

Desegregate Now! Says Myra Weiss In TV Broadcast

(Text of speech given by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-President over a nation-wide CBS-TV and CBS-Radio hookup, Sept. 15.)

In accepting the nomination of the Socialist Workers Party for the Vice-Presidency, I want to start right off by taking a forthright position on an issue which the Republican and Democratic candidates are dodging and ducking. That is the issue of school desegregation.

The Socialist Workers Party doesn't duck or dodge on this or any other issue. We are against school segregation and every

son and Kefauver to the rafters. They promised them a "solid South" on election day. Then they took them on a motorcade to Oak Ridge — which went through Clinton. It went within one block of the high school where the Negro children were being insulted and terrorized. Yet, neither Democratic candidate had the decency or courage to say a single word in favor of the embattled Negro students.

At no time during their visit to Clinton or anywhere else below the Mason-Dixon line, did they speak out against the racist mob.

EISENHOWER 'NEUTRAL'

President Eisenhower also shies away from public statements on school desegregation. At his September 5th press conference, however, he was bombarded with questions on the subject by reporters. His answers gave small comfort to the Negro people struggling for their rights. After Eisenhower had asserted that there was no need for federal action, he was asked: Have you any message on the subject for the youth of America?

His answer was indeed perfunctory and uninspiring. It wound up blaming what he called extremists on both sides. With equal fervor and fine impartiality, he denounced the professional racists who whipped up the mobs and those who ask that the desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court be enforced — right now! Are the Negro children seeking equal educational opportunities and those who support their struggle to be classified with those who threaten them with guns and beatings?

Is this the kind of "moderation" that both capitalist candidates profess? One can draw no other conclusion from either their words or deeds.

I think the Negro youngsters of the South have given America a magnificent demonstration of unexampled courage — and that goes for their parents, too.

Can you imagine the anguish and fears of these fathers and mothers as they saw their children off to school each morning? Yet from their own lives they feel it would be intolerable for their children to grow up under the warping and heart-breaking

(Continued on page 4)



MYRA TANNER WEISS

other part of the reactionary, unjust and cruel Jim-Crow system. We opposed segregated schooling before the Supreme Court decision and we fight now for putting that decision into effect — not at some time in the dim distant future, but NOW and everywhere in the U.S.

I said that the candidates of the two Big Business parties dodge and duck on this issue. There are countless proofs of this, but let me give two examples: one for each, from the recent outburst of white-supremacist rioting in Tennessee, Texas and Kentucky.

Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver were in Clinton Tennessee on the third day of the rioting against the admission of twelve Negro children to the high school. They were in Tennessee for a conference with the leaders of the Democratic Party of the South — a conference from which Negro Democrats had been excluded.

The Southern leaders — all of them avowed opponents of school desegregation — cheered Stevenson



By Art Sharon
SWP Campaign Manager

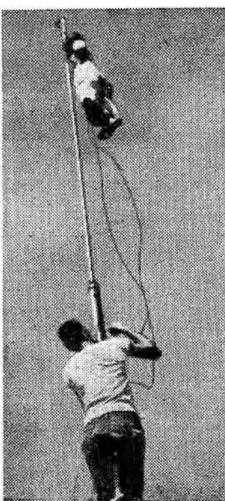
Myra Tanner Weiss, the crusading Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, made her first post-convention speech in Minnesota. The newspapers of Minneapolis and St. Paul, well acquainted with the SWP because of its historic role in the union movement there, all sent reporters to Mrs. Weiss' news conference on Sept. 5. Also present was the TV cameraman of station WCCO. A vigorous statement of the candidate on the SWP position on civil rights was seen by the local TV viewers that evening.

Among the newspaper stories was one in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune which featured the smallness of the SWP campaign fund as compared to the \$20 million to be spent by the Republicans and Democrats. For this reason the writer described Myra Weiss as "a feminine David come to Minnesota to wage her battle against Goliath." The article didn't follow the metaphor to its end, but everyone knows who won that battle.

The article gave the views of the SWP Vice-Presidential candidate on the events in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death. Singled out by the reporter as "significant" was the fact that Clifford T. McAvoy, a former American Labor Party leader in New York, had come out this year for the Dobbs-Weiss ticket. "There'll be more to come," was the quoted prediction of Mrs. Weiss.

On Sept. 7 the SWP candidate addressed the City and Council Employees Union. This was followed up by a meeting later the same night with a youth group. At an SWP election rally in Minneapolis Mrs. Weiss' subject was

Lynch Symbol



Man attempts to take down Negro effigy hung from a flagpole in Mansfield, Texas, by white supremacists as a warning to Negroes. Racist mob aided by Texas rangers, prevented court-ordered integration from taking place. An ominous development is the hanging of Negroes in effigy.

"The American People Must Build A Labor Party." At a Sunday afternoon election rally in St. Paul her subject was "The 1952 Elections and the Fight Against Segregation." Both meetings were very successful.

TV RESPONSE

Already letters are beginning to come in to SWP campaign headquarters as a result of the TV and radio broadcasts of the SWP candidates. Typical of these are the following excerpts from two:

"I have watched Mr. Dobbs on TV and I was very much impressed with his speech. I thought it was plain, simple and

(Continued on page 4)

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Vincent Hallinan Supporting Farrell Dobbs for President

SWP Candidates On TV and Radio

DOBBS SCHEDULE

NBC-TV: Saturday, Sept. 15
5 to 5:15 P.M.

WEISS SCHEDULE

CBS-TV: Saturday, Sept. 15
6:30 to 6:45 P.M.

(In Chicago: Sun., Sept. 23)
3:30 to 3:45 P.M.

NBC-TV: Saturday, Sept. 22
2:30 to 2:45 P.M.

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

DOBBS and WEISS SCHEDULE

CBS-Radio: Saturday, Sept. 15
10:30 to 11 P.M.

ABC-TV: Thursday, Sept. 20
10 to 10:30 P.M.

All Eastern Daylight Time

Call station for time in your locality



NEWS ITEM: Stevenson and Kefauver were in Clinton, Tenn., on the third day of the school rioting. Their motorcade passed within one block of the high school. Neither there, nor any where else in the South, did either Democratic candidate say anything about the riots.

'Help Banner Bearers Of Left' Declares 1952 Progressive Candidate

In a political development of major importance for the working class movement, Vincent Hallinan, the presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, has announced that in this year's presidential race he is supporting the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

The announcement was made in a letter to the Daily People's World of Sept. 7. The West Coast newspaper, which espouses the views of the Communist Party, had solicited the views of Hallinan and other Californians prominent in the labor and progressive movements. After a hard-hitting refutation of the arguments currently used to persuade workers and Negroes to vote Democratic, the former Progressive Party leader called for aid to "those who sacrifice their effort and time to carry the banners of the Left." He closed his letter by "urging that as high a vote as can be mustered be given to Mr. Farrell Dobbs." (See text of the letter on this page.)



VINCENT HALLINAN

Hallinan is the second important leader of the now defunct Progressive Party to declare for the SWP in the coming elections. Earlier this year, Clifford T. McAvoy, leader of the American Labor Party (the New York section of the Progressive Party) and its candidate for mayor in 1954, announced that he was backing Dobbs and Weiss.

Though neither Hallinan nor McAvoy fully agree with the program of the Socialist Workers Party, they base their support on the conviction that socialist-minded workers should not return to the Democratic Party but vote socialist. They regard the SWP as the best vehicle for expressing working class political independence in the coming elections.

Farrell Dobbs, the SWP Presidential candidate, is now on a national speaking tour. On Sept. 28 he will be in San Francisco to participate with Hallinan and others yet to be named in a symposium on the coming elections. The affair will be under the auspices of the California Labor School.

As Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, Hallinan polled over 130,000 votes. Following the election he was part of that wing of the party which unsuccessfully opposed the Communist Party and others who wished to liquidate the movement and lead the membership back into the Democratic Party. In addition to his political activity, Hallinan has long been prominent on the West Coast as a labor and civil liberties attorney. He has himself been a victim of the witch hunt. After the 1952 race he was prosecuted and jailed by the federal government ostensibly on tax charges but actually as a form of persecution for his leftist political activity.

The other two contributors to the Daily People's World election policy discussion were William Schneiderman, chairman of the California Communist Party, and George Collins, a former Democratic assemblyman. Both urged support of the Democratic Party. (See Editorial on Hallinan Action, Page two.)

