. If they take away the bicycles, we'll walk, and if they cut off our legs, we'll crawl!"

The ICC meeting did not deal

only with the bus-segregation question. The Tallahassee Negro community is opening up a fight on a different front. It is campaigning for registering the Negro people to vote. Registration is growing in Tallahassee. But in the surrounding counties Negroes are not registered. It is not poll tax or other legal provisions that is the obstacle, but intimidation. Negroes have been threatened and shot at. Despite the terror of the white supremacists, the ICC meeting pushed

ahead confidently with the campaign to register at least 10,000 Negroes in the entire area.

In Tallahassee as in Montgomery, Ala., the Negroes are fighting for a new world. They feel the hope and the courage of people who see a new life before them. They are far ahead of their fellow workers elsewhere. They are leaders and they are not afraid. But they must not be left to fight the good battle alone. They deserve the aid of the entire labor movement.

NEGROES ON THE MARCH

A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle

By Daniel Guerin

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Myra Tanner Weiss Tour Information

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"Reporters' Round-Up"
On Nation-Wide TV

Over

Mutual Broadcasting System
Sun., Oct. 21—1 to 1:30 P.M.
Consult your local station for time of release in your locality (To be released at later date in New York)

WOR—New York
Radio Re-Broadcast "Reporters' Roundup"
Sun., Oct. 21, 7 to 7:30 P.M.

WPEN—Philadelphia
Steve Allison Program
Thurs., Nov. 1—11:30 P.M.
WNEW—New York City
People's Choice Program
Oct. 24, 26, 31, Nov. 2
10:35-11:00 P.M.

Mutual Broadcasting System
Thu., Oct. 25—10:30 to 11 P.M.
(check local listing)

MYRA TANNER WEISS

Mutual Broadcasting System
Fri., Oct. 26—7:15 to 7:30 P.M.
(check local listing)

JOYCE COWLEY

WRCA-TV—New York
Channel 4
Sun., Oct. 21—1 to 1:30 P.M.

Press Conference with
Abe Pressman

WNEW—New York
Sun., Oct. 21—10:35 to 11 P.M.

Interview with
Prof. William Kunstler
of New York Law School

HERBERT LEWIN

(Candidate for U.S. Senator,
Pennsylvania)

WPEN—Philadelphia
Steve Allison Program
Oct. 24
11 P.M. to 2 A.M.