

# Polish, Hungarian Workers Battle Kremlin Rule

## Demand Russian Armed Forces Be Withdrawn

By Fred Halstead

OCT. 24 — The political revolution of the East European working class against Kremlin-sponsored bureaucratic rule scored a major advance in Poland and then broke out in full force in Hungary this week. It was a week of events completely dominated by mass meetings and direct actions of workers and students in the two countries.

In Poland, these mass actions forced the plenum of the Cen-

tral Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (CP) to meet Oct. 19 through 21 and to successfully defy an ultimatum to again allow the Kremlin to hand-pick its leading body, the Politburo.

In Hungary, fighting still raged today in the streets of the capital city of Budapest, where last night police opened fire on mass demonstrations of students, workers, and Hungarian soldiers who were hailing the Polish events and demanding a new government in their own country. The demonstrators, says the Oct. 24 N.Y. Times, shouted slogans such as "Do not stop half way; Away with Stalinism," "Independence and Freedom," "Hurrah for the Poles," "We want new leaders; We put our trust in Imre Nagy," and "Down with Gero."

Imre Nagy was deposed as Hungarian premier in April 1955 after two years in office coinciding with the period of Malenkov's "reign" as premier of the Soviet Union. Nagy was denounced at that time for emphasizing consumer goods production. Erno Gero became the head of the Hungarian CP after the ouster last July of the hated Stalinist boss, Matyas Rakosi. (Gero had been Rakosi's right-hand man.)

As the demonstrations grew throughout the night, an emergency meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian CP appointed Nagy premier, ousting Andras Hagedus. Gero remained as head of the party.

[In a late development, reported Oct. 25, Gero was removed as First Secretary of the Communist Party and replaced by Janos Kadar, a former jailed "Titoist." —Ed.]

The first official act of the Nagy government was to call for Soviet troops to shoot down the

(Continued on page 3)

## Bring U.S. Troops Home from Europe Says Farrell Dobbs

OCT. 26 — Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Candidate for President, today wired President Eisenhower demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Europe and cancellation of military aid to the French and British governments.

"Working class revolution in Poland and Hungary underscores need for removal of U.S. troops from Europe," said Dobbs in the wire. "The working people in these countries are fighting to clear away the Kremlin obstacle to the building of socialism. But American troops are posted in Europe to serve Big Business plans to attack Soviet orbit in order to restore capitalist exploitation there. Thus the Polish and Hungarian working people confront not only immediate danger from the Kremlin's forces, but also a threat to their revolution from American intervention."

Material aid granted to French and British governments must be stopped, said Dobbs, because it "is used in their imperialist war and war threats against the national liberation movements in Cyprus, the Arab Middle East and North Africa."

"The democratic principle that peoples have the right to determine their own fate prompts me to make these demands," Dobbs concluded.

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## World Wide-Class Action -- The Key to Peace, Freedom

A Vote That Won't Be Wasted



## Dobbs - Weiss Program Offers Socialist Answer to H-Bomb

As we go to the polls this year, revolutionary struggles are reverberating throughout the world. These struggles effect the vital interests of the American people.

In Poland and Hungary, workers and students are engaged in a mass struggle against the rule of bureaucratic tyranny. They are fighting for workers' democracy. This is the basis for their further advance on the road to socialism.

In the Middle East, the Arab workers and peasants are throwing off the yoke of foreign imperialism and embarking on vast social changes.

Throughout North Africa the working people are fighting valiantly for their independence against the armed oppression of Wall Street-backed French and British capitalism.

In concert with these momentous world movements towards a new world, free of war and the oppression of man by man, the Negro people in the United States have during the past year intensified their fight for full social, political and economic equality.

### A COMMON OBJECTIVE

All these movements have a unified character and a common objective — they are smashing the plans of the capitalist ruling class to launch a nuclear war for the preservation of their outmoded profit system.

The foreign policy of American Big Business, which is promulgated by Republicans and Democrats alike, is diametrically opposed to the forces of social progress and peace in the world.

Both Democrats and Republicans uphold capitalist enslavement of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Both Big Business parties want the restoration of capitalist profit exploitation in the Soviet orbit and in new China.

The American billionaire ruling clique and its political parties have constructed their entire foreign and domestic policy on the lie that "communism" threatens our freedom, that we must prepare for war in order to "liberate" the Soviet people from Stalinist bureaucratic tyranny.

This was their justification for the huge U.S. armaments economy, the stockpiling of H-Bombs, the pollution of our atmosphere with the deadly substances released in nuclear weapons tests, the red-baiting hysteria and witch hunt, the militarization of American youth and the unjust, unauthorized, high-handed intervention in the Korean civil war on the side of the landlords and capitalists.

Now the lies of the cold-war propagandists are being smashed to smithereens. The movement of workers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union shows that they are the only force capable of overthrowing the caste of parasitic and bureaucratic rulers. These working people are fiercely determined, however, that their political revolution against the bureaucracy shall not be used to bring back the old system of capitalist exploitation and landlordism.

The danger of World War III, a war that could reduce human civilization to a mass of radioactive rubble, is today less acute thanks to the independent, anti-capitalist revolutionary movements of the working people in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. The key to a world of peace and freedom is in the hands of the world working class.

### LABOR PARTY NEEDED

For the American people to join in the great struggle to achieve a world of abundance, human brotherhood and lasting peace, they must have their own political party. They can no longer allow themselves to be trapped in the Big Business two-party system.

The basis for such a party is at hand. It is the union movement, Negro organizations and the organizations of working farmers. The unified political movement of these forces can win the overwhelming majority of American people to the great cause of socialism.

That is what the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President, are fighting for. That is what we urge you to vote for by voting for Dobbs and Weiss.

## Hallinan and McAvoy Urge Formation Of Independent Committee for Dobbs

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, and Clifford T. McAvoy, American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York in 1953, have issued an appeal to independent voters throughout the country to join with them in setting up an Independent Committee for Farrell Dobbs, candidate for President on the Socialist Workers ticket. Previously, both Hallinan and McAvoy had individually declared their support of Dobbs in the present campaign.

Both Hallinan and McAvoy stand in opposition to the cold war foreign policy of the two major parties as well as to their witch-hunt and their anti-labor, anti-Negro domestic policies. As Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, Hallinan ran on a platform of opposition to the American "police-action" in Korea.

An attorney, Hallinan is also widely known for his defense of West Coast Longshoremen's Union President, Harry Bridges, against the government's long efforts to deport the latter. As a result of his uncompromising defense of Bridges, Hallinan himself fell victim to government persecution, and, in 1952, he served a prison term on a "contempt of court" conviction arising out of the Bridges case.

Clifford McAvoy is a founding member of the American Labor Party and has served the union movement in various capacities. He has been a legislative representative for the national CIO-PAC and for the New York City CIO Council. He also was an educational director for the United



VINCENT HALLINAN



CLIFFORD T. McAVOY

Electrical Workers union.

Prior to its dissolution, McAvoy emerged as the central leader of the tendency within the ALP which fought for a policy of opposition to the two capitalist parties. This policy collided with that of the Communist Party leadership, which favored support to the Democrats. Last month, supporters of the Communist Party policy utilized their organizational control of the ALP to dissolve the organization as part of the drive to corral votes for the Democratic ticket. This same pro-Democratic party policy has been pursued within the

Progressive Party against the opposition of Hallinan, McAvoy and others.

The struggle for independent working class political action as counterposed to the class-collaborationist policy of supporting a capitalist party has become a central issue in the radical movement. Throughout the country, an increasing number of supporters of independent political action, including rank and file members of the Communist Party, are turning toward support of the Socialist Workers ticket as the most effective means to advance that policy in the present elections.

## Hallinan-McAvoy Appeal

In letters to the National Guardian we have urged liberals and progressives who wish to vote for peace, civil rights and civil liberties to cast their votes for Mr. Farrell Dobbs, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for President of the United States. We have advocated this course because the platforms and candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties (1) say nothing whatsoever on civil liberties; (2) refuse to enforce the Constitution with respect to the civil rights of the Negro people, and (3) carry on the bankrupt policies of the cold war.

We believe, as we have stated in our press articles, that it is a mistake not to vote, and it is worse than a mistake to vote for either the Democratic or Republican party candidates, and that it is time for those who profess devotion to socialism to vote for a socialist.

Neither of us is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and we have certain disagreements with some of its formulations. The fact remains, however, that that party takes an unequivocal stand for civil liberties, civil rights and labor's rights and opposes the cold war.

It is our belief that there should be united support of all left and liberal forces who believe in independent political action for Mr. Dobbs' candidacy. Thus, the groundwork can be laid for a united front of all left-wing forces, including the Socialist Workers Party, immediately following the 1956 elections for a new and dynamic independent political movement which will seek a socialist solution for America.

