

Tammany Boss Rules Ballot Ban

By Daniel Roberts

On Oct. 5, the boss of Tammany Hall, Carmine DeSapio, who is also the New York Secretary of State, ruled the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot. DeSapio acted

through Barnett J. Nova, his Executive Deputy. Nova had presided over an administrative hearing (reported in last week's Militant) of challenges to the SWP nominating petitions and to similar petitions of the Socialist Labor Party. Nova upheld the challenges, although attorneys for both parties proved them to be permeated with fraud.

The Socialist Workers Party is now investigating possibilities of legal action against the high-handed decision of the New York party chief. In fighting for the democratic right of a minority party to be represented on the ballot, the SWP is struggling for the American people's right to free elections.

"The presence on the ballot of minor party candidates would afford voters the chance to cast a protest vote," said Art Sharon, SWP campaign manager in a statement to the press following the ruling. "DeSapio's method of dealing with this is simply to deprive voters of such a chance. In his secret dreams, the Democratic Secretary of State possibly envisions the perfect election in which the Republicans, too, have been thrown off the ballot."

"This, of course, is not possible now; but the unconstitutional, dishonest manner in which he has thrown the SWP and SLP off the ballot is a step along the path because of its damaging precedents for the right of a free ballot and free elections. For this reason, all those who believe in defending the right to vote should aid the minority parties in the fight to regain their hard-earned place on the N.Y. ballot."

In Michigan, too, the SWP is waging a fight over the right to vote freely. It will test in the courts the legality of a recent ruling by the Michigan Secretary of State banning write-in votes for President and Vice-President. (See statement of Rita Shaw,

SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan, in this issue.) Earlier this year, the liberal Democratic Administration arbitrarily ruled the SWP off the Michigan ballot on a technicality.

Once before, in 1946, the Democratic Party illegally knocked the SWP off the ballot in New York. The SWP fought its way back in 1948, 1950, 1952 and 1954.

Once before, in 1952, the state Administration in Michigan, high-handedly ruled the SWP off the ballot. The SWP fought back there and then, too. It won its rights again during the very same year. It had taken the ban to court and challenged the notorious witch-hunting Trucks law under whose provisions the ban had been imposed.

The SWP will keep on fighting with all the resources at its command for its right, and that of every other political party, to a place on the ballot.



JOYCE COWLEY

Ballot Rights Attack Scored by Cowley

(Text of a statement presented Oct. 10, over Radio Station WNEW, New York, on behalf of Joyce Cowley, candidate for U.S. Senator.)

You may have read in the papers that, upon invitation of the State Department, observers from foreign countries, including the Soviet Union, will soon be arriving in the U.S. to see how free elections are held. The question arises — how much will they be shown? For contrary to what many Americans mistakenly believe, freedom of elections is largely a myth in many parts of the United States.

Will the foreign observers be taken to the South? Will they be taken to see the polls in Belzoni, Mississippi? That's where in May 1955 a man was lynched for registering to vote. The man was Reverend G. W. Lee — he was a Negro. His death left but one other Negro still registered in Belzoni — Gus Courts. He, too, was shot. Fortunately he survived his wounds, but he has been forced to leave the South.

Some of you will say, "Such things are true about the South, but here in New York we certainly have free elections. Here are some facts about what is happening to the free ballot in New York. A few days ago the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party were ordered off the ballot by Secretary of State, Carmine DeSapio.

DeSapio is head of Tammany Hall and of the Democratic Party in this state. He will go down in history as the short-ballot artist — the one who gave New York its worst mutilated presidential ballot in history. Except for the Civil War decade when the minor parties voluntarily merged with the big parties there have been minor party candidates on every presidential ballot in New York since 1840. Since 1888 there have been socialist parties on every presidential ballot in this state. But in 1956 they have been dishonestly barred. Surely this is a blow to the right of free elections and a free ballot.

Here is why the Socialist Workers Party was thrown off the New York ballot. Not only the presidential but the senatorial election in New York is expected to be very close. The Democratic machine fears that a protest vote going to minority parties could lose the election. Particularly it fears a protest vote in Harlem and other Negro communities because of the Democratic platform's sell-out on civil rights. It is also aware that the Socialist Workers Party with its plank for full civil rights and immediate federal enforcement of school desegregation is getting a greater response than ever before.

The second reason is that the American Labor Party has just gone out of existence. How will the former ALP'ers vote? In a close election DeSapio knows they could be the margin of victory. The Communist Party

(Continued on page 4)

The Tito-Khrushchev meetings and the Poznan trials — See editorial and article page 3.

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Dobbs Appeals for AFL-CIO Aid to Negro Bus-Boycotters

SWP Election News

Campaigning For Socialism

By Art Sharon

SWP Campaign Manager

Continuing response to the TV and radio appearances of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, our candidates for President and Vice-President, under-scores the fact that there is a real audience in this country for a militant socialist program. As of this writing, we have received 1,240 responses to these broadcasts. They come from every section of the country. (See page two.)

All of those writing in for information are being mailed platforms and sample copies of the Militant elaborating the SWP stand. Already 34 subscriptions have been received from those receiving such copies.

Meanwhile, we have a report from our Twin Cities campaign committee describing the excellent response to the campaigning of Dobbs in that area, Oct. 2-6. Well-attended public meetings were arranged for him in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Wilmar. At a meeting on the University of Minnesota campus a large group of students remained throughout an extended question and discussion period where many friendly questions were directed to the SWP candidate.

Throughout, the press, radio and TV gave good coverage to his campaign activities, both in announcing meetings and in reporting them afterward. In reporting his arrival in Minneapolis, the locally prominent TV news commentator, Paul Severeid, showed a picture of the SWP leader and said, "Some of you may remember Dobbs; he was one of the leaders of the Minneapolis truck drivers strike in 1934."

On Sat., Oct. 6, the same day that they were holding a farewell banquet for Dobbs, his supporters announced that they had filed petitions with the Secretary of State to qualify the Socialist Workers ticket for a place on the Minnesota ballot.

Campaign tour schedule of Farrell Dobbs:
Oct. 18 Youngstown
Oct. 19-21 Cleveland
Oct. 23-27 Buffalo

Campaign tour schedule of Myra Tanner Weiss:
Oct. 17-20 Philadelphia
Oct. 23-27 Seattle

Women Farmers Protest Gov't Farm Policy



Fed up with promises, and hard pressed by a lowering of potato prices, 200 women farmers are placing their demands before the Agriculture Department in Washington.

The 1956 Socialist Workers Party platform calls for "a federal farm program to guarantee the cost of production on all farm commodities to working farmers. . . No limitation on crops so long as a single person remains hungry. . . Low cost, long term government credits to small farmers for modernization. . ." For a free copy of the platform write to: SWP, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

HIGH COURT OPENS HEARINGS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES CASES

OCT. 8 — The Supreme Court today began hearings on a number of cases whose outcome can have an important effect on the state of civil liberties. A key issue again before the high court is the constitutionality of the Smith Act under which the advocacy of ideas has been made a crime.

The court will hear an appeal on the Pennsylvania Smith Act conviction of Communist Party leader Steve Nelson and three co-defendants. The court refused to act on a government motion to remand the case to a lower court for hearings on the credibility of the testimony of Joseph Mazzei, a professional FBI stool pigeon whose testimony against Nelson contradicted his stories in other government proceedings. [On Oct. 10 the Supreme Court ordered a new trial for Nelson. — Ed.]

Legality of the witch-hunting activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee will be before the court with its decision to hear the appeal of United Auto Workers organizer John T. Watkins of Rock Island, Ill. Watkins was convicted of contempt after refusing to act as a stool-pigeon for the

House committee. He had testified to cooperating for a period with the Communist party but refused to reveal names of party members.