Survey Shows: Fewer Southern Schools Integrating This Year

By George Lavan

SEPT. 11 — As the white-supremacist violence against the opening of desegregated schools appears to have died down, two facts stand out. (1) The racist mobs succeeded in Mansfield and Texarkana, Texas and in Sturgis, Kentucky, in preventing integration. (2) The amount of desegregation undertaken by the authorities on this, the third, school opening since the Supreme Court decision, is less, not more than in the previous years.

Only one large community—Louisville, Kentucky—is integrating its schools this year. All the other integration attempts involved mere handfuls of Negro school children. This may be seen from the fact that in the five communities where violence flared (Clinton, Tenn.; Sturgis, Kentucky; Mansfield, Texarkana, Texas) a total of only 37 Negro

students were involved.

There are 12,500 Negro school children in Louisville, and another 1,000 in the remainder of Jefferson County. Thus integration there is an important gain. However, all these students will not be integrated. There will remain under present school-board plans four all-Negro elementary schools, three all-Negro junior high schools and one all-Negro high school.

HOW MUCH INTEGRATION?

The overall picture of the amount of desegregation to date is as follows: Of about 2,400,000 Negro school children in the South and in border states who were in Jim Crow schools systems before the Supreme Court decision some 2,100,000 are still in them. Approximately 300,000 in the border states and District of Columbia are now in school systems officially described as desegregated

to one extent or another. This does not mean that all of these 300,000 are actually in integrated classrooms or even schoolhouses. Much of the desegregation has been partial or even token so that a child in a city whose school system is officially desegregated may nonetheless be attending a Jim Crow school.

The first school opening after the high court decision saw the greatest amount of desegregation. This was accounted for by the two cities of Baltimore and Washington. The lack of teeth and time limit in the court's follow-up implementation decision a year later plus the political and propaganda counter-offensive of the Southern politicians has resulted in the complete prevention of desegregation in the Deep South and a slowdown in the border states.

For example, in Delaware, the

only community south of Wilmington to begin integration this year is the suburb of Christiana where one elementary school is involved. Thus, with the exception of Dover and Christiana, only the northern fifteen miles of Delaware has desegregated.

In Texas, according to a New York Times survey (Sept. 9), 24 school districts planned this year to begin desegregation, or extend desegregation begun earlier. "However, the process is advancing much more slowly than a year ago." Undoubtedly the success of the mobs and Texas Rangers in Mansfield and Texarkana in preventing integration will slow the process down even more.

No further integration was attempted this year in Arkansas where last year three communities — Hoxie, Fayetteville and

(Continued on page 4)

HALLINAN CALLS FOR SOCIALIST VOTE

By Vincent Hallinan

Progressive Party Candidate for President in 1952

(Reprinted with author's permission from the Sept. 7, 1956 Daily People's World. Subheads added.)

The National Convention of the Republican and Democratic Parties ended in results which could have been pretty closely predicted a long time ago. Of course, it was always possible that other persons might have been selected to carry out the policies of these parties but the differences between such prospective candidates would have been unimportant. Some months back, I believed that the Democrats would nominate Harriman and that the Republicans might drop Nixon.

SHOPWORN PROMISES

Their platforms repeat the promises of other years without apology for prior betrayals. Neither attempts to mask its cynicism with regard to the issue of civil rights. Both, however, have reversed their historic role with regard to tariffs—the Democrats becoming the party of protectionism, and the Republicans of comparative free trade. The Democrats promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, which couldn't have been passed without the vigorous aid of Democratic congressmen over Truman's politically motivated veto. Both pretend that they may endanger the interests of the great oil companies by supporting Israel against the Arabs.

The present situation exemplifies as well as any previous period has done the observation made by a French observer some 60 or 70 years ago, that these two parties are exactly alike, resembling each other as two bottles from the same mold—both empty!

As regards the activities of left wing and liberal elements in the country, at least the most vocal among them appear to be tying themselves to the Democratic Party chariot. By a process of energetic self-hypnosis, they conceive this to be the party of possible progress. The argument is that the greater part of the working people are "in" the Democratic Party. By this they mean that the Democratic Party is able to induce more workers to vote for its candidates than the Republican Party can coax into voting for its.

It is thought, that by some infiltrative process, the liberal forces can "push" the Democratic Party in the right direction. They, therefore, allow themselves to be exploited, selling cookies, collecting rags and ringing doorbells for the organization which initiated and brought to its fiercest expression the current witchhunt, which started and maintained the ruinous and dishonorable war in Korea and which rests upon two broad pillars of reaction—the Southern white supremacists and the po-

litico-ecclesiastic machines in the Northern cities.

EVEN LESS HOPE NOW

Back in 1948 newcomers to the liberal movement were persuaded that the Progressive Party was being formed principally for the reason that there was no hope that liberal elements could control the policies of the Democratic Party. At that time, although Franklin Roosevelt was dead, the Democratic Party was still trailing filaments of his glory and many of the liberals who had accompanied him into the Government were still in power. It was further revealed that the American Labor Party of New York had been created at the behest of Franklin Roosevelt because he himself despaired of holding the Democratic Party to a liberal program.

If such things were true at that time, how much more true are they today!

At least the left wing people who will waste their time and energies on behalf of the Democratic Party candidates will not have to eat crow after next November. Truman's political foresight will be best illustrated in his prophecy that Stevenson will not carry as many states as he did in 1952. In the first place, the country is in a period of apparent prosperity. The mounting inflation has not yet brought on its inevitable consequences. In

the second place, the Democrats are rightly regarded as the "war party." At least Eisenhower is a soldier and he knows that the United States cannot lick half the world. Moreover, he's an old and sick soldier without ambitions for further military adventure. The Democrats have not yet found out that the American people want no more war. They have provided the Republicans with an irresistible slogan: "Everything is Booming but the Guns."

Liberals and Progressives who have drifted back into the Democratic Party have as much chance of directing its policies as one who is swallowed by a whale has of altering its course. The conflict between socialism and capitalism will ultimately sharpen to the point where it is recognized that there is no middle ground. It's about time that the left wing people in the United States came to the realization that the contest is between public ownership and private ownership of those things which are necessary to the well-being and comfort of all. While it is necessary to strike blows for other causes, it is folly to lose sight of the main issue and to lose it by default.

FOR SOCIALIST UNITY

The great necessity in America is for a united front of left wing forces which will unite to educate, inform and lead the

American people toward a socialist solution of the dilemmas which confront us. Once this is gained, the other problems, practically all of which have an economic base, will resolve themselves.

Every opportunity, then, should be taken advantage of to give support and encouragement to such forces, regardless of their divisive differences. It is a mistake not to vote, and it is worse than a mistake to vote for either the Republican or the Democratic Party candidates. A positive advantage can be gained by aiding those who sacrifice their effort and time to carry the banners of the Left. It is high time that political organizations on that side of the fence stopped camping at each other and sought common bases within the field which all are defending. Their mutual recriminations, based principally upon names and slogans which have lost their meaning, should be relegated to the Museum of Political Factionalism.

I am personally urging that as high a vote as can be mustered be given to Mr. Farrell Dobbs, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

I believe that the groundwork should now be laid for a united front of this and other left wing forces in an attempt to capture some offices in 1958 and to launch a national ticket in 1960.

Our Country's Real Allies

(Text of speech given by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President over NBC-Radio on a nation-wide hook-up, Sept. 13.)

In accepting nomination as the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I wish to stress the urgent importance of the foreign policy issues in the 1956 elections. The question is posed: Shall the American people sanction a foreign policy of world conquest for the benefit of Wall Street? Or shall we assist our international neighbors who are striving to achieve a better life?

People everywhere in the world today are pressing for industrialization. They want to combine their natural resources and manpower with modern technical know-how in order to meet their economic needs. What they have lacked is efficient social organization within their own countries and a relationship of sincere cooperation on the part of the advanced industrial nations. Instead the underprivileged peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America have been dominated and exploited by foreign capitalist powers.

Revolutions against this imperialist domination have erupted in country after country. As the revolutionary peoples take charge of their own national affairs, they begin to learn that the capitalist system cannot meet their needs. They tend toward change to the socialist forms of nationalized property and planned economy. That is what happened in revolutionary China and the Chinese example will lead other countries in the same direction. This trend has abolished capitalism on one-third of the globe. The peoples who have already abolished capitalism, or who are now in revolt against imperialism, constitute a majority of mankind.