Will you join us in forming an Independent Committee for Mr. Dobbs in the 1956 election? It is our intention to issue a statement to the press once the Committee is formed, and we, therefore, hope to hear from you as soon as possible.

We would also very much appreciate it if you would let us know your views with respect to the need for a rebuilding of an Independent American Socialist movement. Copies of our letters to the National Guardian are enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

Vincent Hallinan  
Ross, California  
Clifford T. McAvoy  
144 Willow Street  
Brooklyn, New York

### NEW YORK SWP ELECTION RALLY

## "INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION IN 1956"

Farrell Dobbs

SWP Candidate for President

Clifford T. McAvoy

Former Leader, American Labor Party

Tom Kerry, Chairman

Acting National Secretary, SWP

Hear an Analysis of the Polish and Hungarian Events —

THURS., NOV. 1 -- 8:00 P. M. ♦ ADELPHI HALL ♦ 74 FIFTH AVE. (near 14th St.)

## For President and Vice-President

For President and Vice-President of the United States, the Socialist Workers Party has nominated working people, tested in the struggle of the working class for a better world.

The SWP candidate for President is Farrell Dobbs. He emerged from the ranks in the great truckdrivers' strike, which, in 1934, made Minneapolis a union town and was a key battle in the great upsurge for industrial unionism that established the CIO. During the strike, Dobbs became one of the principal union leaders. In 1939, he led the drive that organized a quarter of a million over-the-road drivers in the Northwest under a uniform 12-state agreement.

In 1941, Dobbs and 17 other leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis drivers' union were the first to be convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, for their socialist opposition to World War II. As candidate for President in 1952 and this year, he campaigned against the witch-hunt in general and the Smith Act convictions of the Communist Party leaders in particular.

The SWP candidate for Vice-President is Myra Tanner Weiss. In the late 1930's, she worked as a migratory worker, helped or-



FARRELL DOBBS



MYRA TANNER WEISS

ganize Southern California farm workers, and was made honorary member of the Mexican Agricultural Workers Union for her courageous defense of the Mexican migratory workers.

In 1941, she spoke out in her union against persecution of Japanese-American workers. She again defended the rights of this minority in the course of her campaign for Mayor of Los An-

geles in 1945 and their continued incarceration in "relocation" camps.

In 1945, outraged by the burning to death of a Negro family in Fontana, Calif., by white supremacists, she launched a West Coast-wide protest action.

In 1952, as SWP Vice-Presidential candidate Mrs. Weiss campaigned with Farrell Dobbs against the Korean war.



# "Congratulations and More Power to You!"

## Sampling of Letters From 1,500 Replies To SWP Broadcasts

Here is five dollars in response to your request for help. I am a sick man and can't work, so I am very tight on money. Hoping that you remain satisfied with my offer.

A. C.  
Rochester, N. Y.

I have never had any real political affiliations. I did however, vote for the Republicans four years ago, and I have seen what a mistake I made. We are no

### Wants to Join SWP To Help His Class

I would like to become a member of your organization. I would appreciate any literature you can send me, as I long for an education. I am a member of the Teamsters Union in Philadelphia and I can see where you have some very good truths. I would like to see what I can do to help my class of fellow men.

Philadelphia, Pa.  
H. G.

closer to a solution of the world's ills than we were before. My feeling is that if the Socialist Workers Party stands for the rights and liberties of all peoples regardless of their position in life, I can endorse their platform.

I would like to send a contribution but I am a pastor of a very small congregation and my funds are limited to the needs of my household. Please understand my intentions are good and I would like to consider myself a member of this party that stands for the rights of men, not the enslavement of the classes.

K. M.  
Illinois

I believe that you should send each and every worker and farmer a paper on this matter, either direct or through the unions, so people will know just what this socialist government will do for the people.

W. W.  
So. Bloomington, Ohio

I heartily applaud your call for a united left-wing movement and socialist party.

S. L.  
New York, N. Y.

Please send me information concerning the elections. I feel something must be done to stop the politicians now in power or they will destroy our freedom. The Republicans and Democrats are the same as far as I can see.

A. D.  
Columbus, Ohio

(By Wire)  
MISS JOYCE COWLEY. LISTENED TO YOUR SPEECH SUNDAY. REALLY ENJOYED IT. I AGREE WITH EVERYTHING YOU SAID. WISH YOU THE BEST OF LUCK IN YOUR UNDERTAKING.

W. T.  
NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.

I am interested in Socialism and would like to learn more about the Socialist Workers Party. If you have any free literature I would appreciate it if you would send me a few copies. If not, perhaps you could inform me where I could obtain accurate and reliable pamphlets and books.

I am a student at Harvard, majoring in Economics. I am married, 26 years old and have two children. I attend school during the day and make a living by working nights.

V. R.  
Boston, Mass.

We watched the talks of the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on TV from Denver. We would like to have some literature and I enclose a dollar. That's not much but Mr. L. is the only one getting the Colorado pension. \$108.54 a month is what it has been and that has to do for the two of us.

Mrs. G. L.  
Colorado

I am very interested in your party and to top it all I have to report on your party. Thank you very much for any help and information you can give me.

S. A.  
Oakland, Calif.

I was listening to some of your views on the radio last night and would appreciate your sending me the literature that was mentioned. I am 16 years old and I am trying to gather my own ideas as to which party is best. I certainly agree with what your party said last night about the promises of the Republicans and Democrats being only political double talk. But how about your own party? I asked my father about your party and he said that you mean well, but don't really practice what you preach. How about it?

M. L.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

I was very interested in the speech I heard on TV this afternoon by a member of your party. I would be interested in receiving more information about the Socialist Workers Party program and how I could become active in this movement.

F. T.  
Sheboygan, Wis.

Congratulations on your wonderful TV speech. More power to you. I would like a copy of the speech and more information on how I can help.

Mrs. H. S.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Enclosed you will find \$1 for a trial subscription to your paper, the Militant. Although I shall

### Now Views Socialism On a Broader Plane

In the past three years I've had workcamp experience in the slum section of my home town, Philadelphia. About a year ago I read an essay by Cole on Socialism. Since then I've been interested in the idea of a minimum standard of living and in the idea of federal medical help. I plainly saw the need for that in the shameful slums of my city. Since then I've started to think about socialism on a much broader plane. I wonder if you could send me some information about the aims and policies of the Socialist Workers Party.

C. L.  
Richmond, Ind.

probably cast my vote for the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party I am interested in the activities of all the minority parties. The left today is at its lowest point in American history and it is imperative that the members be kept alive so that when the proper time comes to unite our forces we will have something to start with as a base for further growth.

H. F.  
Green Creek, N. J.

## A Great Gain for Socialism

An Editorial

On this page we publish more letters received in response to the TV and radio appearances of the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. During the last six weeks, the SWP has received over 1,500 such responses.

These letters provide strong testimony to a dissatisfaction among the American people with the rule of Big Business and its twin parties — the Republicans and Democrats. They are eloquent testimony to the attractive power of a militant socialist program.

The letters demonstrate the appeal that socialism has for members of every strata of the population — excepting, of course, the small minority which forms the capitalist class. The letters come from workers and farmers, from Negroes and whites, from working women and housewives, from the old and the young. Every Southern state has contributed to the volume of mail the SWP received, giving further evidence of the new stirrings taking place among Negro and white workers in that region of the country where American capitalist rule is the harshest.

The letters should be especially gratifying to all those in the radical movement who have insisted in preserving their political independence from the capitalist parties. The response to the SWP candidates' radio and TV appearances certainly confirms the contention of these radicals that the socialist movement could participate effectively in the election campaign through its own nominees.

As in 1948 and 1952, the SWP entered the campaign with small numbers and

extremely meager financial resources. Yet the response has been greater this year than in either of the two previous Presidential campaigns. As a result of the campaign, support has been won from people previously unaffiliated with the radical movement who have found in the SWP's program answers they have been seeking. At the same time many individual radicals who had begun to grow discouraged, have, as a result of the campaign, taken new heart in the prospects for the socialist movement.

The socialist movement gained from the campaign. The gratifying letters of support indicate this. Furthermore, many of these newly won supporters are already beginning to act. They are contributing urgently needed funds to carry on the fight. They are distributing campaign literature and some are joining the ranks of the SWP.

This added muscle to the socialist movement means greater striking power for the work to be done in the days ahead. It means that a stronger and more effective socialist ticket will be in the field when the 1958 elections roll around.

And most important of all, the response to the SWP broadcasts is an inspiring preview of things to come. For as conditions worsen for the majority of the American people — through more threats of war, more speed-up in the factories, more Jim Crow, more high prices and unemployment — the present support to the socialist cause will grow swiftly and become a mass movement. It will become organized and transform America into a land of plenty and justice for all.

I saw the speech by Farrell Dobbs on television today, and I am very interested in your party and its principles. Good luck this fall!