SWEETZ CASE

The court will also consider the New Hampshire contempt conviction of Paul Sweetz, co-editor of Monthly Review. Sweetz had refused to answer questions about his political beliefs and associations directed to him by the New Hampshire Attorney General on the basis of a state "subversive control" statute. The Supreme Court has already ruled such state laws conflict with the Smith Act and are invalid.

In a case involving the "non-Communist" oath provision of the Taft-Hartley law, the court will review the conviction of Ben Gold, former president of the Fur and Leather Workers Union. Gold was sentenced to a three-year term on the charge of falsely swearing to the affidavit despite the fact that he had resigned from the Communist Party prior to signing the oath.

On the eve of the court session Attorney General Brownell issued a statement boasting of

his successful use of the witch-hunting Smith Act against the Communist Party. He disclosed that 108 leaders of the party had been convicted under the Act with 22 more currently awaiting trial.

Meanwhile the American Civil Liberties Union urged the court to rule the membership clause of the Smith Act unconstitutional on the ground that it violates freedom of speech and association. It was also announced Oct. 4 by Rev. A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation that some 200 prominent figures throughout the country had added their names to a petition addressed to the president last December urging amnesty for those convicted under the Smith Act.

From the SWP Platform

Repeal the Smith Act and grant amnesty to all victims of this thought-control law. Abolish the "loyalty" oaths and "loyalty" purges. Halt all political prosecutions for contempt and perjury based on the testimony of stoolpigeons.

Liberalize the election laws.

Tallahassee Officials Harass Leaders of Anti-Jim Crow Fight

OCT. 8 — Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President today released the text of a letter urging the National Union Civil Rights Committee to give

immediate financial aid to the leaders of the Tallahassee bus boycott movement arrested by racist authorities Oct. 5. The Negro community in Tallahassee through its organization, the Inter-Civic Council, has been conducting a boycott of the Jim Crow bus system since May 26. The National Union Civil Rights Committee was established by a number of major unions last May to support the struggle for Negro equality. Dobbs' letter is addressed to AFL-CIO President George Meany, chairman of the committee and Garment Workers Union President David Dubinsky, the committee's treasurer. The full text of the Dobbs letter follows.



FARRELL DOBBS

Dear Sirs and Brothers,

I am writing to urge that your committee extend immediate aid to the Inter-Civic Council of Tallahassee, Fla. Twenty-one leaders of that organization, including all of the members of its executive council were arrested Oct. 5, on charges of operating an illegal transportation system. The council itself has also been charged by city authorities on the same count.

WANT LEGAL WEAPON

Previous to the present arrests, participants in the boycott movement's car pool were jailed on trumped-up charges of violating a state "vehicle for hire" licensing statute. These charges were dropped and the present ones substituted. It is clear from these moves that the city administration is determined to build the strongest possible legal case for the trial which has been set for Oct. 17.

Their effort to fashion an anti-boycott legal weapon is not only a matter of grave concern for the Tallahassee freedom fighters and the civil rights movement generally. It is of equal concern to the trade union movement. I need only to cite how the anti-boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley law as well as those of the various state

laws have been used as a lethal club against organized labor.

I sat in the courtroom in Montgomery, Ala. last spring when the leaders of the bus protest movement there were also convicted under an anti-boycott statute—one that had been originally designed to break a 1921 strike of coal miners. Coming on the heels of that action, the present moves of the Tallahassee racists assumes added significance.

Shortly after the formation of your committee, the press on May 15 quoted Mr. Dubinsky's statement that the committee's over-all purpose was to "further civil rights everywhere in the country with the Negro struggle receiving primary attention." The present attack on the Tallahassee Inter-Civic Council, which will involve a costly defense, certainly comes under that statement of objectives. Aid by your committee will strengthen a valiant band of civil rights fighters in their resistance to reactionary attack. It will, at the same time constitute an act of self-defense for the union movement you represent.

Fraternally yours,
Farrell Dobbs.

Michigan SWP Opens Suit on Write-In Vote

By Rita Shaw

SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan

DETROIT — All the capitalist politicians — Eisenhower, Stevenson, Williams, Cobo and all the others — are lecturing the people morning, noon and night on their "sacred duty" to vote on election day.

At the same time their political machines are engaging in the worst kind of skulduggery to prevent the people from hearing and voting for candidates of their own choice, especially socialist candidates.

They claim they want the people to vote. But they stop at nothing to discourage and prevent the people from being able to vote for anybody but the two capitalist parties.

In fact, they have now gone to the point here in Michigan where they are trying to prevent the people from voting for socialist candidates EVEN ON A WRITE-IN BASIS!

All last winter members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party worked hard collecting petitions to meet the stiff requirements of the state law for obtaining a place on the Michigan ballot this year. We met the requirements, and

best of our ability. Tens of thousands in this state have listened to our candidates on TV, radio, at union meetings and open-air rallies, and additional thousands have read our campaign literature.

Few of these people consider themselves socialists today, but most of them listen to us with interest and even respect, and some of them certainly are thinking of voting for us.

And that's just what the liberal Democratic administration headed by Gov. Williams wants to prevent at all costs. Fearing that the election in Michigan is going to be close, they are now trying to top their earlier crime of knocking us off the ballot by depriving the voters of their right to write-in the names of our candidates.

It so happens that the laws of Michigan clearly provide that voters can cast write-in ballots. But the laws don't seem to bother the Williams administration or its Democratic Secretary of State.

Ignoring the law, they have ruled that it is impermissible to vote for President and Vice-President on a write-in basis in Michigan. If you do it, they say, your votes won't be counted. And if you write-in the names of candidates for President and Vice-President, your whole ballot will be invalidated.



RITA SHAW

Williams & Co. are not challenging — not yet — our right to vote for county drain commissioner on a write-in basis.

But they are challenging our right to vote for the two highest offices in the land if we don't want to vote for the capitalist parties.

Simultaneously, the TV and radio stations in Michigan, who have been working hand-in-glove with the Williams administration, have taken the stand that since write-in candidates for President and Vice-President can't be counted here, then they are relieved of their obligation under federal law to give equal time on their facilities to our presidential and vice-presidential candidates. And they have discontinued in Michigan all broadcasts by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss that are presented by their own national networks in other states.

Well, we think it's time to call a halt to this outrageous attack on democratic rights.

Therefore we are going to file a suit in the courts for an injunction to compel the Secretary of State to abide by the state laws and to count all write-in ballots, including those for President and Vice-President.

We also are filing a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission, asking that the Michigan TV and radio stations be compelled to abide by the federal law, to give Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss the same free time they are giving their capitalist opponents, and to broadcast the SWP speeches which they are trying to keep the people of Michigan from hearing.

We ask the support of everyone who believes in the right of a free ballot, and especially the labor movement. We ask them to protest the discriminatory and illegal actions of the Williams administration, and to help us fight our court case to a victorious conclusion.

Already handicapped in the election campaign by lack of funds, we are sorely in need of financial help to conduct our court case. You can show that you believe in free elections by contributing money now (Socialist Workers Party, 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Mich.).

Don't let them rob you of your right to vote!

1,240 TV, Radio Replies Hail Dobbs, Weiss

Acceptance speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss are still being broadcast in a few cities, where stations did not release them at the time they were scheduled nationally. The SWP Campaign Committee continues, therefore, to receive responses. All told 1,240 people from all over the country replied to the invitation to write for the SWP platform and other free literature. Many of them included inspiring comments. We continue to publish these letters.

I am a Negro and an independent voter. While listening to your speech of September 23, over T. V. it made me feel very good. I am very interested in the Socialist Workers Party and I would like to know more about it.