These are the titanic forces against whom the capitalist government of our country is preparing to make war. The war aims are to maintain imperialist domination over these peoples and hold them subject to exploitation by the monopoly capitalists of the United States. These aims result in a savage irony. Money needed in this country for homes, schools and hospitals is spent instead on a war machine. The military purpose is to make war on peoples abroad who are fighting for independence simply to provide themselves the very things the American people desire — homes, schools, hospitals and other necessities of life.

The government conceals the true state of affairs behind propaganda against the dictators in the Kremlin. But that too is hypocri-

cal. When Stalin was collaborating with Truman to crush workers revolutions in Western Europe, Truman warmly called the discredited dictator "Uncle Joe." During the same period Eisenhower became a pen pal of the Soviet bureaucrat Zhukov. Their present switch to anti-Kremlin propaganda arises from a desire to discredit the revolutionary peoples abroad by smearing their freedom struggles as totalitarian conspiracies. It is a scheme to raise the slogans of freedom and democracy for a war that will be aimed against national independence and social change.

Actually the Soviet rulers are trying to make a deal to divide up the world with the imperialists. Toward that end they are helping to preserve capitalism where it still exists.

In this country their policy is reflected in the Communist Party line of keeping the workers tied to capitalist politics through the Democratic Party. By this device, which violates the interests of the workers and colonial peoples, the Kremlin bureaucrats hope to maintain their own rule.

The recent workers' uprising in Poland once again showed that people everywhere in the Soviet sphere are chafing under the dictatorship of the Kremlin overlords. They have made clear, however, that they are not fighting for a return to capitalism, because experience has taught them the superiority of the socialist property forms. What they do want is the establishment of workers' democracy. They want to take the controls into their own hands and speed the construction of a socialist society.

The Kremlin dictators have tried to save themselves by putting sole blame for their bureaucratic misrule on Stalin who is conveniently dead. But the workers will settle for nothing less than democracy and in the end they will pull down the bureaucratic dictatorship to get it. When that day comes imperialism will be strongly challenged everywhere. The struggle for socialism will sweep the world like a tidal wave.

These are the basic reasons why Adlai Stevenson calls upon the capitalist government to move with speed to reverse the spread of the struggle against imperialism. For the same reasons the Eisenhower administration has been testing hydrogen bombs — a warlike act that should be stopped at once. Scientists say such nuclear explosions are al-

ready endangering our lives from the radioactive fallout.

The capitalists intend to make the American people finance the war. Fearing the workers will learn the truth about the war policy, the capitalist government has attacked all anti-capitalist views as "subversive." "Loyalty" purges have been conducted to compel mass conformity with capitalist policies. Laws have been passed curbing democratic rights and blunting the power of the unions. These acts are intended to stifle mass resistance against ultimate slashes in real wages and social benefits.

The French statesman Clemenceau once said war is too serious a business to be left to the generals. He was right. The military brass should be cleaned out of government from top to bottom. War is also too serious a business to be left to Congress.

In 1950 President Truman plunged our country into battle simply by issuing military orders for an invasion of Korea. Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats tried to stop his brazen violation of the Constitution. Far from objecting to such usurpation of its powers, the bi-partisan Congress later gave President Eisenhower standing authority to use the Formosa issue as a pretext for war against revolutionary China anytime he chooses.

Today the United States maintains heavily manned military bases throughout the world. Alliances have been made with hated dictators and colonial despots. These military pacts risk our involvement in whatever war adventure may be set afoot anywhere. Under the precedents now established a simple order by the President can automatically plunge our country into military conflict.

For their own protection the American people should take the war-making powers away from Congress and the President. The people should decide the question of war or peace through a nation-wide referendum vote.

To make certain they won't be tricked into war, the people should take even further precautions. All troops should be withdrawn from foreign soil. The peacetime draft should be stopped. The United States should withdraw from all military alliances and there should be no more secret diplomacy. The people are entitled to a full report, open and aboveboard, on all international affairs.

The government should be called to order for its scheme to help overturn nationalization of the Suez Canal. The canal properly belongs to Egypt. Its nationalization, along with

Egypt's efforts to build the Aswan dam, symbolizes the aspirations of the underdeveloped countries to lay new foundations for economic and social progress. To realize these aspirations they must free themselves from foreign domination. They deserve support in their independence struggles just as the American colonies needed help against England in 1776.

Instead of offering sincere cooperation, the United States government has sought to gain control over Egypt. President Nasser made that clear when he said American offers of financial aid have been "tied up with economic domination as a prelude to political domination." Having failed with financial trickery, Secretary of State Dulles has turned to diplomatic intrigue to prepare a military invasion of Egypt if it refuses to back down on the Suez Canal issue.

Hands Off Egypt

The American people have no quarrel with Egypt or with any other country fighting for national independence and social change. We should support the right of all peoples to manage their own affairs. We should support their right to abolish capitalism, if they so choose, and replace it with a system of planned economy.

The capitalist government in Washington should be told: Hands off Egypt. Recognize the government of revolutionary China. End all trade restrictions against the anti-imperialist countries. Hold out the hand of friendship to the underprivileged peoples of the world. Help them improve their standard of living and raise their cultural level.

Only through such a policy can the American people achieve peace and advance their own standard of living. These aspirations can be realized only by replacing the capitalist government with a workers and farmers government. To do that the working people need to break with both the Democratic and Republican parties. They need to form an independent labor party, a party based on the unions and embracing the Negro people and working farmers.

A vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates will represent a declaration in support of peace and social progress. It will serve notice on the leaders of the unions and other mass organizations to get out of capitalist politics and build a labor party. If you work for a living, there is no other way you can vote for your own interests in the coming elections.

Socialist Campaigner



Farrell Dobbs speaking over WCAR in Pontiac, Mich. in 1948, when he ran for President for the first time. The SWP candidate attacked Truman's war preparations and the witch hunt the Democrats had launched. In 1952, Dobbs campaigned for an end to the Korean War.

French Trotskyists Face Jail For Opposing Algeria War

PARIS, Sept. 7 — Three leaders of the French Trotskyist movement have been indicted by a military court because of their opposition to the war in Algeria. The three — Daniel Renard, Pierre Lambert and Gerard Bloch, leaders of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, were accused of "attempting to demoralize the army." The accusation was based on articles in the PCI newspaper La Verite.

La Verite has opposed French imperialism's war of subjugation in Algeria from the beginning. It supports the Algerian independence movement and has reprinted numerous articles and manifestoes of the Algerian Nationalist Movement and of its imprisoned leader Messali Hadj. During the last year the paper has been repeatedly seized by the French police.

Although no state of war exists in France the indictment is by a military court. If unchecked by French and international working class protest, the militarists can imprison the three Trotskyist leaders for as long as ten years.

SWP Spokesman in Seattle Addresses Pension Union

By Nell Jones

SEATTLE — Clara Kaye, local organizer of the Socialist Workers Party received a warm response as the featured speaker at a Washington State Pension Union meeting. Her topic was "Why America Will Go Socialist."

Mrs. Kaye praised the 20-year fight waged by the Pension Union on behalf of the aged and needy and solidified herself with the Union's fight to prevent being wretched out of existence. (Harry P. Cain, former U.S. Senator from Washington, ended his term on the Subversive Activities Control Board, Aug. 31, with a decision declaring the Pension Union to be a "Communist Front.") Decision was pending at the time Mrs. Kaye spoke. The speaker also cited the SWP's support for pension legislation promoted over the years by the organization.

"Only in a reorganized society," she said, "based on production for use of all, instead of production for profit of the few, will older people be able to have not only the basic necessities of life, but equality, real leisure, stimulating activity, and the respect they deserve for their experience as citizens."

"The socialist revolution will come to America," she stated, "because capitalist crisis and war moves will force the workers and their allies to a rapid political awakening and then to political realignment in a revolutionary mass party capable of leading them to victory. American class consciousness will

paralyze the arm of the bomb-throwers and reshape the entire world."

A quotation from Eugene Debs ended her speech and underlined the theme of her talk: "The American workers will CONQUER capitalism in VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE and usher in the Day of the People."

Dr. Charles Fisher, Pension Union President, seconded the audience's enthusiastic reception of Mrs. Kaye's speech by calling it, "important ideas, beautifully expressed."

Discussion period questions went from one on Marx's theory of value to one by Dr. Fisher: "What does the SWP foresee in the way of a regroupment of the American left in a unified socialist party?"

REALIGNMENT

Mrs. Kaye expressed her belief in the emergence of a socialist party based on a revolutionary, class-struggle program. She showed how the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had set in motion new currents within the American CP.