J. A.  
Liltsontville, Ohio

I listened to the speech of Mrs. Myra Tamm Weiss, candidate for Vice-President of the Socialist Workers Party and was greatly impressed with what she said, and would like to have a copy of her speech. It explained the attitudes of the candidates for the office of President and we have a better idea of the issues involved.

A. D.  
Jacksonville, Fla.

Please send me a supply of your literature for the coming presidential election. I heard your candidate speak over the radio and I must say that it made more sense than I have heard from any of the other candidates.

A. P.  
Crescent City, Calif.

Could you tell me if I have been made a member of the SWP since sending in for membership. Could you also tell me if there is any branch of the Party in my vicinity and what my obligations to the Party are. I am 17 years of age and a student in high school. I would like to help in the campaign in any way I can (delivering pamphlets, etc.), since I cannot vote. I receive the Militant.

W. D.  
Massachusetts

After hearing a discussion over the radio by your candidate for President, I have become interested. I find much to be desired in the policies of our two major parties. I would appreciate your sending me data, literature, etc., on the Socialist Workers Party.

J. D.  
St. Petersburg, Fla.

I am a student and I am anxious to learn as much about the parties of the left as is possible. Would you please send me a copy of your platform and newspaper as Mr. Dobbs and Mrs. Weiss mentioned in their televised speeches.

W. T.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

I watched Mr. Dobbs on TV, and I was very much impressed with his speech. I thought it was plain, simple and straightforward. I wish more working people could have heard tonight's talk. I'm sure it would prove very enlightening. Would you please send me your platform and any other pamphlets you have for the public.

P. H.  
Bronx, N. Y.

I saw part of your program on Saturday. Why aren't you in the papers? Why haven't I heard of you before? Please send me some of your literature.

G. N.  
Tampa, Fla.

right and you're my man on the ballot.

J. B.  
Westmoreland, Calif.

Peace through socialism is a wonderful platform indeed, in theory. But can it work? I am particularly interested in what would happen to the big-business dominated Republican and Democratic parties under a workers-farmers government. Again, Mrs. Weiss leaves me in a quandary when she insists that "withdraw all troops from foreign lands" would be one of the primary objectives of the SWP. I cannot at all conceive of how this country can do otherwise than to maintain adequate strength of armed might in the face of an ever-ambitious movement by the USSR. On another note, Mrs. Weiss leaves me cold and shivering when she proposes we "recognize the new government of China."

M. B.  
Winston, Maine

It's a pleasant surprise to find a political party with such rational, intelligent aims. Please send me further information.

F. B.  
Elgin, Ill.

I am especially interested in your foreign outlook and Southern policies. I have heard your speeches on television and over radio. They thoroughly aroused my interest.

P. G.  
Shickley, Neb.

I heard your broadcast over television. We enjoyed it very much and would like to know where to write to get your Socialist Workers paper. I would like to subscribe to it.

Mrs. R. P.  
Independence, Mo.

I was greatly impressed by a speech presented by your Vice-Presidential nominee. Please send me all available information on the objectives of the Socialist Workers Party. I'm the chairman of a student committee on current affairs at our college and therefore feel such information vital.

F. B.  
Fort Wayne, Ind.

I have been interested in the socialist movement for many years and I would like to have information on your party.

B. H.  
Wilmington, N. C.

I heard your talks on television, and I am very interested in your party. I have voted Democratic the few times that I have bothered to vote. But I felt I was doing more harm than good for the country and myself. I would like to hear from you.

Mrs. P. A.  
Cincinnati, Ohio

Listened to your vice-presidential candidate talk on NBC. Would like to have a copy of your platform, if I may. My congratulations on your courage and energy in pioneering an idea so

### 'Clear and Forceful Arguments'

Some time ago I heard your candidate for Vice-President (a charming lady whose name I cannot recall) over television. I was much taken with her clear, forceful arguments, and the logical manner in which she presented the position of her party.

Until that time, the Socialist Workers Party was no more than a half-remembered name, recalled from some political science lectures at the University or read in some textbook. I have since learned that your organization is something more than a "paper tiger" and is a national movement, so any literature or information you might send me will be appreciated. So far as I know the Socialist Workers Party is not represented here in Houston or even in Texas; otherwise I would have contacted the local instead of writing you at national headquarters. I am quite sure you have been swamped with requests for information and with denunciations from the uninformed, so I will quite understand any delay in hearing from you.

The progressive left is barely represented here in Houston, so I was very much taken with your television presentation.

E. L.  
Houston, Texas

unpopular with the current administration.

V. M.  
Dobbins, Calif.

Please send me five copies of your platform. Several of my teaching friends would like the extra copies.

M. G.  
Chicago, Ill.

I will not be of age to vote this coming election and have every intention of being a capitalist. (I own my own store.) However, I heard your radio broadcast last month and some of its points seem quite favorable. Being somewhat of an idealist and interested in knowing all sides of the political scope, I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the free literature on your work that was mentioned on the radio broadcast.

J. T.  
St. Louis, Mo.

Please send me at once your pamphlets and all the information you can about your party.

G. Y.  
Ashland, Ohio

I would like as much information on the Socialist Workers Party as you can send me, such as campaign speeches, etc. I should like to campaign for the Socialist Workers Party in our High School elections this year — among our future voters.

L. C.  
Kewanna, Ind.

### Wants Socialist Club On Stanford Campus

I am a student at Stanford and was very impressed by Mrs. Weiss' speech on NBC. There is a Young Democratic League and a Young Republican League here at Stanford, but no socialist organization. I am interested in starting a socialist movement here at the University. Please send me information and platform.

J. R.  
Stanford, Calif.

I am deeply grateful that the people of America are going to have the chance to vote for another party and a different candidate.

R. E. G.  
Dearborn, Mich.

The platform of the party was very interesting, and I would like to have a copy of it to read thoroughly and also to show it to people I know who are voting for the most well known candidates. If these people would not vote just because a person is the most popular, things might change. Facts are the most important.

C. C.  
Oakland, Calif.

### SWP Candidates On TV and Radio

WNEW—New York City  
People's Choice Program  
Oct. 24, 26, 31, Nov. 2  
10:35-11:00 P.M.

Wed., Oct. 31  
Midnight to 2 A.M.  
WMCA — 570 on Dial

JOYCE COWLEY  
on  
Barry Gray Program

Wed., Oct. 31  
8:30 P.M.  
WNYC—Radio

Joyce Cowley  
Interview on  
Campus Press Conference

Thurs., Nov. 1  
11:45 P.M.  
WPIX-TV  
Channel 11

Speech by Joyce Cowley

## Dobbs Interview on Reporters' Round-Up

[We print herewith excerpts from the nationwide Reporters' Roundup TV program, Oct. 21, which featured Farrell Dobbs, SWP Candidate for President as guest. Dobbs was interviewed by Ernest K. Lindley, Chief of the Washington Bureau of Newsweek and Jim Lucas, Staff Writer for Scripps-Howard Newspapers. The moderator was Robert F. Hurleigh, Washington Commentator. The program appeared over the Mutual Broadcasting System on Sunday, Oct. 21—Ed.]

LUCAS: Mr. Dobbs, what is the relationship between the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party in the United States?

DOBBS: The Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party have an altogether different approach to the question of political action by the working people of the United States. We advocate the formation of a labor party. The Communist Party advocates that the working people support the Democratic Party.

LUCAS: There were reports in the press over the past several weeks that secret orders had gone out to members of the Communist Party to get behind Farrell Dobbs for President. Do you have any comment on that?

DOBBS: What is actually happening is this. That those people who previously supported the Progressive Party that was liquidated after the 1952 campaign have divided into two components. On the one side there is a grouping headed by Vincent Hallinan, who was the 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, and Clifford T. McCahey, who was one of the founding leaders of the American Labor Party in New York, who are supporting the Socialist Workers Party ticket in this campaign. They are giving us that support on the basis of a recognition of a need for the working people to vote for a socialist ticket in opposition to the two capitalist parties, The Communist

Party has tried to influence the former members of the Progressive Party and the labor movement — the Negro people, the working people generally in the country — to support the Democratic Party. They do not support us at all.

LINDLEY: Mr. Dobbs, how does your party differ from the Socialist Party?

DOBBS: I think one of the best ways to describe it would be with reference to the question of foreign policy. We are opposed to the bi-partisan foreign policy of the Republican and Democratic Parties, and the Socialist Party has generally supported that policy. For instance, in the 1952 Presidential campaign, the Socialist Party candidates supported the Truman policy of plunging us into the Korean War; the Socialist Workers Party opposed it.

LINDLEY: You favor closer and friendlier relations with the Soviet Union?

DOBBS: We think that the American people should support the right of the peoples in every country in the world to self-determination — to shape their own affairs, decide their own course, including the right to abolish capitalism, if they so desire.

LINDLEY: Do you think people have the right to exercise self-determination in the Soviet Union today?