R. B.
Cleveland, Ohio

Please send me your platform and other pertinent information concerning your party. Throw the rascals out!

B. M.
Pleasant Hill, Calif.

I heard a wonderful speech on television by Mrs. Weiss, whom I shall vote for in November if she or any of her party is listed on

my ballot. I was very much impressed by this most magnificent woman whom I think should be the next vice president of these United States. (That's if you can call them united.)

W. M.
Jacksonville, Fla.

The present electoral situation provides many people with little alternative but to vote SWP, even though there be grave differences with your whole program or as with myself with your "dialectical materialism" and atheism. However you do represent an honest, forthright protest, which in these times cannot be sneered at.

F. H. T.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

I was thrilled to know that our thinking could have a voice across the nation — of course there isn't a chance of any kind here in California to vote any sort of liberal ticket, but I'd like to know more about your program.

Sierra Madre, Calif.

To say the least, I was much impressed by their presentation of the principles and aims of the Socialist Workers Party. My friends and I, students at Northwestern University, would like to attend a meeting of your party with an eye toward possible application for membership.

W. C.
Chicago, Ill.

A week ago I heard a program on the Armed Forces Radio Service which had to do with the Socialist Workers Party. Would you please send me any information you might have available. Also a campaign poster and a pin. This literature will be read by some fifty people and the poster posted in a good place. Thank you very much and keep up the good work.

Moji, Japan

I am 14 years old and I have been interested in the Socialist Party for the last couple of years. I think it is terrible the way they keep your party off the voting machines in many states.

D. L.
Ridgefield, Conn.

We enjoyed your broadcast very much, but would like to know where we write to, to get your Socialist Workers paper. I would like to subscribe for it.

Mrs. R. P.
Independence, Mo.

I'm glad I heard you out because your few words are the only ones coming from the presidential candidates that has made any sense so far. That goes for both parties, too!

In the last election I was so disgusted with both parties I just wouldn't vote. I'm actually not ashamed either because I just couldn't "buy" what either party had to sell.

Mrs. Weiss, I'm a white woman. Traditionally I'm supposed to be a Southerner since I was born in South Carolina, but I was fortunate enough to have a lovely and wonderful mother who insisted on teaching us God made all men equal. I know almost nothing about the Socialist Party, and I have heard it is a sister of communism.

I ask your forgiveness for such a frank statement, but I want to know! I am not and never will be a communist. However, I do not want to vote for either of the presidential candidates this year

—and I do want to vote—so, I need to know what your party stands for completely so I can form my own choice. I know a lot of other women in just the same frame of mind as myself this year who need your information just as badly and "by word of mouth" is the best in advertising something if it is good. It is just as much needed and headed as the Radio or TV or paper.

I really want to know just what the Socialist Workers Party stands for.

San Leandro, Calif.

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart and wish there were more who shared the same views.

Mrs. E. R. B.
Washington, D. C.

I am a Viennese socialist militant—since 1905. Now I live in the U.S.A. and I am very interested to become a member of your party.

R. R.
Calif.

I heard your party platform tonight on the television and I was very very pleased with your attack on the American foreign

policy in the Middle East and your backing to the Egyptian government for nationalizing the Suez Canal which is an Egyptian property, no doubt. Also your backing to the Algerians in asking for their independence from the imperialist France.

I hope to hear more and more of your attacks on the American foreign policy and I do urge you to continue your backing to nations such as Egypt, Algeria, Cyprus and others, who are fighting for their independence from the imperialist countries such as England and France.

I would love to receive a copy of your party platform and your newspaper if possible.

An American
from the Middle East,
Detroit, Mich.

I was very interested in your program; I am very active in our union. I am on the legislative committee and I would like to learn much more about your Socialist Workers Party.

P. W.
Ontario, Canada

Enclosed is a check for a subscription to the International Socialist Review. The balance is a small contribution toward the

cost of mailing me 10 copies of the [acceptance] heard here on the Coast.

E. B.
Compton, Calif.

I heard your broadcast and am most interested in your true democratic aims and platform. I am a three-war combat vet and endorse your party.

A. M. R.
Coral Gables, Fla.

I heard your speaker on radio speak of good points that others should read and become more interested in.

C. H. B.,
Malott, Wash.

Enjoyed the talk very much. If everyone felt the same about conditions in the U.S. it would certainly be a better place to live.

Mrs. K. S.
Allston, Mass.

I saw and heard you speak on TV Sunday evening. And what a wonderful speech it was. Will you please send me full information on how I can vote or be a part of such a wonderful party?

M. T.
Chicago, Ill.

I listened to your speech on television and I concur with what you said about Mr. Dulles and his policies; however, you have created a great void in pointing out the errors of Mr. Dulles without proposing a program of your own to replace that of Mr. Dulles. It is an easy thing to tear down another man's house, but to replace it with something that is sturdier is very difficult.

E. C. S.
St. Louis, Mo.

I'd be much interested in voting for you. I can see no future in the Republicans or Democrats for the better.

Mrs. A. J. M.,
Minneapolis, Minn.

It was wonderful. I sure believe in her party. She has sure put a great many of us thinking about what she said. Thanks, I sure will heed to her views.

Mrs. W. B.,
Lincoln, Neb.

I heard your talk on radio. I enjoyed it so much I would like to have a copy of same. I have a speech to make at my club and would like to use some of your talk in it. I am heartily in accord with your party and its principles. Enclosed is \$5.00 for the party.

Kingston,
North Carolina

I wish it was so that all the people in the United States could have heard your speech on segregation.

G. C. S.,
Steelton, Pa.

I generally agree with the SWP program except on the Russian question. What specifically encouraged this letter was the Militant a friend sent to me. At least it is heartening to see the only revolutionary socialist program offered in this election printed up in such fine fashion. I enclose \$1.00 to cover a trial subscription.

I liked your farm plank especially. My family is a farm family. If your plank ever got into the farmers' hands in a widespread fashion it would at least give the major parties something to demagogically start marching left about.

E. S.,
Earlville, N. Y.

We watched your program last night and were very impressed. My wife and I have long hoped for the day that a third party would come about.

Sedro Woolley, Wash

I heard your talks on television and was very impressed. I didn't know that there was any socialist movement afoot with such a vigorous program.

G. H.,
Chadds Ford, Pa.

I would appreciate all available information pertaining to the Socialist Workers Party. May I also have a subscription to the Militant.

K. McC.,
East Orange, N.J.

Please send me a copy of the speech on Civil Rights and the Negro people and laborers.

E. H.,
Mt. Vernon

I saw two of your television programs today and found the speech on segregation very interesting.

I fully believe that if you intended to live up to your promises that you should be elected and not one of the other parties.

B. G.,
Carthage

Please send me tonight's address and the others please. I enjoyed so much the little part that I heard of your address.

Mrs. L. J.
Mobile, Alabama

Florida Racists Back Stevenson

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, TIMES-UNION
SUNDAY, MAY 27, 1956



Florida and the South NEED a Man of Moderation

—a man friendly to the South...

Adlai Stevenson has shown more understanding and consideration of the South's problems than any other candidate for President.

Adlai Stevenson has demonstrated the abilities and qualifications necessary to serve the people as President.

**PULL THE
Stevenson Lever!**

This ad from the Jacksonville Times-Union shows that Southern racists understand the real meaning of Stevenson's pious appeals for "moderation" on civil rights. For a current example of racist "moderation" in action see story on page 1 of arrest of Tallahassee boycott leaders.

THE MILITANT ARMY

This column is usually devoted to reporting the work of the members of the Militant Army throughout the country. This week we devote it to some of the results obtained by our two current star salesmen — Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, whose hard-hitting socialist campaign is winning new circles of readers for our paper. Here are the reactions of some of those who have subscribed to the Militant as a result of the Dobbs-Weiss campaign.