"A historic realignment of radical forces is currently in the making," she said, "and the SWP is doing everything in its power to intensify the process of workers rejecting reformist and class-collaborationist policies and adopting a principled Marxist program of class struggle. A party welded together by such a dynamic outlook can attract thousands of radicals, and the American left will thus regroup itself in a powerful party capable of leading the struggle to socialism."

Was CP's Course Left Sectarian?

By Morris Stein and Harry Ring

A dominant theme of the present discussion in the Communist Party is that "left sectarian" policies are the source of the party's isolation and of the crisis which now grips it. Many of the contributors to the discussion in the Daily Worker and in Party Voice date this "left sectarianism" back over the last ten-year period. Some carry it back even further. And there are those who now see the "leftist errors" as going back to the very inception of the party.

For example, one speaker at a meeting of the New York District Committee expressed his sentiment in the following words: "I feel like many here that the analysis of the left sectarian errors in the work of our party does not go back far enough and that it is not enough to confine this to the last ten-year period. We have to dig deeper than that. It is my opinion that these errors go back to the very formation of our party." (Ralph, Party Voice, June 1956.)

Only William Z. Foster and some of his followers maintain that the party's general line has been correct. But Foster has not as yet made any attempt to prove his contention by a concrete examination of the party line throughout the years. He confines

The Early Years of the CP

Despite many errors and blunders, the CP in the early years basically pursued the goal of winning the American working class for the program of socialist revolution. It made no compromise with capitalist politics. The party also began to learn how to combine an intransigent class-struggle programmatic line with the necessary tactics to facilitate winning the working class to that program. Thus the CP set itself the task of organizing a left wing inside the existing union movement in opposition to the capitalist-minded AFL bureaucracy. It championed the idea of a labor party. One of its most effective activities was the International Labor Defense, which mobilized widespread working class and civil libertarian support for class-war prisoners.

At no time did the CP in its early years commit the abomination of endorsing capitalist politicians or of setting up "peace fronts" in which the working class would be subordinated to bourgeois liberals. The early CP was an honest organization. And if it erred at times either in the direction of left-sectarianism or opportunism, the inner mechanism of party democracy plus the advice (not commands) of the Comintern leaders — especially the Russians — helped to overcome the mistakes.

Stalinization (a process that began in 1924 and was completed in 1929) transformed the char-

acter of the party. The ranks of the CP continued to give self-sacrificing service to what they sincerely believed to be the needs of the class struggle. They fought militantly on picket lines in unemployed demonstrations, for the freedom of Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti and the Scottsboro boys. They have continued to give such service to this day.

But the Stalinist course increasingly pursued by the leadership used for sordid ends all the ranks' hard work, devotion and readiness to act in disciplined fashion. It was with the triumph of Stalinism in the American CP that cynical flip-flops replaced the principled revolutionary line on which the party had been founded.

For example, there was the period of the early 1930's when the party's line could justifiably be characterized as left-sectarian. That was when it was based on the ultra-left theoretical conception, promulgated by Stalin, that world capitalism and U.S. capitalism was in the final and immediate stage of collapse. The Leninist conception that world capitalism had entered into the epoch of its death agony and that this was an epoch of revolutions was distorted into a bureaucratic caricature according to which every single capitalist country in the given, immediate period of months would founder.

Thus the American CP (along

The 'Popular Front' Days

with the CP in every other country) proclaimed the seizure of power as being on the order of the day — right now.

"Preparation for this 'task' consisted in ultra-left phrasemongering. The CP advanced the concept that the trade union bureaucracy and the social democracy were 'social fascists' — that they and the fascists were twins. They rejected as 'opportunist' the tactic of the united front as a means of struggle against fascism or any other capitalist evil.

During this period of rampant adventurism, the CP transformed the Trade Union Educational League, founded in the mid-1920's for the building of a left wing in the existing unions, into

completely uncritical servant of the Hillmans and Dubinskys.

The traditional principled socialist struggle for independent working class political action was abandoned in favor of support for capitalist candidates. The party's apparatus, resources and membership were mobilized for the election of Roosevelt, La Guardia, O'Dwyer and countless others.

But just as the Stalin-Laval pact reverse the CP line in 1935, the Stalin-Hitler pact once again reversed it in 1939. Democratic imperialism became again an enemy. Indeed, it became the main enemy. (Molotov even declared for the benefit of the Nazi ally that "Fascism is a matter of taste.") The central activity of the American party was turned to a campaign against U.S. entry into World War II under the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming." And during this period, the CP took another whirl at independent political action by running Browder for President in 1940.

However, the line never featured return to an authentic class-struggle policy. The opposition to Roosevelt's war drive was a pacifist concoction. Capitalist candidates were supported in individual instances. The CP dubbed them as "peace candidates."

Stalin-Hitler Pact; World War II

This line lasted for a little over a year and a half. With Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, the CP entered a period of disgraceful jingoism and social patriotism (rationalized on the grounds of "defense of the Soviet Union"), the like of which has never been seen in the American labor movement. That endured throughout World War II and right up to 1946 when the Western imperialists unleashed the cold war against the Soviet Union.

During this period, the CP was instrumental in creating the

Trade Union Unity League which broke with the existing unions and set out to build dual "revolutionary" unions. Thereby they left the unions completely under the dominance of the AFL fakers.

The policies pursued during the period had long been repudiated by the CP in its healthy, authentically revolutionary days. The "Third Period" ultra-leftism stemmed from the Stalinist disease and no other source. Had the struggle for power genuinely been on the order of the day as an immediate task in America, the tactics pursued by the CP would have guaranteed smashing defeat. Indeed, in Germany, they led to the victory of Hitler.

for equal rights as citizens and workers.

The Communist Party was the only force in the labor movement that dared speak out against the March on Washington movement which sought to bring pressure on the Roosevelt Administration for the creation of an FEPC. The CP supported the prosecution of the Trotskyists in the first use of the Smith Act in the 1941 Minneapolis labor trial.

In 1914, even while the cold war was being unleashed, Political Affairs, the CP's "theoretical" magazine published an article under the heading, "Oust the Trotskyites from the Labor and Progressive Movement." The government's witch hunt drive against the CP had begun and so had red-baiting in the CIO, culminating in expulsion of CP influenced unions. But this did not stop the CP leaders. The author, Max Weiss, devoted 19 pages to a rehash of Stalin's Moscow Trials frame-up slanders against the American Trotskyists who had maintained a consistent revolutionary policy throughout the war. In

The Last Ten Years

his critics contend the catastrophic turning point to "left sectarianism" was reached — the policies of the CP remained consistent only with the foreign policy demands of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The opportunist course, which had attained its most revolting form during the course of World War II, changed only in tactical expression but not in essence.

To attempt to discuss the "errors of the past period," and in fact of the past three decades, without taking the real nature of Stalinism and the party's subservience to it as the starting point promotes a "discussion" which is a sham in character and designed only to further deceive the membership. The membership senses this. This is why the CP crisis is becoming aggravated.

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Communist Party in Michigan Rejects Offer For Joint Action With SWP in 1956 Elections

(Reprinted from The Michigan Socialist Voice, an election folder published by the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit, Michigan.)

The Michigan State Committee of the Communist Party has rejected the Socialist Workers Party's request for joint action in the 1956 elections.

In July, the SWP proposed to the CP:

- (1) That the CP endorse the candidacy of Rita Shaw, the only candidate for Governor who is "against the cold war, for defense of workers states and colonial struggles, support of the Negro struggle for equality, opposition to the witch hunt and all repressive laws, against both capitalist parties for a labor party, and for a workers and farmers government."
- (2) That both parties appoint committees to meet and "plan joint activity to bring the message of revolutionary socialism to the people of this state."
- (3) That the CP "consider conducting a write-in campaign for a state office. . . If you decide to run such a campaign on a socialist platform of opposition to capitalist politics, political class-collaboration and both capitalist parties, we will be glad to consider endorsing your candidate or candidates. . ."

In August, the CP replied and:

- (1) Rejected the request for support of the SWP Candidate for Governor.
- (2) Said, "Our position on the 1956 election policy was made



RITA SHAW

clear in the report of Mr. Claude Lightfoot to the Communist Party National Committee meeting of April 28 — May 1, 1956."

(3) Said nothing about the SWP proposals that the two parties meet to plan joint activity and that the CP consider running a write-in campaign on an anti-capitalist basis.