DOBBS: The problem in the Soviet Union is one of establishing workers' democracy. Because the Soviet Union was iso-

lated after the October Revolution in 1917 and because socialism can ultimately be attained only on a world basis, a totalitarian bureaucracy then headed by Stalin usurped the political rights of the people of Russia and now the forces have been set in motion that are moving in the direction of an overthrow of that bureaucracy and the establishment of workers' democracy.

LINDLEY: You're sympathetic with [the] display of independence in Poland?

DOBBS: By all means. That's the road to genuine advancement of the world socialist movement.

LUCAS: Earl Browder suggested the other day that the parties of the Left consider a general re-alignment, and suggested that Norman Thomas take the lead in bringing the parties of the Left under a new leadership. Do you have any comment on that?

DOBBS: I would not suggest Norman Thomas as the leader of any regroupment of the Left because I don't agree with his policies. But that's a secondary question. The main question is that the impact in the radical movement as a whole of the great new developments within the Soviet orbit manifested by the repudiation of Stalin — which shows the beginning of a political revolution to extend and protect and advance the establishment of socialism — is shaking up the whole radical movement here. Basically, I think two things are now required: One, a free forum discussion of all tendencies within the radical movement to exchange ideas, views, positions, programs on the great issues of the day; and second, united action on issues around such principal questions as the defense of democratic rights, voting socialist and

not capitalist in election campaigns, and similar issues.

LINDLEY: Mr. Dobbs, in your lifetime, hasn't the average American, particularly the average American factory and mine worker, made great advances in his standard of living?

DOBBS: There has been an advance in the standard of living, but, at the same time, there has been an increase in the twin dangers of war and depression, which on the one side have created more and more the condition of mass anxiety among the people of America over their future and an uncertainty about their future, and on the other side has created a circumstance in which they can never be sure how long they are going to have employment.

LINDLEY: Mr. Dobbs, I'm very curious about how you developed these ideas or became attached to them.

DOBBS: My first introduction to politics — active participation in politics — came as a result of my participation in the general strike of the truck drivers in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1934. [Dobbs was one of the leaders of this strike.—Ed.] I learned by being on the dangerous end of a policeman's gun and policeman's club in that strike that there's a lot of things needed to be corrected in this country, and I soon learned that the power demonstrated by the workers through their unions, their capacity to win a contract, to establish certain conditions became negated by the operation of the capitalists at the government level whereby they'd reach right into the worker's pocket and take away the wage increase that he won on the picket line. . . .

HURLEIGH: I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I am going to have to cut in here. Our board of

judges has selected the prize-winning questions submitted by our listeners for this program. In a moment, Mr. Dobbs is going to answer these questions. Stand by for the names of the winners.

HURLEIGH: And now, Mr. Dobbs, here are those prize-winning questions from our viewers.

ANNOUNCER: Mary Costello of Portland, Maine.

HURLEIGH: Mr. Dobbs, is the average family debt up despite pay increases because more families are buying goods on installment plans?

DOBBS: Yes, the consumer credit today stands at an all-time high and it's still going up, and, conversely, the purchasing power of the dollar stands at an all-time low and it's still going down.

ANNOUNCER: Iris Chance of Yuba City, California.

HURLEIGH: Mr. Dobbs, do you think it wise to by-pass Suez and give Russia her way?

DOBBS: I think it wise to give Egypt her rights and let Egypt manage the Suez Canal, and it is as much her right to do that as it is the right of the American people to manage the Mississippi River. Suez runs right through Egypt. . . .

ANNOUNCER: Mrs. Helen V. Jones of Portland, Oregon.

HURLEIGH: Mr. Dobbs, should segregation in the South be enforced by the Federal Government?

DOBBS: The Federal Government should use its full power in all departments to completely enforce the desegregation and to accord full economic, social and political rights to the Negro people, and it should be done right now. The Negro people have waited almost a hundred years since Appomattox and it's high time they got justice.

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# First Stage of the Polish Political Revolution

By Murry Weiss

A workers' revolution is taking place in Poland against the rule of a Kremlin-dominated bureaucratic caste. The movement that broke out in a general strike and workers' uprising in Poznan last June 28 has obviously not receded. It has, instead, gained enormous scope and swept across all of Poland. The entire working class and the student masses have been brought to their feet. The most recent news shows that the pressure of the revolutionary masses has found its focal point in the factories of Warsaw—center of the most advanced section of the Polish working class.

The power of the revolution can be seen at a glance in two recent developments.

(1) Over the weekend of Oct. 20-21 the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party defied the threat of armed intervention by a Kremlin delegation and proceeded to elect a new political bureau, from which it excluded the supporters of the Russian Soviet bureaucracy. At the same time it placed at the head of the party Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had been framed in 1949 as a "Titoist fascist" and locked up for four years in prison.

(2) Since the June 28 Poznan

uprising the Polish government has retreated step by step from its original moves to conduct a mass frame-up of participants in the general strike and demonstration. The charge that the Poznan workers were led by imperialist spies and provocateurs was all but dropped. While this slanderous concoction still appeared in the indictment it was not mentioned by the prosecution in the courtroom during the trials which started Sept. 28.

For the first time in the history of post-war, Kremlin-dominated Poland, trials were conducted in a relatively free and open atmosphere. Significantly, this development took place in the face of powerful Kremlin pressure to crack down on Poznan with savage and ruthless repression. The Polish government couldn't do this. The mood of the Poznan uprising had spread to the rest of the country.

Thus the government shifted from its original charge that the general strike and demonstration were led by imperialist spies and provocateurs to the admission that the workers' movement was completely legitimate—but that youthful "hoodlums" had allegedly taken advantage of it to commit criminal acts.

## 'Titoism' and Poland's Struggle

What accounts for these startling and swift changes? What kind of revolution is going on in Poland? What class interests will it serve? What role will the present leading faction in the Polish CP play in the events to come? What is the place of this revolution in the world-wide struggle between capitalism and socialism? These are some of the questions that arise from the new developments in Poland.

The upsurge against the domination of Poland by the Kremlin bureaucracy has been widely described as "national communism" and "Titoism." In this description, universally employed by the capitalist press, it is conceded that the Polish revolution in no way aims at the restoration of capitalism. However, by analogy with the Yugoslav development, it is inferred that the present

government, backed by the masses, will break away from the domination of the Soviet Union and while not going back to capitalism will be drawn away from the Soviet orbit on a diplomatic level.

There are, indeed, basic similarities between the present Polish struggle with the Kremlin and the Yugoslav break with Stalin in 1948. But there are also profound differences. And in the balance the differences will prove decisive.

The Polish revolution is a struggle for national independence on the part of a bureaucratically deformed workers' state against the oppression of the Russian Soviet bureaucracy. In this it is similar to Yugoslavia's break with the Kremlin. However, in Yugoslavia the rupture came about as a result of a

different historical development and took place under completely different world conditions.

Yugoslavia became a workers' state through a different process than Poland and the rest of the East-European countries. The Yugoslav workers and peasants, led by the Communist Party, fought a civil war against the Nazi occupiers of their country and the armed forces of landlordism and capitalism. They underwent the bitter experience of learning that Stalin had made a deal with British imperialism designed to prevent them from carrying their struggle through to victory. The Yugoslav partisans saw how Stalin supplied arms to their civil-war enemies while sabotaging shipments to their own

## Relationship of Forces—Then and Now

Aside from Yugoslavia, the East European countries, including Poland, were brought into the Soviet orbit by bureaucratic and military means—with the Kremlin's armed forces and secret police playing the main role. When the Red Army first occupied these countries the independent revolutionary activity of the working masses was brutally crushed. The Kremlin attempted, for a period, to keep the unfree and decadent capitalist class in power. With the opening of the cold war this proved impossible. The economic and political power of the East European capitalist was expropriated by the action of the Kremlin's agencies and not through the revolutionary action of the masses. Thus, with the revolutionary movement dammed up, the Kremlin was able to impose its oppressive yoke on East European, appointing native Stalinists as proconsuls to operate under direct instructions from Moscow.

When the Yugoslavs refused to knuckle under to Stalin in 1948, the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was relatively intact. The world-wide Stalinist monolith seemed invulnerable. To be sure, the Tito break did submit this structure to a severe shock, but not enough to shake its basic foundations. The Chinese revolution, with its

bleeding and beleaguered forces. Despite Stalin's treachery, they came out of the war victorious, with a state that was basically built in revolution.

When Stalin tried to impose the dictatorial rule of the Kremlin upon the Yugoslav working people and reduce their country to an economic and political vassal of the Soviet bureaucracy, they balked. Behind the Yugoslav leaders stood the working masses and an army built in battle. Stalin hesitated to take the military step of invading Yugoslavia. Instead, he tightened the screws on the other East European regimes, taking preventive measures against their defection.

implicit creation of a rival center in the world Stalinist movement, had not yet gained its victory. The Chinese were still following the line imposed by Stalin which called for a coalition government with Chiang Kai-shek. And as we have shown, the rest of East Europe was under complete domination by the Kremlin.