H. B. of Springfield, Mo., writes: "Enclosed is three dollars, \$2.50 to help in the campaign and fifty cents for a subscription to the Militant. I would enjoy seeing Mr. Dobbs and Mrs. Weiss as President and Vice President of the United States."

J. C., from a Louisiana farming area, sends in a dollar with a request for sample copies of the paper to distribute among his neighbors.

An old friend, G. H. of Chicago is inspired anew by the success of the Dobbs-Weiss campaign. He writes: "Enclosed you will find what it takes to renew my

subscription for the next year. I believe our ideas and proposals for actions are beginning to take hold in a way and to an extent not previously experienced and its wonderful and most helpful to our class."

A young Detroit worker sends in a sub with the following: "Thank you for sending me the booklet explaining your 1956 campaign. I am subscribing to the Militant for three months and then will renew my offer. I am enclosing a dollar to help Mr. Dobbs and Mrs. Weiss get elected in 1956. I hope they win. What interested me most was the program regarding employment and education. Its best platform yet to come out in a party. . . I am glad that I listened to Mrs. Weiss speak on TV. Keep up the good work for the working class of people."

Negroes on the March

A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle

By Daniel Guerin

192 pages \$1.50

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

Dulles' Hard-Cash "Spiritual" Values

(Major excerpts from a speech by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President over NBC-TV hookup, Sept. 22 and NBC-Radio hookup, Oct. 4.)

Since World War II, you can't pick up a newspaper without reading an attack on socialism. Everyday editorial writers and columnists, high government officials and candidates for office, announce they finally have conclusive proof that Karl Marx was wrong and that capitalism is the best of all possible systems. And the very next day they must attempt to prove it all over again.

We socialists welcome the opportunity to present our side of this great debate on capitalism or socialism. . . As a matter of fact you read and hear so much propaganda from the enemies of socialism that you must ask—what do the socialists themselves have to say about their views?

The Big Business rulers of the United States claim that capitalism and capitalists operate for the loftiest interests of all the people.

Take the recent remarks of John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State for the Republicans and a former foreign policy consultant under the Democrats. In a speech delivered in San Francisco on June 21, Dulles made the following defense of U.S. capitalism:

LOFTY IDEALISM?

"Our free society," he said, "derives its principal momentum from its religious character." Then he spoke of "our belief" in the spiritual nature of man and human dignity.

What a falsehood! Was it religious belief that took us into two world wars and then Korea? Was it religious motivation that condemned millions to unemployment and hunger in the 1930's? Was it the concept of the brotherhood of man that made Truman decide to drop the first atom bomb in history on heavily populated cities? Is it because of our spiritual nature that success in American life is measured in terms of gold, mink and Cadillacs? Obviously not. The real motive force of capitalism is profit. The means of production are owned and monopolized by individual capitalists. They get bil-

lions of dollars in profit. And nowadays, they don't even have to risk their capital. The government guarantees big profits with lush war contracts.

Expounding further on how wonderful capitalism is, Dulles reported, "Women have been relieved of the many disabilities that were for centuries their lot, and have now gained a political, economic and social status totally different from that of forty years ago."

Dulles left it with that—a different status, he said. Well just how different? In 1920 women won the vote. But it wasn't given to them by the liberality of Dulles' so-called "free society." The women fought for this measure of equality. They demonstrated in Washington and elsewhere. Many of them were beaten up and many were jailed. The women can thank their own courageous struggle for this measure of equality.

Or perhaps Dulles was referring to the more recent opportunities for women to get jobs? But again it is not the benevolence of Dulles' "free society" but war and a war economy. In the 1930's, women had a hard time finding jobs. Even the men, their husbands and the fathers of families, couldn't get jobs.

Women are still paid less than men for the same work except where the union movement has forced employers to pay equal wages. Years of effort have failed to get legislation passed in Congress protecting women from bosses who want extra cheap labor.

TWO YEARS COURT RULED

Next Dulles says, "Race discrimination, while not wholly eliminated is rapidly diminishing." There is an element of truth here. But the first gains made against race discrimination were in the great strike struggles of the 1930's when Negro and white workers fought together to build the C.I.O. The Negroes and the labor movement fought again in the period of the Second World War to break down discrimination in hiring.



MYRA TANNER WEISS

Every gain here was fought for and the struggle is still going on. More than two years have passed since the Supreme Court ruled that segregation against Negro children in the school system was a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution is still not enforced.

You can be quite sure that if anyone violated the property rights of the capitalists, it wouldn't even take two days to enforce the law. But two years is too soon for them to enforce human rights. Indeed, the "moderates" are speaking of two generations.

Far from diminishing, as Dulles said, race discrimination is now being brazenly organized by a minority, the White Citizens Councils, using terror and threats of death to enforce their ugly practices of segregation.

Next Dulles said, "Science is performing miracles." Ah, Mr. Secretary. It would be better if you were silent on this score. In 1954, the government spent about \$2 billion on research—20 times the pre-war rate. But 85% of this amount went to militarism, the science of how best to destroy humanity. In the meantime, while we drill in mock air raids that would bring radioactive death to millions of people, while the government stockpiles atom bombs and the brass hats threaten to use nuclear

weapons, the cost of medical care to preserve and prolong life has increased almost beyond the reach of the average American.

One waiter I talked with just the other day, told me his wife had to be hospitalized for diabetes. \$33 a day for the room and nurses, he told me. Doesn't your insurance cover the cost, I asked? He laughed. "Are you kidding? Some of it is covered but I'll have to raise most of the money." Now how can a working man pay out money like that? How many workers even make \$33 a day? A little sickness comes along in a worker's family and it means going into debt for many years. . .

"Working men and women," Dulles says, "are leading a good life." Well, I don't know how things are on Duck Island where Dulles takes frequent holidays, but would Dulles say life is so good if he were working in General Motors or the Ford Motor Company, a steel mill, a coal mine or a packinghouse? After a day's work he would probably be too tired to make speeches about how good life is for working men and women. . .

For 25 years, a quarter of a century, capitalism in America has brought us only depression, war or preparation for war. That is the real history that Dulles is defending as progress. And what about the future? War or depression are still the only alternatives that capitalism can pose. Neither Democrats nor Republicans hold out the prospects of anything different in the foreseeable future.

THERE IS NO PEACE

Of course they claim it is all the fault of the Russians or the Chinese. No ruling class in history considered itself to blame. World War I was the fault of the Germans, they claimed. The U.S. defeated Germany. World War II was the fault of the Germans and Japanese, they said. These nations were defeated. But still there is no peace. Only another armament race with the world rushing from crisis to crisis: Korea, Indo-China, Algeria, Cyprus and now Egypt. Our war machine is loaded with atom bombs and hydrogen bombs. These terrible weapons, which are no longer

monopolized by one country, are supposed to be used as a threat, but how long until threats become real and the bombs start falling?

They tell us the war economy is needed to fight for democracy in the world. That's an old and very stale story. Meanwhile, they throw at us the Taft-Hartley law, correctly referred to in the labor movement as the Slave Labor Act. With a mass of legislation and administrative decrees, the Democrats and Republicans have already destroyed a great deal of the traditional civil liberties of this country. People are jailed and intimidated, not for anything they have done, but for the things they have thought or said or written, or are alleged to have thought. A new category of crime has been invented, the so-called crime of "subversion." These repressive laws have the foul odor of a police dictatorship. They are not an expression of a society where people are free to think and speak and write as they please.