There are many CP members and supporters who sincerely want to unify and strengthen the socialist forces in this country. They now have the duty to ask: Does the action of the CP state committee help or hurt this objective?

To find the answer, it is necessary to examine the CP policy. Its principal aim, as outlined in the Lightfoot report, is "defeat of the GOP Cadillac Cabinet."

How is this to be done? A lot of doubletalk is used to explain, but the essence is: By supporting the Democratic Party.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

But what is the Democratic Party? It is a capitalist party, dedicated to preserving the domination of big business. It started the cold war, and will con-

Democratic victory will not lead to ending the cold war, the witch hunt and the Dixiecrat domination of Congress, or solve any of the major problems facing the American people. It won't even mean the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, which was promised this year just as in 1948 and 1952 (and the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress for six of the last eight years).

Instead of drawing these conclusions, the Michigan Worker is calling on the Democratic candidates to talk and act more liberally than the platform they adopted. On the civil rights plank, it urges that its implications should be "publicly and systematically rejected in the course of the election campaign itself," and that the party's candidates "prove to the voters that in office their conduct will constitute a repudiation of the immorality and un-Americanism of that plank."

Stevenson may oblige the Michigan Worker by mildly exploring a few words in the civil rights plank, especially when he is speaking in the North. But since when are words more important than deeds? And isn't it a fact that the civil rights plank was written by Stevenson's aides, that he refused to lift a finger at the convention to make it a trifle more acceptable to Northern liberals, and that it was pushed through the convention by Stevenson men from both South and North?

But there's a more devastating fact: instead of becoming more liberal since the convention, the Democrats have been moving faster than ever toward "moderation." That includes the so-called "good" Democrats, such as Governor Williams.

On June 2, a state convention of Michigan Democrats adopted a declaration on civil rights specifically demanding enforcement of the Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools. Williams promised to fight for this line at the national convention. Instead, he confined himself to

a feeble sham battle for the record.

Then on Aug. 25, after the national convention another state convention was held in Grand Rapids. Instead of reaffirming the position taken in June, Williams and the Democrats backtracked, refusing to go beyond the civil rights plank adopted by the national convention. A delegate who asked that the state platform include something about enforcement was voted down almost unanimously.

RESULT OF CP POLICY

The CP policy is wrong. Its results will necessarily be bad. Instead of teaching workers that they cannot trust any capitalist party, it feeds and strengthens the illusion that the Democratic Party is a "lesser evil." Instead of helping workers to understand that they need a party of their own, it weakens attempts at genuinely independent political action by trying them closer to capitalist politics or by demoralizing them and losing them for the struggle. Instead of educating workers to act along the lines of class struggle in politics, it encourages and justifies the continuation of class collaboration in politics.

Members and friends of the CP should ask themselves: "Will I serve the cause of socialism by voting for a party that stands for the cold war, that is opposed to civil rights, that put the leaders of the CP in prison, and that is acceptable to the Dixiecrats? Will I be telling my fellow-workers the truth if I try to persuade them that the Democrats are really a 'lesser evil'? Will I be promoting their class-consciousness and bringing them closer to socialist consciousness if I tell them that the Democrats are worthy of support despite their capitalist, pro-war, pro-witch hunt, pro-Jim Crow, anti-Soviet program?"

Those who think that the answer to these questions is no, should demand that the CP reconsider its rejection of the SWP proposals for united action in the 1956 election campaign.

Hallinan's Principled Action

Vincent Hallinan's announcement that he will support the Socialist Workers Party ticket in November adds a powerful voice to the cause of socialism and independent working class politics in the 1956 elections. By taking this step, the former candidate for President on the Progressive Party ticket in 1952 has intervened forcefully in the current discussion within the left wing movement with a challenging example of principled action.

Like Clifford T. McAvoy, American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York in 1954, who also recently declared his support for the SWP presidential candidates, Hallinan has proposed that the left wing take its stand in the 1956 elections on the principle of socialist opposition to the capitalist two-party system.

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

Nobody in the radical movement, or even among the union officials, would dare to seriously dispute this fact. The union officials argue that labor can win a greater voice in the Democratic Party. And the leaders of the Communist Party argue that by applying sufficient pressure labor can persuade the Democratic Party candidates to voice policies that are opposed to the interests of the class they represent, that are contrary to the policies they followed in the Democratic-controlled 84th Congress and contrary to the policies they are now pursuing in the racist-ridden Democratic South.

Thousands Wanted Break

Thus the character of the Democratic Party as a party of monopoly capitalism is not even denied by the labor officials and the CP leaders. They merely assert — in contradiction to all experience — that the working people can realize their own interests through the political organizations of the class that exploits them.

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

Instead of basing themselves on this progressive aspiration and deepening the independent and socialist character of the movement, the CP leaders have in the last year done everything in their power to stamper the radical workers back into the blind alley of capitalist politics.

Hallinan and McAvoy refused to go along with this course. Instead they have raised the banner of socialist, working-class political action in opposition to this general rout.

What to Do in 1956?

The policy of the CP leaders prevented the launching of an independent ticket by either the Progressive Party or the Communist Party. This confronted those who took a principled position for working class political independence with a serious problem: What should they do in the 1956 elections?

On Jan. 10, 1955 the National Guardian called for a "national independent ticket on the ballot in 1956 elections." A conference was projected for Labor Day, 1955 to launch such a ticket. Immediately the CP leaders opened a sharp attack on this proposal. The result was that the proposal was hardly mentioned again and the conference was never held.

Once again the tendency that was fighting for an independent working class line in the elections faced a problem. The National Guardian had come out for abstention. The CP leaders were beginning to drive harder and more openly toward support of the Democratic Party. What was left to do? This is the question that faced many thousands in the ranks of the Communist and Progressive parties.

Hallinan and McAvoy have now answered this question with the proposal that the radical workers mobilize behind the SWP ticket. McAvoy said in his Aug. 6 letter to the National Guardian. "It is time for those who profess devotion to socialism to vote for a socialist. . . Because he and his party defend the achievements of the Soviet Union (although criticizing the brutalities of the Stalinist bureaucracy) and because he has fought valiantly for civil liberties for all, including the Communists, for civil rights and for labor's rights, I shall vote for Farrell Dobbs, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, in November."

In his article which appeared in the People's World, Sept. 7 (see page one) Hallinan said: "The great necessity in America is for a united front of left wing forces which will educate, inform and lead the American people toward a socialist solution of the dilemmas which confront us. . . Every opportunity, then, should be taken advantage of to give support and encouragement to such forces, regardless of divisive differences. . . I am personally urging that as high a vote as can be mustered be given to Mr. Farrell Dobbs, the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party."

What the SWP Proposed

Hallinan and McAvoy, for their part, have made it clear that they do not agree with the SWP on many important questions. Neither they nor the SWP have any reason to hide this fact. But there is solid and principled agreement on the necessity to oppose the parties and programs of Big Business with a socialist program and ticket in 1956.

During all of 1955 the Militant and the SWP proposed action for an independent socialist ticket in this election. We said that the SWP was going ahead, as it had in 1948 and 1952, with its own ticket. However, we made it clear that we were ready to consider any other proposal or ticket that would be proposed. No such proposal was made. In these circumstances, we believe that it is the duty of every class-conscious worker and of the entire left wing movement to support the SWP ticket.

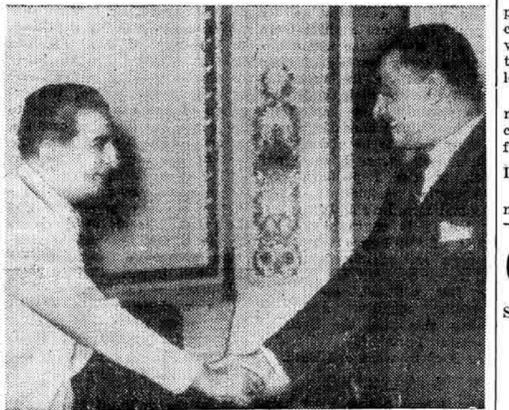
As for the other two socialist tickets, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party, they do not offer any opportunity for the expression of a socialist opposition to American capitalism on the decisive issues. The key question of socialist policy is opposition to American Big Business foreign policy, support of the anti-capitalist movement of the colonial people and defense of the achievements of the Russian Revolution.