Under these conditions, the Tito leadership stood at the head of a besieged fortress. Moreover, while the working masses of Yugoslavia completely backed the Tito leadership in its break with the Kremlin, these masses were not at that moment engaged in revolutionary activity. The vanguard of the Yugoslav masses, the Communist workers, had fought through many hard years of civil war. Their ranks had been decimated by casualties. They were exhausted. The immediate pressure of revolutionary mass action was not being exerted on the Tito leadership.

After a few irresolute moves to the left, the Belgrade regime began to buckle to the right-wing pressure. It couldn't capitulate to Stalin. That would have been suicidal. Nor could the Tito regime stand alone, given Yugoslavia's weak, isolated economy. The Titoists were incapable of taking a Leninist course and break out of their isolation on the road of encouraging a revolutionary break with Stalinism.

# Science Plus Socialism -- The Formula to Eliminate Poverty

By Lynn Marcus

Both Big Business parties have highlighted their election speeches with promises of a "New America." Stevenson sounded this note in his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention. Nixon echoed this theme in a Colorado Springs speech last month. Stevenson admits that all is far from perfect and says that he has the formula for a capitalist utopia. Nixon is more specific, promising that automation, under capitalism, will solve our problems.

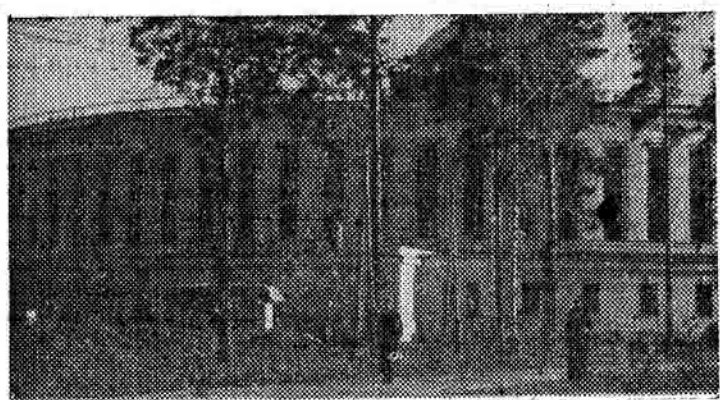
The Nixon speech covers the essential arguments for both Big Business parties. In the Sept. 23 New York Times, Nixon is reported as promising a four-day week in the "not too distant future." "To promote a new way of life—better than we ever had before," Nixon said, we shall utilize the forces of scientists and technicians so that "back-breaking toil and mind-wearying tension will be left to machines and electronic devices."

Stevenson and Nixon are each addressing themselves to the deep-felt and mounting desire of the American workers and working farmers for something more secure, something better than the existing world. Both Democrats and Republicans would have the working people believe that they can deliver the goods.

## BASIC QUESTIONS

These claims raise several key questions. First, can U.S. Big Business carry automation to the stage of development which Nixon implies? Secondly, is it reasonable to believe that the benefits of automation, insofar as capitalism can apply them, will be willingly shared with the workers and working farmers? Thirdly, is it reasonable to expect that Big Business, by itself or through the U.S. government which it controls, is going to make a serious planned effort to even try to reach the "golden age" of automation of which Nixon spoke?

To answer these questions we must at least briefly review the history of automation and its twin, nuclear science. It is instructive to observe that neither of these major technological advances came about through normal capitalist development. Nuclear science, as is well known, was developed only through a



View of building housing what the USSR claims is the world's largest atom smasher. This is one of the developments that has Washington brass worried as Soviet planned economy threatens to surge ahead of capitalism in the applications of atomic power for peaceful uses.

government "crash program" to produce a more destructive weapon of war. Automation is the result of similar crash programs to produce radar, fire control apparatus and other technical machinery of warfare.

Nuclear power sources and automation for productive industry are toys and playthings when compared with the major developments in the armaments field. This was so at the beginning of the Second World War. It continues today, as the military apparatus and the super-profit-making U.S. armaments industry continue to gobble up and stock-pile a major portion of the nation's scientific and technical brains.

It is impossible for U.S. capitalism to fully develop automation. Major industries can apply automation in a limited way to production. However, automation is more than gadgetry. The gadgets are only the tools of the principle of automation. Automation is basically the planned production and flow of commodities in production. Fully-automated production, in the terminology of the automation engineer, is fully programmed, fully planned production. Full automation in the economy, means not only programming within factories, but programming among many factories, mines, railways, highways and other parts of production—treating all as one continuous machine.

In order to plan production in this way, it is necessary to take

away from the individual capitalist enterprise its authority to regulate or interfere with production. The individual capitalist firm tries to regulate its own production according to the outlook for making profits. Automation requires production determined solely by the overall needs of the whole economy.

Automation, to be effective, requires a fully programmed, planned economy. Therefore, before automation can be fully applied, it is first necessary to remove the capitalist profit motive from society as well as the system of private property in the means of production—in short, to eliminate capitalism. But as this is the system the Democrats and Republicans are sworn to uphold their promises to make the full blessings of automation available to the working people are pure bunk.

It is true that some application of automation has trickled down from the war economy to civilian-goods production and will continue to do so. But it is used to increase capitalist profit-making and therefore increase exploitation of labor.

The effect is to be seen in the automobile industry, where recent production goes hand in hand with reductions in the total working payroll—and with speed-ups. The pattern started in Detroit is spreading throughout the whole economy. Limited automation under capitalism forces new struggles by working men and women to defend their living and working conditions. The only way the

workers will secure the four-day week promised by Nixon is to win it just as they won the eight-hour day in the past—namely, in struggle against the capitalist class.

## SCIENCE ONLY FOR WAR

Major applications of nuclear science and automation will continue in the armaments economy, in the super-arsenals of the aircraft, electronics and similar industries. U.S. capitalism is not going to cut its own throat by pouring hundreds of millions of dollars out of its profits back into automation for non-war production. To do this would increase productivity far beyond the ability of American capitalism to profitably sell the output.

The current over-production of automobiles is a small symptom of the consequences for American Big Business. Under capitalism, therefore, more and more electronics and nuclear scientists and technicians are employed in designing super-weapons and conceiving super-strategy for war.

The "New America" promised by Big Business politicians will come about only through a change to a socialist order. This change, in turn, can only be brought about if the American working people build their own party, create a workers and farmers government and end the capitalist system. A Workers and Farmers Government would introduce planned production to meet the needs and desires of the majority of the population. It would permit the full application of automation and nuclear power in order to free men and women from "back-breaking toil and mind-wearying tension."

## FROM THE SWP ELECTION PLATFORM

Nationalize the banks, basic industries, food trusts and all natural resources, including nuclear power. Operate all these facilities in the interests of the producers and consumers through democratically elected committees of workers and technicians. Institute a system of planned economy.

in the Communist Parties of Western Europe. On top of that the Yugoslavs suffered a series of bad harvests. Famine faced the country.

Conditions were ripe for the intervention of American imperialism. By applying murderous pressure, Wall Street was able to wring important concessions from Tito. The most ominous expression of this came when the Yugoslavs gave their support to the imperialist intervention in Korea against the revolutionary Chinese and Korean people.

How far the swing to the right by Tito would have gone if Western imperialism had scored a victory against the world revolutionary forces is a matter of conjecture. The fact is that imperialism did not score any major victories. It became weakened, and Tito was able to maneuver temporarily between the Soviet and imperialist orbit.

In 1956, for Poland, the situation is drastically different. Its break with the Kremlin occurs against the background of a Polish working class engaged in feverish revolutionary activity. At the same time the whole of Eastern Europe is seething with revolt against the bureaucracy and its Kremlin power-source. As these lines are written, the situation in Hungary is moving to a showdown with the Kremlin. News of workers' struggles is coming out of East Germany, where two million industrial workers engaged in a general

## Workers Against Bureaucrats

The present governing faction in Warsaw represents the Polish bureaucratic caste. It has pushed forward Gomulka, who is now personally popular with the Polish masses because of his persecution by the Stalinist regime. But the bureaucratic caste, itself, is known to the workers and hated with an intensity that is exceeded only by the workers' hatred for the foreign oppression of the Russian bureaucracy. In every industrial town like Poznan, on every collective farm, and infesting all government agencies from top to bottom, are bureaucrats who worked cheek by jowl with the Russian Stalinists—getting their share of privileges while the Polish workers starved and went without shoes.

And it is not a matter of revenge. The Polish workers want to uproot the bureaucratic system of rule and replace it with workers' democracy. As a first step in this direction, the workers displayed marvelous revolutionary strategic wisdom in directing the main fire at the Russian occupiers. But they will not stop there. Once the revolutionary masses have entered the scene they will fight on towards the complete fulfillment of their revolutionary objectives. This will

bring them into collision with the representatives of the Gomulka faction, too, which represents the parasitic breed of Polish bureaucrats that still remain in power.