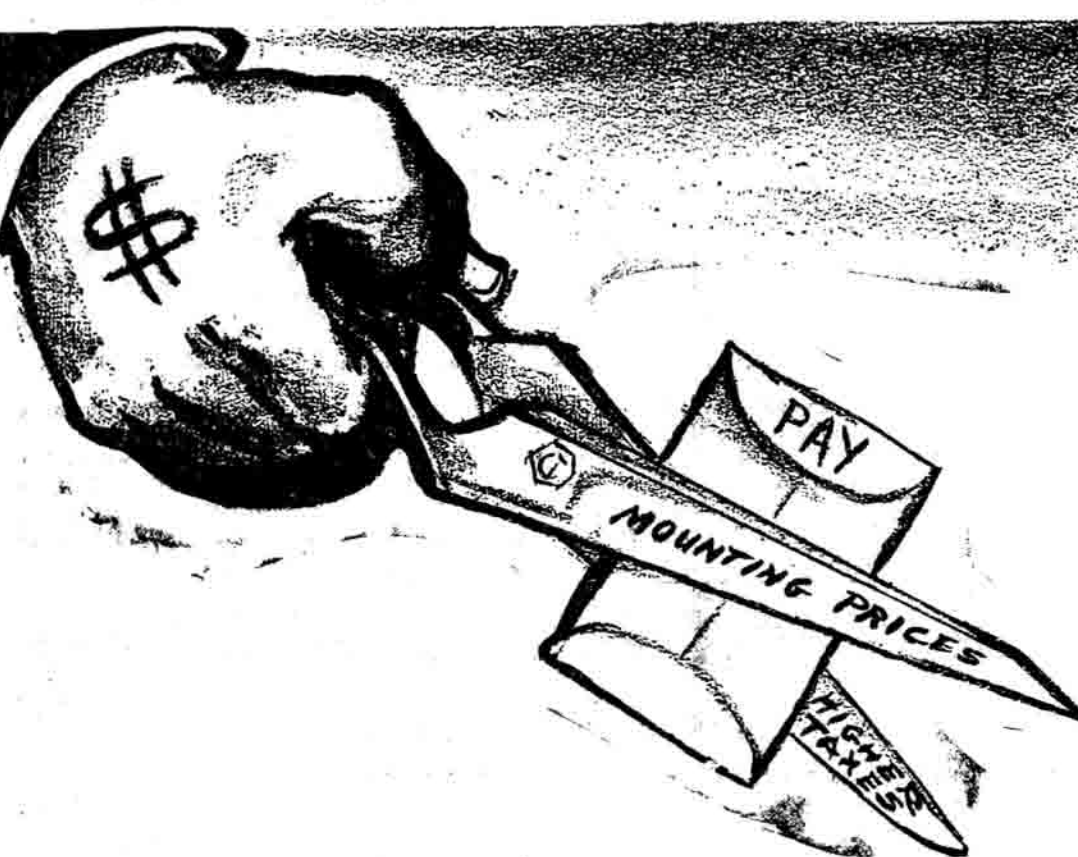
Socialism means progress, peace and greater freedom for man. To be a socialist now means to defend the working class and its interests with as much ardor as the American revolutionaries fought for freedom in 1776.

WHY WE CAMPAIGN

Socialism means to fight for a workers democracy—a higher form of freedom than capitalism. It means to fight for production for use instead of profit. It means a planned economy to elevate the living standards of the whole people instead of a war economy to elevate the profits of billionaires. It means to fight for a labor party, independent of the capitalist parties, which will speak out for the majority of Americans who work for a living. It means to fight uncompromisingly for the full economic, social and political equality of the Negro people and all other minorities.

Socialism is something worth fighting for. That is why Farrell Dobbs and I are campaigning in this election. That is what we fight for every day of our lives. That is what the Socialist Workers Party stands for. And we ask you to support us and help us.

It Happens Under Democrats or Republicans



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Monday, October 15, 1956

1. Tito-Khrushchev Meetings

Khrushchev's visit to Tito's Adriatic headquarters on the Island of Brioni, followed by Tito's return visit to Khrushchev's Yalta resort on the Black Sea, for a total of 16 days of conferences, has aroused a sensation in the world capitalist press. Speculation and rumor are rife regarding the meaning of these unprecedented talks which have been officially described as "vacations."

In the welter of reports, guesses and counter-guesses one salient fact emerges: the main clue to what the Kremlin tops are talking about with Tito and other East European government heads is not to be found at the vacation resorts of either the Black Sea or the Adriatic but in the courtroom of Poznan, an industrial town in Poland, where participants in the June 28 general-strike uprising are now on trial.

We have no way of judging the accuracy of current reports on the exact line-up within the Kremlin and the precise role Tito is playing in these internal struggles. Nor is this necessary for understanding the major factors underlying the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy. An abundant and verified body of evidence already exists to enable us to arrive at such an understanding.

The first fundamental factor in the crisis is the revolutionary ferment among the industrial workers of the Soviet orbit. In the long run this ferment spells the doom of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union and the restoration of Soviet democracy through the revolutionary action of the Soviet masses.

For over three decades the rule of the privileged bureaucracy was maintained through the violent destruction of the

institutions of workers' democracy: the Bolshevik party, the Soviets and the trade unions. Now the Russian revolution is experiencing a rebirth. The Soviet masses are preparing to overthrow the bureaucratic usurpers.

The first major sign that a gigantic mass force was coming to life within the Soviet orbit was the East German general-strike uprising on June 17, 1953. On the heels of the East German uprising a deep crisis developed within the camarilla of Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin; the head of the secret police, Beria, and all who were closely associated with him were purged.

Unquestionably the general-strike and uprising of the Poznan workers last June has again shaken the Soviet bureaucracy to its foundations. Poznan has produced another spasm of internal struggle within the ruling group over the question of how to cope with the revolutionary threat. Have Bulganin and Khrushchev gone too far in permitting "democratization"? Has rendering Tito legitimate loosened the grip of the Kremlin upon the East European regimes? Which will do more to save the regime: concessions or repressions? These are the questions before the Soviet bureaucratic chiefs.

What is most alarming to the Kremlin about Poznan is the inability of the Polish government to follow through after its first moves to engage in ruthless frame-ups and repressions. Instead, the carefully prepared trials are turning into a political forum in which the crimes of the bureaucratic caste are being exposed. And sections of the Polish bureaucracy itself manifest a susceptibility to mass pressure.

2. Bureaucrats in Crisis

The Poznan uprising, then, is the immediate cause of the current feverish activity and inner struggles among the Kremlin and East European rulers.

The crisis within the Soviet bureaucracy is deep and irreversible. The broadest basis for it was laid by the expansion of the Soviet orbit following World War II. Even before Stalin died the main outlines of this crisis were clearly visible.

The victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 introduced a profound cleavage within the world Stalinist monolith. The very taking of power by the Chinese Communist Party was accomplished in conflict with the Kremlin and against the express wishes of Stalin himself. Stalin wanted the Chinese Communists to form a coalition government with the foreign imperialist underling, Chiang Kai-shek. But the laws of the permanent revolution were more powerful than Stalin's class-collaboration blueprints. A coalition with the Chinese bourgeoisie couldn't solve the basic problems of the Chinese revolution: the liberation of the peasant from the exploitation of the landlord-capitalist combination and the liberation of China from foreign imperialist domination. Swept along by a great social upheaval of the Chinese toilers the Communist Party entered the cities and drove Chiang Kai-shek off the mainland. The expropriation of the economic and political power of the feeble Chinese capitalist class became inevitable.

With the new power of a Chinese workers' state on the arena, the world structure of Stalinism suffered a profound alteration. There were now two major power centers within the Soviet world orbit.