The SLP refuses to support the world revolutionary movement against capitalism and the Socialist Party has disgraced the name of socialism by supporting (with mild criticism) the U.S. State Department. It did so notably in the Korean War. There is no socialism without opposition to capitalist war and without solidarity with the revolutionary people rising against capitalist and imperialist rule.

While the Communist Party leaders have thus far dragged their party into the mire of capitalist politics, there is a profound resistance to this course in the ranks. It is not yet too late to change the course. The CP is holding its legislative conference on Sept. 29-30 to determine formally its election policy. We urge once again that the Communist Party join with us in a practical agreement to give the most effective and powerful expression to the socialist program in the elections.

We urge that the viewpoint of Vincent Hallinan and Clifford McAvoy be given the closest attention and study by the conference. And we are certain that many members of the CP will take the course proposed by Hallinan and McAvoy and support Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss in November.

World Events



Premier Nasser of Egypt (right) welcomes the Indian Ambassador who brought him the minority report from the London Suez Conference. India, like all the other former colonial countries, supports Egypt on Suez.

OPEN PROVOCATION OF EGYPT is the latest move of British, French and U.S. imperialists in the Suez Canal dispute. The project which Prime Minister Eden announced to Parliament with assurances that it had U.S. backing, is no less than setting up a Suez Canal authority independent of Egypt and operating the canal. First step was the ordering of French and British pilots to quit Egypt. Second step is to assemble them at British-controlled Cyprus or at either end of the canal and to have them pilot convoys into the canal. Running of the canal, tolls etc., would be in the hands of the imperialist created canal authority. Obviously such an invasion of Egyptian land could succeed only if Egypt capitulated entirely or if the imperialists employ battleships and troops to force passage through the canal. In Parliament Eden's unveiling of the plan was greeted by Labor Party members with cries of "deliberate provocation" and "what a peacemaker." The New York Times London correspondent reports (Sept. 18) "Observers of several interested countries and various political views at first regarded the project as either completely unrealistic or a plant to provoke Egypt into giving provocation for military intervention."

CYPRIOTE NATIONALISTS fired on a vehicle carrying French troops this past week, according to a dispatch in the Sept. 10 N. Y. Times. The troops attacked are among those sent to Cyprus to join in a threatened invasion of Egypt. The majority of Cypriotes want independence from England so as to be able to unite with Greece. British oppression has made them sympathetic to Egypt's cause.

THE UNITED STATES HAS ABSTAINED from signing a United Nations anti-slavery treaty which makes human bondage a crime, according to the Sept. 8 N.Y. Herald-Tribune. UP reporters said it was believed that the U.S. did not sign "because there might be Congressional opposition to an international treaty involving the internal affairs of other nations." Actually, U.S. refusal to sign anti-slavery treaties is to avoid offending such junior partners of U.S. oil interests as Arabia's ruler, Ibn Saud. However, fears of "Congressional opposition" did not deter Dulles from trying to meddle in Egypt's internal affairs in the plan he presented at the London Conference for internationalizing the Suez Canal. The waterway lies completely in Egyptian territory.

THE FIRST KNOWN SOVIET MINIMUM WAGE DECREE will take effect Jan. 1, 1957. The base rate is reported to be a minimum \$67.50 a month, at the current official rate of exchange, and will constitute as much as a 33% wage increase for some of the lowest-paid Soviet workers. It has been estimated that 8,000,000 Soviet workers are currently paid below this new minimum.

ANOTHER SMALL CHIP was taken out of the Stalin idol as the Kremlin moved to discontinue the Stalin Prizes and establish Lenin Prizes in their place. Among the awards so affected is the Stalin Peace Prize, which will be renamed, "The International Lenin Prize for Strengthening Peace Among Peoples."

THE MEXICAN PRESS is aroused over the manner in which U.S. Immigration officials returned allegedly illegal immigrants (the so-called "wet-backs") to Mexico. One paper voices its protest in terms of "indignation over infamies." U.S. Immigration authorities encourage the entry of Mexican nationals during harvest time so that employers may hire them at pitifully low wages. At the end of the season they are deported. Some 500 Mexican nationals were recently crowded into a labor contractor's steamboat, where they were subjected to insufferable conditions. Rather than merely deporting them across the border, U.S. officials

type it. It started the witch hunt, and will continue it. Historically, it is the party of white supremacy, and currently is eager to keep the support of the White Citizens Councils. In recent years the only direction in which it has been moving is to the right.

The Democratic national convention demonstrated that the Democratic Party is firmly in the hands of the "moderates," that is, of conservative forces that are acceptable to the Dixiecrats.

The Michigan Worker is engaged in hunting for "positive" achievements at the Democratic convention. But it also has to admit:

- (1) The Democratic civil rights plank "is bad politically and even worse morally. . . This is a Johnson-Rayburn plank."
- (2) The foreign policy plank "bristles with belligerent proposals more in keeping with the cold war of the Truman era than with the new possibilities and trends toward world peace following Geneva."
- (3) "One great gap in the Democratic platform is the issue of civil liberties." (All quotations from Aug. 19 Michigan Worker.)

IF DEMOCRATS WIN

If such statements have any meaning, they mean that a

Guidebook to Stalinism

STALINISM, WHAT IT MEANS (A Critical Appraisal of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.). By Anand Mishra. Calcutta, India: Basanta Mookherjee. Distributed in the U.S. by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3 N. Y. 56 pp, plus Appendix and Bibliography. 35 cents.

The junking of the Stalin Cult? at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union revealed nothing that had not already been exposed, analyzed, and fought against by genuine Marxists. But the admissions opened the eyes of many CP members who had refused to see before, and shocked the best of them into making a critical study of Stalin's role and of the political movement which he personified and dominated for over thirty years.

To aid these CP workers in their quest for the truth about the Stalin cult is the purpose of the pamphlet, *Stalinism, What It Means*, by Anand Mishra, an Indian Marxist.

Mishra's pamphlet gives a summary of the history of Stalinism both within the Soviet Union and internationally, and an outline of the basic Trotskyist analysis of it.

EVENTS CONFIRM AUTHOR He begins with the eye-opening clues revealed at the 20th Congress and outlines the opposition of Marxists to the "Stalin cult" beginning with Lenin in 1923. He proceeds to a criticism of Khrushchev and other Stalinist bureaucrats, showing that they continue the essence of Stalin's policies even though they have attacked his personal rule.

A choice bit of Khrushchev's previous idolatrous praise of Stalin is quoted and he is nailed on his answer to the question: crammed them onto the boat for more distant Vera Cruz in order to discourage their re-entry until next harvest season.

ON THE EVE OF THE POZNAN TRIALS The Polish Ministry of Internal Trade has published a list of "many attractive industrial products from abroad" which it promises to make available to the Polish people during the next few months. Notable on the list are such items as shoes, textiles and household appliances. While most of the items on the list would be obtained from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, it was reported that the Polish government would use some of its scarce reserves for purchases in Western European countries in an effort to placate some of the demands of the Polish workers.

and the suppressed Testament of Lenin.

As a brief, popularly written and comprehensive survey, Mishra's pamphlet is a good introduction to the Marxist analysis of the history and perspectives of Stalinism. Together with the bibliography, it is a valuable aid to the further study of the events which have shaped the authentic Marxism in this generation.

— William Bundy

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MYRA T. WEISS
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Vice-President

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Friday, Sept. 21 — 8 P.M.
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I enclose \$..... to help in the Dobbs-Weiss Campaign.

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The events of the past two weeks in the battle over segregation in the South have destroyed once for all some of the most popular myths propagated by white supremacists as proof of the inferiority of Negroes.

By sending their children to the public schools in Clinton, Tennessee and elsewhere despite threats, insults, mob violence, and actual attempts to do them bodily harm, Southern Negroes have destroyed the lie that colored people are satisfied with Jim Crow conditions, and that it is only outside agitators and radicals that are responsible for opposition to segregation.

By arming themselves, and preparing to defend their homes, as they did in Clinton, they destroyed the myth that they lack the courage to fight back, that a show of force is sufficient to make them run, hide, or abase themselves.

The events in Tennessee also destroyed some widespread misconceptions about the nature of the Negro rebellion against segregation. The movement is not a Ghandi-type pacifist movement. While it is not adventurist in exposing its members to unnecessary victimization by advocating the use of force by a minority, it has no unrealistic philosophy of leaving its members defenseless against fascist-type attacks.