Just consider for a moment what must be happening in Poland. A few days ago, Gomulka was sending delegations to the Warsaw factories to keep the workers closely informed as to the progress of discussions with the Khrushchev delegation. When Khrushchev threatened to move troops against the Gomulka regime, he was told that the armed workers were standing ready to support the new regime.

The workers were indeed ready to support Gomulka against Khrushchev. But now they will insist that all of Gomulka's fine words be translated into realities. The workers committees that sent delegations to Gomulka to hail his defiance of the Kremlin will go back to the factories and give the Stalinist manager, who ruled their lives with bureaucratic despotism for these many years, a very hard look.

The workers will feel their new power in the factories and in the communities. They are the masters of the situation and they will drive the revolution forward.



GOMULKA

ward to the complete establishment of the democratic rule by the workers organizations and representatives.

There are, of course, a number of elements that would dearly like to see a return to the "good old" capitalist days in Poland. There are first of all the expropriated Polish capitalists, bankers and landlords. There are elements in the old bourgeois intelligentsia. And there are sections of the Polish bureaucracy itself (many of whose members stem from the old bourgeois cadres), that would be highly susceptible to the pressure of a capitalist counter-revolution. Above all the American imperialists yearn for a capitalist Poland. And their hopes that the Gomulka faction will open a relatively stable "Titoist" era, are founded on their belief that through such a regime they may find a way to exploit a cleavage between Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The only people who do not want a return to capitalism and landlordism in Poland are the Polish workers and peasants and the student masses—that is, 95% of the Polish people. If Wall Street is counting on a Titoist Poland and a Titoist Eastern Europe, through which it can hope to get its foot in the door and later open it wide for capitalist penetration, they will have to reckon with the Polish revolutionary working masses.

The true perspective of the events in Poland is completely different than those envisaged by the wishful thinkers of the capitalist West. The Polish workers' revolution will give an enormous impetus to the political revolution of the workers in the Soviet Union. And even before the process of political revolution for the regeneration of the workers' states on democratic foundations has gained complete victory, the resurgence of revolutionary Leninism among the Communist workers of Western Europe is assured.

Taking fire from the movement of the Soviet working class, which can be reckoned as nothing less than a new stage in the Russian Revolution, the European Communist workers will have the opportunity to regroup themselves into genuinely revolutionary parties. This will open the road for them to finally overthrow moribund capitalism. Stalinism has thus far prevented this. With the socialist victory in Western Europe, the formation of a Socialist United States of Europe will become a practical question on the order of the day.

Instead of strangling in the grip of decadent capitalism in the West and bureaucratic mismanagement of the workers' states in the East, the all-European socialist working class will begin the work of organizing a planned economy on a European scale. The Socialist United States of Europe will forge a fraternal revolutionary union with the People's Republic of China and help bring about the liberation of the rest of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the Far East and Middle East.

How long will it be after that until England joins the ranks of workers' states? And yes, how long will it take, under such historical circumstances for the workers in our hemisphere, and in the United States itself, to go socialist?

These are the historical perspectives opened by the revolutionary upsurge in the Soviet orbit. People who have become over-acustomed to the devious nature and drawn-out character that the process of world revolution has taken up to now, may think that such perspectives are unrealistic. But the height of unrealism in a revolutionary epoch is to postpone to an indefinite future the revolutionary tasks that are posed before our own generation.

That can only lead to a lack of preparation. The way to prepare for the grandiose socialist transformation of our world is to recognize how much today's momentous events in Eastern Europe are bound to speed up the world-wide class struggle for socialism.

Warsaw radio announced, according to an Oct. 24 Associated Press dispatch, that all but three of the 154 Poles arrested in the historic June 28 Poznan general strike and uprising have been freed. The case of the three will be reviewed says Reuters Oct. 24. This completes the official admission of the Polish government that charges of "provocateur and hoodlum" against demonstrators were completely false. These same charges are now being repeated by the Hungarian CP regime of Nagy against the Budapest workers uprising.

# ... WORKERS FIGHT KREMLIN

(Continued from page 1)

demonstrators and to slander the uprising as the work of "bandits" and "counter-revolutionary gangs." In repeated radio broadcasts, Nagy said, "Lay down your arms... have confidence. We have learned from our past mistakes. Lay down your arms." But the Hungarian masses didn't believe that a leader who called out Soviet troops against his own people has learned from past Stalinist mistakes. The fighting continued.

## POLISH EVENTS

In Warsaw, on the other hand, Polish leaders counterposed the armed workers of the Warsaw factories to the threat of Russian troops which had been ordered to back up the Stalinist ultimatum of Oct. 19. The Kremlin demand that the old Politburo be retained and that liberalization be halted was presented in person to the Warsaw Plenum by Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Soviet First Deputy Premier V. M. Molotov. A. I. Mikoyan, and L. M. Kaganovich. All four made a flying trip to Warsaw for the purpose.

When confronted with the revolutionary will of the Polish masses, Khrushchev and Co. ordered the Russian troops to halt and flew back to Moscow in ignominious retreat. A number of top Russian military men who had accompanied Khrushchev, however, remained in Warsaw.

At the end of the three-day plenum, the Polish Party's central committee elected a new Politburo, excluding the chief Kremlin agent in the Polish Government, Marshal Konstantin K. Rokossovsky, former Soviet army leader, Rokossovsky retains his post as Defense Minister for the

time being in spite of demands for his complete removal made at mass meetings throughout Poland. Wladyslaw Gomulka, former leader of the Polish CP who was ousted by Stalin in 1948 and imprisoned for four years for "Titoism," was elected as the party's First Secretary.

In a speech to the Central Committee before his election, Gomulka revealed the real forces which had forced the changes. "The working class taught the Government a painful lesson," he said. "The Poznan workers demonstrating in the streets (in the June 28 general strike and uprising) called with a loud voice: 'Enough of this, one cannot live like this. We must return from the wrong way...'"

"The Poznan workers," he continued, "did not protest socialism when they went out into the streets. They protested against the evil which grew widely in our life, against deforming the basic principles of socialism."

"It was a great mistake," continued Gomulka, "to picture the Poznan tragedy as a work of agents and provocateurs. The causes of the Poznan tragedy lie in us, the party, the Government. The six-year plan advertised as a stage in the advancement of the living standards, disappointed the hopes of the working classes," he added. "There would be no Poznan riots if the leadership would not conceal the truth..."

The hopes of the working class were shouted out and put into resolutions at hundreds of meetings throughout Poland while the Central Committee discussions went on. Delegations from the factories and schools carried the resolutions to the Warsaw meeting and demanded answers.

A mass rally of workers at the industrial center of Stalingrad in the Polish Silesian coal fields sent a resolution to the capital "supporting M. Gomulka and demanding a 'true Leninist policy' of the Polish United Workers' Party," says an Oct. 20 United Press dispatch. This action is typical.

## MASS STUDENT MEETING

The night after Khrushchev arrived, a rally was held by students in Warsaw. "For six hours," writes Gordon Cruikshank, the London Daily Worker correspondent who reported the meeting, "I sat in the immense Warsaw Polytechnic Hall. It must be 70 yards long by 50 yards wide and is encircled by four tiers of balconies, and every inch of space in the hall and on the balconies was crammed with people. At one stage they were even crawling over the great glass domed roof, prying off panes of glass and pushing their heads through apertures made to hear what was going on below."

The meeting passed a resolution supporting Gomulka, demanding the punishment of those

responsible for Army maneuvers threatening the new course, and demanding that living standards be raised.

Meetings like this took place as the Central Committee was still discussing whether it should knuckle under to the Kremlin demand to retain the man who had ordered the troop movements—Rokossovsky—in the Politburo. Meanwhile, the Warsaw workers, reports Sydney Gruson in the Oct. 20 New York Times, were armed and waiting all night in the factories.

Throughout the week-end Gruson later reported, "the Warsaw factory workers, considered among the most revolutionary in the country, were kept up to date on the military danger, the talks with the Russians, and the Central Committee discussions." "We were anxious that the workers should not act like the Poznan workers," Gruson reports a CP factory representative as saying.

The Warsaw workers did not go into the streets with their arms, but waited in the factories in support of the new regime because it is headed by a faction which pushed for greater liberalization and bucked the Kremlin. Nevertheless, they are suspicious of the new government heads. "The concensus seems to be," says one American correspondent who talked to the Warsaw factory workers, "that deeds, not words, were now expected."

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# Socialism on Order of Day Says Myra Weiss on TV

(Excerpt from a speech by Myra Tanner Weiss over WDBZ-TV, Boston on Oct. 10.)

The foreign policy of a socialist government in the United States would be just the opposite of the policy of the Democrats and Republicans. We would aid the workers of all lands to raise their living standards. In this way we would end international conflict and remove forever the threat of war.