3. World Line-Up of Forces

Thus we see that the crisis within the Soviet bureaucracy has a twofold character: the shattering of its world monolithic structure on the one hand, and the differentiation of various strata of the bureaucracy in the face of rising mass struggles on the other. Both aspects of the crisis stem from the same fundamental process — the extension of the world anti-capitalist revolutionary movement of the working masses — including the revolutionary ferment of the workers within the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The U.S. Big Business policy makers are keenly interested in the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy. The same factors that caused the crisis of Stalinism have prevented them from going through with their plans for a war against the Soviet Union and the conquest of China for imperialism. Despite their demagogic declarations they see nothing profitable to capitalism in such revolutionary uprisings as occurred in East Germany in 1953 and in Poland in 1956.

But they are searching for pressure points within the bureaucratic caste. They remember how, at the 1945 Yalta Conference, Stalin pledged that he would insure European capitalist "security" in the post-war crisis. And he carried out this pledge by preventing the French and Italian Communist parties from taking power.

They have also had experience in pressuring the Tito regime into supporting the imperialist war against the Korean people. The imperialists are scanning the Soviet crisis to find openings for imperialist diplomacy. And imperialist diplomacy is only the prelude to imperialist war.

The revolutionary workers, on the other hand, see in the crisis of Stalinism the class action of their soviet fellow workers. They hail the struggle against the Kremlin rulers as part of the world socialist struggle. And they do everything in their power to oppose imperialist diplomatic schemes and war plans by carrying on the struggle for socialism in every country.

Polish Rulers Fear to Impose Heavy Sentences

By Fred Halstead

The verdict of the first trial of participants in the June 28 general-strike and uprising at Poznan Poland shows the Stalinist rulers in further retreat from the crude repression and frame-ups with which they first met that movement. Three young men, two 18 and one 20 years old, were convicted October 4 of attacking a security policeman who was killed in the June demonstrations. They were sentenced to prison terms of up to four-and-one-half years.

These sentences are "lenient" if one remembers the original charge that the demonstrations were the work of "imperialist agents-provocateurs" and if one remembers that the three were indicted for "murder." The court, it is clear, was afraid to incite mass indignation by imposing heavier punishment.

On the other hand, the regime is still bent on making it clear that resistance to their bureau-

cratic repression is dangerous. The young men who attacked the police because the police had attacked workers are to suffer for it.

In handing down the guilty verdict, the judge repeated the official fantasy that the trial "had nothing to do with politics." This, of course completely contradicts the Polish government's first version, which has never been officially retracted but only shelved, that the actions of the demonstrators had been inspired by capitalist agents. "The only politics of the accused," the judge continued, "was to enjoy themselves, to rob, and to wreck."

This had been the line of the prosecution. It was answered by Stanislaw Hejnowski, one of the defense lawyers in his summary quoted in the October 5 New York Times. Hejnowski referred to a famous painting of the French Revolution by Delacroix showing a young woman on the barricades and by her side youths with pistol and rifle.

"If the King's police had won the battle," the defense attorney said, "the prosecutors of that time would have dragged these young people into court and called them hooligans and criminal elements. But since the revolution was won, they are national heroes, and their picture has become a symbol of revolution."

The considerable concessions which the Stalinists made to free speech in the courtroom are not extended to the press in the East European countries.

Even in Poznan there is censorship. Thus, the Poznan newspaper, Glos Wielkopolski, inserted a note over a story it ran on the trials. The note said that the report was from the Polish news agency rather than from the paper's own reporter "for reasons beyond the control of our reporter and of our editorial board." This reveals, on one hand, the fear that the bureaucracy has of allowing the full story of the uprising and its implications to get broad circula-

tion, and on the other, the inspiration which the mass movement has given some to defy the bureaucracy's edicts. If only through a notice to its readers intimating that a story has been censored.

The Polish regime began to deal with the Poznan uprising with the announced intention of meting out ruthless and heavy punishment. It appears that a section of the ruling group became convinced that they could not go through with that plan.

(It is still possible that the regime may try to impose heavy sentences in some cases, however. In a second trial of nine youths, the prosecutor demanded the death penalty, according to an Oct. 8 Associated Press report, although the indictment in this case was not as severe as in the case of the three. "Spectators appeared shocked by the demand," says the report. It remains to be seen how far the government will dare to go.)

REGIME'S DILEMMA

Another indication of the bureaucracy's uncertainty and fear of the mass reaction to their system of "justice" is the postponement of four new trials that were scheduled to begin this week. So far only 22 of the 154 persons being held as a result of the uprising have been brought to trial. A report that the "Government had decided to end the Poznan riot trials because they had become embarrassing" is quoted in the October 8 New York Times as being unconfirmed, but very popular.

The vacillation and contradictory actions of the CP rulers in these trials reflect the very real dilemma which faces them. That is, how to maintain their power and privileges in the face of rising mass opposition.

The method was once simple: brutal repression, slander and frame-up of all who resisted. But those methods only work when the mass movement is crushed, and when each individual who wants to resist feels alone and helpless. That is not now the case. Police bullets are met with a near insurrection; an attempt at censorship is met with evasion; each repressive act arouses angry protest.

The dilemma is also reflected in a crisis within the ruling circles. Wladyslaw Gomulka, ex-party head who was expelled in 1948 as a "Titoist" and who spent four years in prison, is expected to be restored soon to leadership in the CP.

HUNGARIAN EVENTS

Gomulka is reported to have joined the faction advocating increased liberalization, reports Sydney Gruson from Poznan, Oct. 8. There is "a growing crisis within the leadership of the party. Gomulka's presence [at a coming Central Committee meeting], it is hoped, will do something to restore the situation." "Support for the leadership, even among the mass of Communists," continues Gruson, "has been draining away steadily."

The seething discontent of the masses which the Poznan events brought to the surface in Poland is widespread throughout Eastern Europe, and is at the bottom of the present crisis of post-Stalinist bureaucratic rule.

The most recent sign of this was in Budapest, Oct. 6, when the coffins of Laszlo Rajk and three other ex-CP leaders, who were executed as "Titoists" in 1949, were removed from unmarked graves and given honorary re-burial. An unexpected crowd estimated by the Associated Press at 200,000 persons showed up in silent demonstration.

The concessions which the Stalinists are making in the Poznan trials and elsewhere are a reflection of their fear of the power of mass opposition (and the consequent lessening of their own power), not of their desire to reform themselves.

In an interview printed in the September 27 France Observateur, the Hungarian writer, Judith Mariassy, a prominent CP member, gave her opinion of Erno Gero, present Hungarian party boss, as compared with Matyas Rakosi, recently deposed for "Stalinism." "Rakosi," she said, "that was absolute evil wedded to absolute power. Gero, his henchman, by the force of circumstances, is only the tenth part of the power represented by Rakosi."

Tanks Could Not Halt Mass Discontent



Pictured above is a Soviet tank used against East Berlin workers in the June 1953 East German general strike. Tanks were also used against workers in the Poznan demonstration this June. The Polish government now admits it was an authentic workers demonstration over legitimate grievances.

Hungarian Writers Hit Bureaucrats' Privileges

By Henry Gitano

Reflecting the growing mass opposition to the bureaucratic regime in Poland and Hungary, the intellectuals in these two countries are stepping up their attacks on the luxurious way of life of government and Communist Party officials and on the oppressive measures used to defend the bureaucratically-acquired privileges. An account of this growing wave of criticisms is reported in the Sept. 20 issue of the leading French liberal weekly, France Observateur.

Thus the Polish student newspaper, Po Prostu, a constant critic of the regime during the last five months, recently hits out at the existence of restricted luxury shops, where generally unavailable items are supplied exclusively to high party and government functionaries.

A recent issue of Budapest's Literary Gazette has denounced the practice of many functionaries who use "their" official secretaries and chauffeurs as private servants, thus establishing for themselves a princely retinue.