At the same time, the upsurge in the South today is not an impulsive, emotional, desperate thing. It is spontaneous, in the sense that it is based on general agreement and conviction of the justice of its

cause, but it is conscious, organized, and soundly based on a self-confidence and self-reliance of the Negro masses comparable to no other movement since the sweeping rise of the CIO in the Thirties.

Since the inspiring birth of Negro mass solidarity in the Montgomery bus boycott it has pushed forward in one community after another. Every time a Southern state tries to halt the advance, a new detachment breaks through. When the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is banned, the movement has new organizations to carry on in its place: The United Citizens Association of Mobile, the Georgia Voters League, The Elks, the churches, women's organizations, improvement associations — all are united in a common cause and any can take the initiative as the organizing center, as local conditions may require.

The Southern Negro movement is not a mystical unconscious movement. Typical of its thinking was the expression of Rev. A. J. Stokes of the United Citizens Association of Mobile at a recent meeting of that organization.

His topic was "The Need of a United Force to Meet the Challenge of the Day."

"Shall we be satisfied to remain in the second class bracket of society which we have helped to build or shall we be like Caleb — ask and fight for our rights?" he asked rhetorically. "Well, we must be united to meet the challenge."

Southern Negroes are uniting as never before.

(To be continued)

How Teach Truth Under the Witch Hunt, Mr. President?

By Joyce Cowley

SWP Candidate for U.S. Senate from New York

As more than 41 million students returned to school this week, President Eisenhower declared that teachers are presented with a "matchless opportunity to teach the truth freely." "Competition for men's minds begins when they are students," he said. "This is when they must be taught to discriminate between truth and falsehood. Specifically, they must be taught to discriminate between the American form of government and the Soviet form."

That's very specific and considerably narrows the goals of education. Dr. William Elliott of Harvard backed up Eisenhower by proposing a nation-wide program of classroom education on the "communist menace," calling this "one of our greatest and most urgent needs." I can't help wondering how anyone can teach the truth freely when the subject under discussion has already been characterized as a "menace."

Negro parents and children fighting racist mobs in the South probably don't agree that classes on the communist menace are their most urgent need. To them, the white-robed Klansmen who burned a giant cross in Montgomery, Ala., may look more threatening. Recent press conferences indicate that Eisenhower is not too well informed on what's happening in the south, and has very little to say about it.

SILENT ON SCHOOL NEEDS

Characteristically, he meets mob violence and intimidation by pretending it isn't there, which is just the way he handles all other aspects of our educational crisis. He says nothing about the need for new schools although more than a million students will be on double session and thousands of others will attend classes in churches, clinics, auditoriums and recreation halls — many of them dilapidated old buildings that are a constant threat to the safety of the children. He says nothing about a shortage of qualified



JOYCE COWLEY

teachers estimated at over 120,000. It will be met, according to Benjamin Fine's report in the New York Times, by "substandard or emergency teachers, overcrowding and weaker curriculums."

The White House Conference on Education which was held last November did come out in favor of federal aid to schools, but Congress failed to appropriate any money. Congress is composed of Republicans who say they want to build more schools, and Democrats, who are attacking the Republicans for not building more schools. So it seems curious that some difficulty arose and a very modest appropriation for schools was voted down. This never happened when they voted on funds for H-bombs.

'SILENT GENERATION'

Even more serious than the shortage of teachers and buildings is the deterioration of education itself. In an atmosphere of witch hunting and repression, no teacher would dare to teach the truth freely, as Eisenhower suggests. More and more teachers enforce conformity of thought and any individuality is stifled at the source, so that our children grow up like robots and even conservative writers have called today's youth a "silent" or "beat" generation. Some of them are silent — the development of others is more spectacular and destructive. You can read the details of gang wars and teenage vandalism in the headlines of any metropolitan newspaper any day in the week.

Educational authorities have become alarmed because the Soviet Union is turning out technicians and scientists a lot faster than the United States. They have a secondary educational system which William Benton in the New York Times

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called a "startling contrast to our own" because it gives a thorough foundation in mathematics, science, languages and psychology.

SOVIET SCIENCE

Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said he could learn of no public school in our country where a student obtained so thorough a preparation in science and mathematics. (They screen the AEC carefully, so he's probably not a Communist sympathizer.) Enrollments in institutions above the secondary level are 70% higher than in the United States. The obvious reason for this is that Soviet education, from grade school to the training of specialists, is now free.

Another difference is that Soviet students seem eager to study science. But a survey made in the U.S. indicated that the majority of students put atomic scientists at the bottom of a list of jobs they would prefer, and instead chose occupations like sales clerk and mechanic. Some of the reasons they gave were that scientists "don't enjoy life," they "sacrifice the welfare of others to their own interests," they are "odd," "evil" and "cannot be honest."

Under conditions of the Stalinist dictatorship — preserved with certain reforms by Stalin's heirs — Soviet students also do not enjoy intellectual freedom. But the planned character of the Soviet economy does attract youth to the field of science. For science is related to the realization of socialism, lodged as a goal in the planned economy. And socialism means achieving the welfare of humanity. Thus, despite the anti-socialist nature of the bureaucracy's rule, the Soviet youth has faith in the liberating mission of science.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

The acute shortage of facilities, the inadequate salaries paid to our teachers, the inferior curriculum, are proof of the low value placed on education by capitalist society and by machine politicians who have no real interest in the future of our children. This is the responsibility of the Democrats as well as the Republicans.

The shortage of schools was a critical problem under the Truman administration, and Eisenhower has continued the Democratic policy of conferences, promises and inaction. The Socialist Workers Party, in its election platform, calls for a school building program financed by funds now allocated to arms expenditures. We demand a government guaranteed college education for all youth. We demand an end to the witch hunt in the schools: all teachers fired in loyalty investigations should be restored to their jobs. Above all, we demand the right to teach freely, to have open inquiry and discussion. I agree with Eisenhower on one point — I'm confident that when students have all the facts, they will make the right choice.

... Less Integration in 1956

Racist Mob in Mansfield, Texas



White supremacists manhandle official. Mob, aided by Texas Rangers who ordered Negro children back to Jim Crow school, prevented court-ordered integration in Mansfield. In Texarkana, the Rangers stood idly by as racists forcibly prevented two Negroes from entering Junior College.

(Continued from page 1)

Charleston — began desegregation. A total of 47 Negro school children are affected by the integration in those communities. At present a legal and political battle is being waged to end desegregation in Hoxie.

Though the Negro population of east Tennessee averages only 5% and though the area is very "un-Southern" (for example it is traditionally Republican), Clinton is the only community to attempt desegregation. Plans to begin desegregation in other parts of Tennessee, including Chattanooga, were abandoned last summer.

Desegregation continued in other states such as Oklahoma, West Virginia and Maryland. But everywhere the tempo was slower and there was no feeling of urgency about it.

It is apparent that the Supreme Court decision commands less respect than a year ago. This is beyond question a result of the two-and-a-half-year campaign carried on by Southern state officials and Southern members of Congress. The fact that the Deep South has with impunity successfully prevented any integration whatsoever has

deeply influenced thinking in the border states and even in the North.

Added to this is the effect of the steady propaganda barrage of Dixiecrat defiance and dire threats and the passage of state laws openly designed to thwart desegregation. Finally, there has been the formation of the White Citizens Councils throughout the South. These not only wage economic war against militant Negroes, but like the rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan, carry the implication of physical violence. Though they have been unable to silence the Negroes they have succeeded almost 100% in silencing those Southern whites who are not firmly opposed to desegregation.

LIBERALS' SELLOUT

The counter-offensive of the Southern white-supremacists has met no effective opposition. The most cowardly surrender to them came from the Northern liberals of the Democratic Party, who long had posed as champions of civil rights. The liberal Democratic Senators and Congressmen did not even dare make a joint reply last winter to the brazen Interposition Manifesto of the 101 Southern members of Congress. Their sell-out culminated in the weasel-worded civil rights plank adopted at the Democratic Convention.

Nor did the labor and Negro leaders devise a strategy to meet the Southern offensive. Tied up with the liberals of the Democratic Party who in turn were allied with the Dixiecrats, they confined themselves to deploring the excesses and inflammatory statements of the Southern racists and to passively waiting for the Supreme Court decision to enforce itself.

The result is that the original legal and psychological advan-

tage that supporters of desegregation had in the period immediately following this high court decision has been almost completely lost in the South, is greatly weakened in the border states and is diminishing in the North.