Does this sound too good to be true? It is not. Man can intervene into his own history and change it. And furthermore we must intervene if humanity is even to survive, let alone progress. A third world war — this time fought with nuclear weapons, can mean the destruction of civilization.

A workers government will organize a planned economy. Production will be based on our needs instead of the profits of a few capitalists. We will hasten the development of automation so that we can produce more in less hours. Everyone will have more to consume and more leisure in which to enjoy our material wealth. Our atomic scientists will spend their energies applying nuclear energy to medicine and production so that humanity can benefit from science, not live in fear of it.

A socialist America can guarantee the best of medical care to every man, woman and child from birth throughout life. Old age will be secure. The youth will be guaranteed the fullest education. That anyone should be hungry, in need of the elementary necessities of life, would be unthinkable. No one need fear unemployment for we shall need the labor of all to build a secure and more prosperous life for all.

Of course the capitalist class says such

a society is impossible. Utopian, they cry. The socialists don't understand human nature, incentives and half a dozen other things. But all their objections are stale stuff. A few centuries ago the feudal monarchs forecast doom and anarchy if the people were given the vote. Kings had been trained from birth to govern, they argued. The rabble, as they called the people, could not rule themselves. But the feudal monarchs lost the power. Capitalist democracy was born and there was no chaos. There was progress. And now we are approaching another turning point in history — a point where we either go forward to a higher form of democracy, a socialist society, or we go backward into war and fascist dictatorship.

The capitalist class, represented by the Democrats and Republicans, cannot offer us a future of either peace or prosperity. To be assured of such a future, the working class must come to power. That is why the Socialist Workers Party advocates the building of an independent labor party, based on the union movement.

Such a party can advance a new program, a new perspective for the American people. The United States, with a workers and farmers government, will then take the lead in the world crisis to build the international brotherhood of man. Instead of war and threat of nuclear destruction we shall face a future of peace. Man will be united in the struggle against poverty, disease and ignorance. As Vanzetti, one of the bravest and noblest sons of Massachusetts, once said — socialism will mean a world where man is no longer wof to the man, but his brother. We call this world for which we are fighting: Socialism.

## 21 Negro Bus-Boycott Heads Victimized in Florida Trial

By Henry Gitano

Tallahassee's white-supremacist "Justice," on Oct. 20 fined 21 bus boycotters \$500 each and meted out sixty day suspended jail sentences with one year's probation for all. City officials in their desperate attempts to crush 14,400 steadfast fighters for equal rights, convicted the 21 on charges of running an illegal public transportation system without city permit or state "for hire" license.

At a mass meeting held on Oct. 21, the embattled Negro community of Tallahassee overflowed the Bethel Baptist Church and reaffirmed its determination to stay off the buses. Spokesmen for the Inter Civic Council organized to direct the bus protest (it was the leadership of this organization that had just been convicted) told the assembly that the Council would have to com-

ply with the order to desist from operating a car pool. The car pool was organized soon after the boycott began last May.

In spite of racist legal blows against them, these fighters, for freedom, who refuse to be insulted and humiliated any longer, are convinced that through their own ingenuity, the battle-lines held solid for five months will be maintained.

Since the boycott began, many car owners, desiring to relieve pressure on the Council's dispatching headquarters, took care of all their neighbors' transportation needs without going through the organized machinery. Car owners almost automatically slowed down when seeing a pedestrian and asked if they could use a lift. This unofficial solidarity is now certain to spread.

In the course of the trial, City Judge John Rudd, tossed out as "irrelevant" a motion by defense attorney Francisco Rodriguez, Tampa NAACP lawyer, which stated 1) that the boycotters are not engaged in a business activity but in a protest movement; 2) that the right of free speech cannot be licensed by public authority; 3) that the requirement of racial segregation on the city's buses is a bill of attainder; 4) that the action of the city denies equal protection of the law.

The city of Tallahassee retained a nationally famous attorney, Mark R. Hawes of Tampa, for a \$4,000 fee to assist city attorney Edward Hill in prosecuting

the case. Hawes in three days of trial, paraded dozens of policemen and newspaper reporters to testify on the city's charges that the car pool had operated on regular bus routes and had regular pick-up points.

"The arrest of these people hasn't stopped the car pool," Hawes blustered. "You're going to have to stop them or turn the city government of Tallahassee over to the Inter Civic Council and tell them to take it."

### CANT JAIL ALL

A boycott leader Rev. W. L. Webb, addressing himself to car pool drivers, many of whom have been arrested on traffic counts as part of the continuous police harassment, said on June 27: "There's not enough room in the jails to put us all there."

Nero Pender, a machinist and president of the local woodworkers union, expressed the prevailing sentiment among Tallahassee's Negro population during the boycott's early days: "You take a shovel of sand and if you keep carrying these shovels of sand, you can build a pile so high that no one can pass. That's the way they've been piling up humiliations on us. To have a decent life we've got to do something. I always said: 'A quitter never wins, and a winner never quits,' and we'll win."

Rodriguez representing the 21 boycotters and the Inter Civic Council, said he would file a motion for a new trial.

### NEW YORK

Spearhead of the SWP campaign in New York is its candidate for U.S. Senator, Joyce Cowley. Handling herself like a veteran in her first TV and radio appearances, Miss Cowley won particular praise for the deft manner in which she threw a sharpshooting panel of hostile interviewers completely on the defensive in an Oct. 14 interview over WABC-TV.

A wide number of speaking engagements for Miss Cowley have included a Socialist Party picnic, a debate with the Socialist and Socialist Labor parties at the New Era club, speeches at a number of Negro churches, and participation in symposiums sponsored by the Labor Committee of the Brooklyn NAACP and the Yorkville Compass Club.

Since the SWP has been deprived of its place on the ballot on a trumped-up technicality, the campaign for a write-in vote has been waged at a vigorous pace.



JOYCE COWLEY, Candidate for U.S. Senator, New York.

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### ILLINOIS

Howard Mayhew, the SWP write-in candidate for House of Representatives from the Second District, is the Illinois focal point for a socialist protest vote.

Mayhew has been an active unionist since 1937, both in the Chicago Newspaper Guild and the General Auto Workers. A former United Motors worker, he served as committee member, member of the executive board of UAW Local 719, and co-editor of the 719 News. In 1954, he wrote the



HOWARD MAYHEW, Candidate for U.S. Representative from the Second Congressional District, Illinois.

pamphlet, "Racial Terror in Trumbull Park."

This year, as in 1954, the Illinois SWP, supported by the American Civil Liberties Union

fought a court battle to invalidate a rule specifically barring radicals from the ballot. They were ruled against this year on a legal technicality, but the SWP will continue the fight.

The Farrell Dobbs-Harvey O'Connor meeting in Chicago on October 10 was the high point to date in the Illinois SWP campaign. O'Connor is the author of "Out" and is the national chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This meeting expresses the accumulated political activity that preceded it, with the attendance double that of a meeting held less than a month before for Myra Tanner Weiss. Radio and TV shows were the greatest single source of new friends.

Gratifying support to the SWP ticket came from the Washington Park Forum. This is a discussion group of Negro workers that over a period of years have been subjected to the Communist Party's slander of the Trotskyists. Several hundred listened to Mrs. Weiss in September and after extended discussion Forum leaders and ranks said the SWP program best expressed their needs.

### MASSACHUSETTS

The awakening interest of students in hearing socialist ideas has facilitated the work of the Boston SWP campaign committee in scheduling a series of meetings in the Boston area.

Arrangements were made at Wellesley College to have Myra Tanner Weiss speak there, and both Harvard University's League for Industrial Democracy and a group at Boston University are making their platform available to Dobbs.

Responses from Dobbs' and Weiss' appearances over the major radio and TV networks in the Boston area are being followed up by the campaign committee.

Mrs. Weiss was interviewed over WJLA as she arrived at the Boston airport, Oct. 15, and spoke over WBZ-TV the next day. Boston campaigners are working now to build up the Farrell Dobbs public meeting at Community Church Oct. 30.

### WASHINGTON

A three-pronged campaign is being conducted by the Seattle SWP: (1) for a write-in vote for Dobbs and Weiss, (2) against Washington's so-called "Right to Work" Bill No. 198, (3) against Senate Resolution No. 4 which makes it more difficult to get an initiative on the ballot.

Discussion with Communist Party members has convinced a number of them that the only principled thing that a socialist can do is vote for a socialist candidate. One of the active SWP campaigners is a former Communist Party member who couldn't stomach the Democratic Party because of its position on Civil rights. She was going to vote Republican as a protest until she learned there were socialist candidates running in the elections.

In spite of the attempt by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, the liberal Democrats and the Communist Party to make the election of Democrats the central issue, the campaign against the "Right to Work" bill has overshadowed the campaigns for individual candidates.