REPLIES TO BUREAUCRATS

An indictment of the bureaucratic caste's privileges by Judith Mariassy in the Literary Gazette hits at the "excessive" security precautions of "certain high-placed comrades." These include a 24-hour military guard, barbed wire around their mansions and their gardens. "This hardly resembles 'the Socialist dream,'" she observes.

For writing this article, Judith Mariassy has been denounced by Szabad Nep, official Party organ, as "playing the enemy's game" and providing grist for Western journalists. She boldly replies to the attack by declaring that the time is past when a statement by Szabad Nep was equivalent to a decree.

"The shame lies not in mentioning these luxury shops and mansions surrounded by barbed wire," she states, "it lies in the very existence of these shops and villas. Cease the privileges and they will no more be spoken of." She also reports receiving "innumerable letters and phone

calls" encouraging her and denouncing Szabad Nep's effort to "discredit and silence" her.

In a demand for full intellectual freedom, George Lukacs writes in the July issue of the CP theoretical organ, Tarsadalmi Szemle, that, Stalinist dogmatism, with its propensity to "settle all intellectual problems by administrative means" was nourished by the conviction that "Communist ideologists could not win against their ideological adversaries in open discussion except by falling back on the power of the party and the state."

He expresses the belief that "the complete unfolding of democracy, instead of supplanting the dictatorship of the proletariat, will only act to reinforce it."

The noted literary figure, Tibor Dery, who was recently expelled from the party for his attacks on bureaucracy, also renounces his attack. In the Sept. 8 Literary Gazette, he writes with contempt of the past where "all thought with the slightest originality was condemned as heresy."

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Daily Worker Retreat On Poznan Frame-Up

An Editorial

The Daily Worker Oct. 9 reports the sentencing of three young Polish workers for their participation in the June 28 general strike and workers' uprising in Poznan. The report stresses the lightness of the sentences, and the freedom and openness of the court proceedings. Then it goes on to say:

"Attorneys for the accused conducted a vigorous defense, and succeeded in bringing in the economic conditions and other difficult circumstances which were at bottom of the Poznan riots. The Polish government has declared that while hooligan elements utilized the situation, the causes were to be found in the poor conditions and insufficient outlet for the workers' protest." (Our emphasis)

This report is in sharp contrast with the Daily Worker's July 2 editorial on the Poznan uprising which repeated the Polish government's frame-up slander that the Poznan general strike was instigated and manipulated by imperialist spies.

Not that the new version of the Poznan events in the Oct. 9 Daily Worker is accurate. It is false to call a general strike and workers' uprising a "riot," and it is false to mix up activity of "hooligans" with the mass action of the workers during the struggle. Yet, this version represents a retreat from the attempt to frame the Poznan militants as "agents of a foreign imperialist power." It is in line with the retreat that was forced on the Polish Government by the very power of the mass movement that represented the Poznan uprising.

It is now the elementary duty of the Daily Worker editors to explain why they repeated the frame-up charge in the first instance. The workers in the CP and the radical working class as a whole deserve such an explanation.

World Events

A NEW SUEZ PLAN offered by U.S. oil and shipping concerns to dredge and improve the Canal under contract with the Egyptian Government was declared unacceptable, Oct. 4, by Helmi Badawi, director general of the Egyptian Suez Canal Authority because it called for control over toll collections by the private corporations "to guarantee a return on their investments."

ISRAELI-JORDAN CLASHES in which the Israelis have started to exploit their military strength "presumably with the support of Britain and France," says the Sept. 29 Business Week, might force Nasser into large-scale war "or see his prestige tumble in the Arab world."

TRINIDAD ELECTIONS for seats in the Legislative Council held Sept. 25 resulted in a landslide victory for the inter-racial, anti-imperialist Peoples National Movement, headed by Dr. Eric E. Williams. The PNM, formed only nine months ago and described by U.S. newsmen as Trinidad's first disciplined political party, won 13 of the 24 elective seats. The other seven are filled by appointment of the British Crown Governor. The predominantly East Indian Peoples Democratic Party got five seats while the predominantly Roman Catholic Party of Peoples Progress, Groups headed by Albert Gomez, Minister of Labor Commerce and Industry, failed to elect even its leader. Gomez, a right-winger, is expected to be one of the British appointees, however.

THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION moved to the left this week as (1) Congress began drawing up a new Constitution to legalize major changes made since the revolution of April 1952 (2) ousted a right-wing military dictatorship and (3) put the liberal capitalist MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) in power. These changes include nationalization of large tin mines, agrarian reforms and universal suffrage. The MNR has failed to solve the country's economic crisis and liberate the economy from Wall Street domination, but so far every attempt by fascists to launch a counter-revolutionary drive, has been crushed by the armed workers. That happened once again last month, and the Congress is convened in an atmosphere dominated by the power of the workers' organizations. Armed miners guarded a newspaper plant formerly owned by a tin magnate, which is expected

to be taken over by the Central Obrera (central council of workers organizations). The new constitution is expected to make the armed workers and peasant's militia part of the official armed forces.

ANEURIN BEVAN, British Labor Party left-wing leader was elected party Treasurer, a top post, last week at the fifty-fifth annual party conference in Blackpool. In March 1955, right-wing leaders nearly succeeded in expelling Bevan because of his opposition to their support of imperialist foreign policy. In reporting last week's Bevan victory, the capitalist press stressed reports that he has not been as "aggressive" recently as he used to be.

A WEST GERMAN CRISIS is shaping up over Chancellor Adenauer's attempt to complete formation of a 500,000-man West German army to complement forces under U.S. command opposing the Soviet Union. West Germans "have run recruiting agents out of many a village. They jeer at and sometimes assault army volunteers," says the October 7 New York Times. The German Trade Union Federation, which had previously stayed away from direct political action, voted at its congress last week to block re-armament "with all legal means," and formed a trade union committee to work out its own plan for German re-unification.

SOVIET DIVORCE LAWS, once the world's most liberal as a result of the 1917 Revolution but made arbitrary and restrictive under the Stalinist regime, are under sharp criticism from leading judges, lawyers, and doctors who are calling for liberalization according to the Russian newspaper Literaturnaya Gazeta. There is widespread resentment and evasion of the present laws among people without "pull" with government bureaucrats who grant divorces, and without money to pay the large fees presently required. This is undermining Soviet legality, the quoted officials say.

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The Superintendent of Public Schools in Louisville, Ky., has been made into something of a public hero because he obeyed the law by proceeding to integrate the public school system in that city. But the real heroes of the desegregation battle in Louisville are Andrew and Charlotte Wade, Carl and Anne Braden and their courageous associates in the fight against racist violence and legal persecution.

Two and a half years ago, the Bradens bought a house in a lily-white suburb of Louisville for resale to Andrew Wade IV, a young Negro veteran seeking a decent home for his family.

When the Wades moved in, Klan-type violence erupted and culminated in the dynamiting of their home. Local and state authorities sprang into action — not against the racists who committed the crime — but against the Bradens and other decent whites who had come forward to defend the Wade home. The state charged them with exploding the dynamite and never apprehended the real criminals. Knowing that they could not make the dynamite accusation stick, but determined to victimize these champions of Negro rights, the state also indicted them under an ancient "sedition" statute.

Carl Braden was convicted in Dec. 1954, but his conviction was reversed recently following the frame-up conviction of Communist Party leader Steve Nelson under a Pennsylvania "sedition" statute. (The high court ruled that all such state laws are unconstitutional.) Now, according to their letter, which we publish on this page, the Louisville defendants seek to win dismissal of charges against the others.

With the prospect of final victory in

sight for the Louisville defendants, we again salute them for their magnificent battle. They struck a pioneering blow against Jim Crow and then by their defense against the "sedition" charge helped to preserve civil liberties for all.