RACISTS FEEL CONFIDENT

In the South today the Supreme Court decision cuts little ice with public opinion. The racists feel they have the government behind them—the government that counts in the situation—the local police, the state courts, the legislature, the governors and the U.S. Senate. They have no fear that Eisenhower will take any steps to enforce the decision. As for Stevenson, they feel with justification that he is safely in the pocket of the Southern politicians.

The effect of the Southern campaign on middle class opinion and opinion molders in the North may be gauged by the following examples. The convention of the National Student Congress (800 delegates representing some 740,000 college students) on Aug. 31 watered down "as possibly too radical" a resolution it had previously passed calling for immediate desegregation in college-level education.

The annual convention of the U.S. Bar Association, to which almost every lawyer in the U.S. belongs, recently rejected a resolution calling for compliance with the Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

Influential columnist Walter Lippmann (Sept. 4) called for abandonment of attempts to desegregate Southern schools through the courts. Instead, he calls for generations-long desegregation beginning "in the universities, in the graduate schools of law, medicine, education, engineering, theology—and where it can be done without causing social convulsions, in the bigger colleges.

"The object of this would be to train a new generation of white and colored men and women who will be the leaders in their communities." Only when such a new and enlightened generation of leaders in the South exists, says Lippmann, will there be a "prospect" of desegregating primary and secondary schools.

These retreats by molders of Northern public opinion are not only a measure of the success of the Southern racists but a measure of the failure of the policy of the labor movement and the Negro organizations.

The rank and file of these organizations are ready for militant struggle. The great mass protest meetings that followed the Till lynching, the historic bus boycotts in Montgomery and Tallahassee, show the temper of the Negro people. The best weapon against racism in the South is union organization and the strike wave there a year and a half ago shows the Southern workers — white and Negro — want unions. Yet the leaders of the Negro and labor movements cannot undertake the political and organizational offensives needed to smash the power of the Dixiecrats in Washington and in the South because they are themselves tied up with the Democratic Party.

This paralysis of the tremendous potential power of labor and the Negro people will continue, and consequently the white supremacists will continue to hold the initiative in the school fight, until labor and the Negro people build an independent party.

All great problems today — school desegregation, civil rights, organization of the South — are political problems and require a political solution. A labor party would pave the way for such a solution.

... Myra Weiss on TV

(Continued from page 1) influence of second-class citizenship.

NEGROES DIDN'T FORGET

In its original decision, made over two years ago, the Supreme Court said of the segregation of Negro school children, and I quote: "To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

This may never have meant much to the Republican and Democratic candidates — or, they may have long ago forgotten it; but it is engraved on the hearts of the Negro parents of America and explains why they will never give up the struggle for full political, social and economic equality. And, to achieve this aim, the Socialist Workers Party is unalterably committed by word and deed.

LABOR'S STAKE

The Negro people need help. It is the duty and responsibility of the organized labor movement to come to their assistance. It is not only justice to the Negro people that demands an end of Jim Crow; it is a necessity for the progress of the white workers too. Today the labor movement — if it is to advance and not move backwards — must smash Jim Crow.

What the unity of Negro and white, in common struggle for unions, can do to end race prejudice may well be seen from the history of the CIO in Michigan and other places. There, large numbers of white workers who had come from the South had strong anti-Negro prejudice before the building of the CIO.

DEFEAT DIXIECRATS

Today, Negro and white are firmly allied in the unions and prejudice is being replaced by

equality and solidarity. The same can be accomplished by unionization of the South. Even more important, the uniting of white and Negro in the South would strike a mortal blow to racism at the very source of the infection.

The two greatest obstacles to organizing the South are the division of the workers by Jim Crow and the complete political control of Southern states by a ruling class which fosters racism as its most powerful weapon of rule. These rulers are all Democrats and they receive tremendous support from Washington through federal patronage, control of the Senate, and their stranglehold on the Democratic Party nationally.

School desegregation and civil rights, just like the unionization of the South and the advancement of labor nationally, is essentially a political problem; it must have a political solution. Yet the labor leaders prevent a political solution by keeping the labor movement tied to the Democratic Party where it is a prisoner of the Dixiecrats — the mortal enemies of unionism and civil rights. This same Democratic Party policy is followed by the Negro leaders with the exception of those who are calling for the no less disastrous policy of supporting the Republicans this year.

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Democrats in Harlem Veto Stevenson Meeting There

The Democratic Party's civil rights plank is so unpopular with the Negro people that Democratic leaders decided not to attempt a meeting for Adlai Stevenson in Harlem during his current campaign visit to New York City. That is the gist of a news story given front-page prominence by the Sept. 7 New York Times.

A strategy meeting of Mayor Wagner, Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio and some 25 Negro Democratic leaders considered the possibility of a Harlem meeting and turned thumbs down on it. They reasoned as follows, according to the N.Y. Times: "The time was inopportune. Negro antipathy to the Democratic civil rights plank is so great, they said, that Mr. Stevenson would run the risk of provoking an unfavorable political reaction. 'He might get hooded,' one leader said."

The next day Carmine DeSapio called a press conference and told reporters that the Harlem meeting proposal had been rejected not because of the danger that it would be a fiasco or worse but primarily because there was not sufficient time to prepare a rally there.

That the original reports were in all probability true, would seem to be borne out by the number of Democratic bigwigs called upon to deny them. Backing up DeSapio before the reporters was Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, head of the N.Y. Committee for Stevenson-Kefauver. She said that the proposed meeting had been turn-

ed down because Mr. Stevenson would not have time for it. It should be noted that since 1936 Harlem has been one of the heaviest Democratic districts in the country, usually casting a vote of 80% for the Democrats.

Two facts stand out: No meeting for Stevenson has been attempted in Harlem; Negro disgust with the Democratic civil rights plank is apparent to all observers.

STILL PITCHES SOUTH

In an attempt to repair his damaged position with the important Negro community of New York, Stevenson, in his appearance before the convention of New York's Liberal Party, which endorsed his candidacy, devoted a few more words than usual in his speeches to the school desegregation issue.

He declared that everyone knew he supported the Supreme Court decision and then, pitching his voice so it could be heard in Mississippi and South Carolina, he hastily repeated the platform pledge: "We reject all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts." Translated into plain language this means that as President he would oppose any federal intervention to enforce desegregation where, as in the Deep South, the courts are unable to.

... Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

straightforward. I think the fundamentals of socialism should be brought to the American worker and the potential of socialism. I do wish more working class people could hear tonight's talk. I am sure it would prove very enlightening. Would you please send me your platform, program or any pamphlets you send to the general public."

P. J. H. Bronx, N. Y.

* * *

"Please send me a copy of your platform. Also, if possible, a copy of your acceptance speech. . . I desire these articles to use in our local union. Perhaps it will help in some way to awaken our members to just what is happening."

J. R. J. Chicago, Ill.

To date (Sept. 12), we have received 46 inquiries from persons in 13 states.

The speaking tour schedule of the SWP candidates for the next few weeks is as follows: Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate.

Sept. 21-22 San Francisco
Sept. 23-27 Seattle
Sept. 28 San Francisco (speaks at symposium with Vincent Hallinan and others)
Oct. 2-6 Minneapolis and St. Paul

Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate.

Sept. 21-23 Detroit
Sept. 25-26 Cleveland
Sept. 27-28 Youngstown
Sept. 29 Cleveland
Sept. 30 Akron
Oct. 3-4 Buffalo

The TV and Radio schedule is posted on page one.

New York Seaman's Defense Committee Dance Saturday Night, Sept. 22 Yugoslav Hall 405 W. 41st Street Youngstown Hear MYRA TANNER WEISS SWP Candidate for Vice-President Speak on: 'Why American Workers Need a Labor Party' Friday, Sept. 28 - P.M. Youngstown Hotel Shrine Room

The I. W. W. The Great Anticipation By James P. Cannon "The bold design of the IWW was drawn by Bill Haywood, who presided at the Founding Convention. . . In his opening remarks, calling the convention to order, he said: ' . . . We are here to federate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism.' Cannon tells how the IWW struggled to realize the "bold design", how much has been achieved since, and what further forms the working class struggle must take to bring it about. The I.W.W. first appeared as an article in the July, 1955 Fourth International. 44 pages 25 cents Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

By Leon Trotsky Lessons of October Trotsky's concise story of the struggle among the Bolshevik leaders in 1917 over the organization of the insurrection and the seizure of power. . . The historic essay which precipitated the bitter fight between Trotsky and the Stalin bureaucracy. 125 pages \$4.00 postpaid Rare - One to a Customer Order from: PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.