### WISCONSIN

Dobbs and Weiss appear officially on the ballot in Wisconsin. Nominating petitions were accepted as valid. The Dobbs-Weiss campaign committee has

been following up responses to radio and TV appearances and building up meetings for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Herb Lewin, well-known trade unionist began his campaign just after coming off the 299-day Westinghouse picket line at Lester. He is running for U.S. Senator on the Socialist Workers ticket, whose Pennsylvania ballot designation is "Militant Workers Party."

Lewin became widely known in 1946 during the UE strike against Westinghouse when a news picture of him being attacked by five cops was flashed around the world. In 1948, 4,500 Westinghouse workers walked off the job when Lewin and another worker were fired as "poor security risks." They were reinstated.

The Philadelphia SWP campaign moved into high gear when Myra Tanner Weiss flew in Oct. 18 directly from reporting on the Tallahassee bus-boycott trial. Mrs. Weiss first appeared on a symposium at the Universalist Church of the Messiah and then went to WPEN for an interview on the "Steve Allison Show."



HERBERT LEWIN, Candidate for U.S. Senator, Pennsylvania.

On Oct. 19 Mrs. Weiss debated Dr. W. McKenna of the Political Science Department of Temple University on the question, "Is the United States Policy in the Suez Crisis Imperialistic?" The following night, Mrs. Weiss spoke to a completely filled hall at the local Socialist Workers Party headquarters.

### NEW JERSEY

Daniel Roberts, Editor of the Militant, is carrying the program of the Socialist Workers Party program to the voters of the 12th District in New Jersey, where he is on the ballot as a candidate for Congress.

Answers to questions on foreign policy and domestic legislation presented to Roberts by the League of Women Voters have been published in the Newark Evening News. Roberts also spoke at a candidates' rally sponsored by the League of Women Voters.

New Jersey campaigners are doing door-to-door election work, answering radio and television responses with additional information about the SWP and selling subscriptions to the Militant.

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bearing the names of the Socialist Workers Party candidates.

Assurances of support for this protest vote for the SWP have been received from members of the former Ohio Progressive Party, from students on several campuses, and from Negro and white workers disgusted with the anti-labor and Jim Crow programs and practices of the Democratic and Republican parties.



DANIEL ROBERTS, Candidate for U.S. Representative from the 12th Congressional District, New Jersey.

### MINNESOTA

Intensive work is being conducted in the Twin Cities to reach workers who heard Dobbs and Weiss on television or radio or attended campaign rallies with further information on the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP has been certified for a place on the Minnesota ballot.

The Progressive Association, successor to the Minnesota Progressive Party, following the lead of McAvoy and Hallinan in their support of Dobbs, will send SWP platforms out to its mailing list throughout the state. This will help to carry the Dobbs-Weiss campaign into the Iron Range territory of Northern Minnesota and into the various farm sections.

Farrell Dobbs' main political rally in Minneapolis was at a hall in the Central Labor Union, the building from which the famous Teamsters' July-August strikes of 1934, were launched. Various labor leaders in the local movement looked in the door while Dobbs was speaking to this meeting, the first time an SWP meeting has ever been held in the Labor Temple.

Speaking at a rally in the farming community of Wilmar, an area with a long tradition of agrarian radicalism, Dobbs explained that the SWP advocated independent political activity of workers and farmers of the kind which led to the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party in the 1920's.

### OHIO

Democratic election procedures in Ohio have been subverted by the capitalist parties to the point where it is impossible for an independent labor, Negro or socialist candidate, or a third party, to qualify for the ballot. Voting for the President of the United States has been virtually reduced to a plebiscite, with only the names of the Democratic and Republican candidates on the ballot, and no space for a write-in.

To provide a means of protesting this throttling of political opposition, and of casting a ballot for working class candidates in the national election, the Ohio Committee for Dobbs and Weiss 10609 Superior Avenue, Cleveland, has printed stickers

bearing the names of the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Assurances of support for this protest vote for the SWP have been received from members of the former Ohio Progressive Party, from students on several campuses, and from Negro and white workers disgusted with the anti-labor and Jim Crow programs and practices of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Although ballot restrictions in California forced this to be a write-in campaign, political work backed by enthusiasm brought valuable rewards, particularly from Communist Party supporters. An example of such headway was the appearance of Carl Reingold, Los Angeles organizer, before the Labor Youth League, Oct. 12, where he attacked the CP's policy of support to the Democratic Party with Harry Steinberg, a CP representative and Soviet Act victim.

The high point of activities in San Francisco came Sept. 28, when Farrell Dobbs debated George Collins, a Democrat, at a meeting sponsored by the California Labor School, Republican and Communist Party representatives, though invited, failed to appear.

Both San Francisco and Los Angeles branches of the SWP are preparing for write-up rallies for Myra Tanner Weiss, who will be in the San Francisco-Bay Area through Nov. 2, and will speak in Los Angeles, Nov. 4.

### MICHIGAN

Rita Shaw, SWP candidate for Governor of Michigan continues her campaign in spite of being first ruled off the ballot through a slick change of rules and then denied the right to a write-in campaign by the Secretary of State. The ban on write-in votes has been used by the Federal Communications Commission to deny equal radio and television rights in the state.

Fighting these attacks on the right to a free ballot, the Michigan SWP is still energetically campaigning to rally socialist protest votes. At the same time, the committee, with the support



RITA SHAW, Candidate for Governor of Michigan.

of the American Civil Liberties Union, has initiated court action demanding that write-in votes for Dobbs, Weiss, and Shaw be counted.

Through the campaign, tens of thousands of copies of the "Michigan Socialist Voice" and copies of Rita Shaw's speech before Local 600 have been distributed.

**Farrell Dobbs**  
**Tour Information**  
**PHILADELPHIA**  
"The Way To A Workers And Farmers Government—The Real Issues In 1956."  
Fri., Nov. 2 — 8:30 P.M.  
1303 W. Girard Ave.  
(Pennsylvania Ballot Name: MILITANT WORKERS PARTY)

**Myra Tanner Weiss**  
**Tour Information**  
**BERKELEY-OAKLAND**  
"Why We Need A Labor Party"  
Thurs., Nov. 1 — 8:00 P.M.  
Hotel Shattuck  
Shattuck Ave. and Allston Way  
Berkeley  
**SAN FRANCISCO**  
"Desegregate Now!"  
Fri., Nov. 2 — 8:00 P.M.  
1433 Divisadero Street  
(near Geary Street)  
**LOS ANGELES**  
"Why You Should Vote Socialist In The 1956 Elections"  
Sun., Nov. 4 — 2:00 P.M.  
1702 East Fourth Street

**Detroit Fri. Night**  
**Socialist Forum**  
"A Socialist Views The News"  
Fri., Oct. 26 — 8 P.M.  
"How the Socialists Will Win This Election"  
Fri., Nov. 2 — 8 P.M.  
EUGENE V. DEBS HALL  
3737 Woodward, 2nd Floor

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The Socialist Workers Party has no slush fund such as the capitalist parties get from the Morgan, Rockefeller and DuPont billions. Our support comes solely from the nickels, dimes and dollars of the workers in our party, and those who support our aims.

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- ☐ I enclose \$..... to help in the Dobbs-Weiss Campaign.
- ☐ I would like to participate in campaign activities.
- ☐ I would like..... copies of the SWP's 1956 Election Platform.
- ☐ I would like more information about the Socialist Workers Party.
- ☐ I would like to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Name.....  
Street.....  
City..... State.....

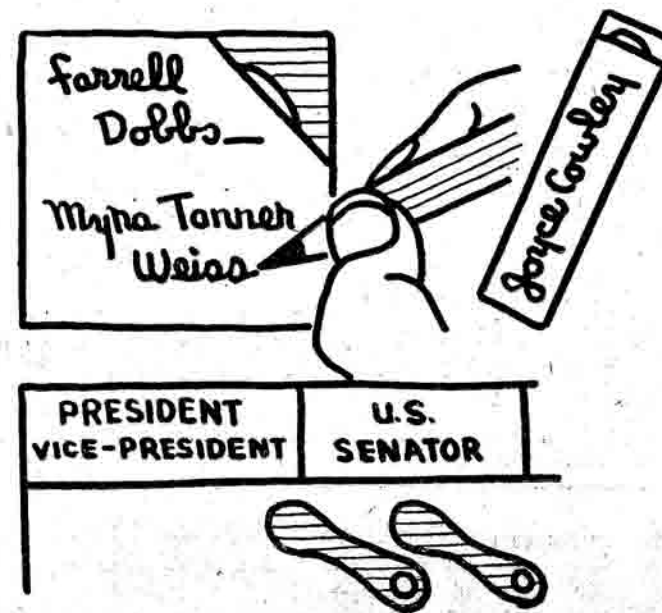
(Tear off and send to SWP National Headquarters, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

## 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." Directly to the right there will be the listing for U.S. Senator. 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 clearly and spell it correctly in all cases. Either pencil or pen may be used.

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



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