An isolated band of individuals under heavy fire, the Louisville defendants appealed for aid to every group with a stake in civil rights and civil liberties. But they refused to buy this aid with red-baiting statements such as a number of figures in the labor and Negro movements wanted as proof of their innocence of "subversion." Sticking stubbornly to the issues, they broke through to win the support of important sectors of the labor, liberal, Negro and radical movements. Of special importance to them in this was the work of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the non-partisan defense group which was the first to come to their aid and publicize their case.

While labor as a whole failed to extend support, help did come from the United Packing House Workers, the United Electrical Workers, the Michigan CIO Council and many local union bodies. Significantly, the principled course pursued by the Louisville defendants won backing from most of the radical tendencies, including the Socialist, Communist and Socialist Workers Party. Such solidarity in action—which in recent years was achieved only in the Kutcher case — adds much to the fight to preserve the Bill of Rights.

The Louisville freedom fighters declare their intention to remain in the South "where there is still much to be done" in the battle against Jim Crow. We are confident they will do all they promise, and we pledge our continued support in these endeavors.

Rubber Workers Convention Upholds 30-Hour Work Week

By Della Rossa

A proposal from top officials of the United Rubber Workers to abandon the six-hour day for the industry was rejected after two hours of stormy debate by delegates at the URW convention at Long Beach, Calif.

Labor's Daily reports, Oct. 2, that this was a "surprise action" to the officials, who proposed a straight eight-hour day

nationally. Most rubber workers in Akron and Los Angeles, the two big centers for the industry, work a six-hour day, six-day week. (The sixth day is overtime.)

One of the arguments advanced by the top officials for their proposal is that it would lay the groundwork for a shorter work week throughout the industry.

But this argument sounds more like an excuse than a rea-

son. For how a shorter work week is to be promoted by lengthening it in the industry's main plants is something the top officials do not explain.

The real motivation for the proposal would seem to be that the URW officials are banking on continued comparative full employment — based on a war economy. Therefore they are ready to yield the six-hour day to the employers as a concession to obtain higher wages.

Rubber workers who fought to retain the six-hour day believe that unemployment is already a threat in the industry. Joblessness would worsen if plants now on a short work day should eliminate one entire shift as they changed over to an eight-hour day.

Technical advances such as automation would further increase the number of unemployed. In 1947, the industry manufactured 100 million tires with 160,000 workers; in 1955, 116 million tires were produced by only 90,000 workers. This is a productivity boost of 22% in eight years.

The rubber workers won the 30-hour week in the 1935 sit-down strike that established their union. They fought off a number of attempts since then to make them yield it up.

The decision of the recent URW convention to retain the six-hour day bolsters the demand of an ever increasing section of the labor movement for a working day of similar duration.

Thus Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers launched a campaign last July to win 30-for-40 in the next UAW contract. The local's resolution states that the shorter work week demand is the only meaningful answer to increasing unemployment caused by automation, and other technical advances.

The 30-for-40 demand has been advocated within the UAW for some time, but Local 600's resolution calls for an all-out fight to secure it in the 1958 contract.

[The Militant received the following letter from the Louisville, Ky., Defendants. The case involves Carl and Anne Braden and others who were indicted for "sedition" because they aided a Negro family, the Wades, in buying a home in a previously all-white area. The letter, dated Sept. 24, was sent to all organizations and individuals who protested the Louisville frame-up. It reports on the present status of the case. — Ed.]

Dear Friends:

We are writing to thank you for your support in our 2½-year struggle against state sedition laws and segregation in Kentucky. We want at the same time to bring you up to date on our situation.

We wish we could write each individual and organization a personal letter. We know many of you personally and we feel that we know even those we have not met because we have worked together for a common goal. But, since this letter will go to many individuals and organizations, a personal letter to each is not possible.

CHARGES STILL PENDING

You probably know that the Kentucky Court of Appeals set aside the 15-year sentence and \$5,000 fine imposed on Carl Braden. His conviction was reversed June 22, 1956, in compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of April 2 that state sedition laws are inoperative. The lower court in Louisville waited until Aug. 14 to release the \$40,000 bond posted for Carl, and this money has now been returned to those who provided it.

It was assumed that the re-

versal would mean automatic dismissal of charges against the six other defendants, since the indictments were identical. However, Judge L. R. Curtis of Criminal Court has refused to dismiss the other indictments because of opposition from the prosecutor, Commonwealth's Attorney A. Scott Hamilton.

The prosecutor claimed he might want to try the others for sedition against Kentucky alone, although the charge of alleged sedition against Kentucky had been a part of the indictment against Carl Braden. Hamilton said he also wants to keep the books and private papers illegally seized at the homes of the defendants. He told Judge Curtis he would have to return these if the charges were dropped.

Our next appearance in court is still set for Nov. 12. We hope the charges will be dismissed at that time. However, there appears to be an understanding among the states to keep "sedition" prosecutions alive in the hope that Congress will validate state sedition laws. Prosecutions arising under the outlawed sedition statutes are still pending in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania,

and Ohio, in addition to Kentucky. In the South, these laws remain a threat against those working for an end of racial segregation and discrimination.

All of those involved in the case are trying to put their lives back together and to look to the future. We who were charged with sedition have had trouble finding jobs on holding jobs once we got them. For this reason, some of us have had to leave Louisville to get employment, but others are hoping to stay here. They want to remain in the South, where there is still much to be done.

WADE'S FIGHT FOR HOME

Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Wade IV, the Negro couple whose efforts to obtain decent housing led to such bitter reprisals against them and the white people who supported them, are still in a court battle over possession of the house in the suburbs. Foreclosure suits by the bank and the builder are still pending in Circuit Court. The house has not been repaired since it was dynamited by neighborhood racists on June 27, 1954. Because of the dispute over ownership, the court is still holding \$5,500 paid by the insurance company.

It will interest you to know that Andrew Wade — undaunted by all that happened to him as a result of his search for a house — was among Negroes who took the lead this year in breaking down segregation in Louisville parks, once legal obstacles were removed by the courts.

Another heartening development must be mentioned. On Sept. 10, 1956, both Louisville and Jefferson County desegregated their schools without incident.

The actual amount of integration was disappointing to some, for the school board had encouraged white parents to transfer children out of previously all-white schools. But, despite this, there are numerous mixed classes in both elementary and high schools. It was a real step forward for this city on the edge of Mason and Dixon's Line.

Many people believe that the smoothness with which this was accomplished was at least partly due to the lessons learned in Louisville as a result of the violence against the Wades. You will recall that the original Supreme Court decision on school segregation was handed down in May, 1954, just as the Wades took possession of their house — and it was dynamited shortly thereafter.

NEUTRALS LINE UP

People of good will in the community were amazed, as were we, at the fury which efforts at racial integration had aroused in this border city. Many of these people remained silent during the attacks on the Wades and their friends, but they evidently resolved that this kind of thing would not be allowed to happen again. In the fall of 1954 they began to prepare the community for peaceful school integration.

As a result, people who were neutral and silent 2½ years ago are now actively supporting integration moves. The rapid segregationists are still active, too. The same ones who helped incite violence against the Wades formed a White Citizens Council and tried to organize opposition to integrated schools. But this time, encouraged by many influential citizens, the police let it be known that troublemakers

Disenfranchised Voter Complains About Law

[The following letter was printed in the Sept. 30 New York Post. — Ed.]

I phoned the Board of Elections in Manhattan to inquire about my voting status. I was told I could not vote and am in fact disenfranchised by law completely for this election.

These are the simple circumstances: I moved into Manhattan on the 10th of September after residing and voting for 33 years from one address in Westchester County.

The Board of Elections told me I have not lived in the city long enough to qualify as a voter here at election time and cannot vote from my last residence because I do not live there any more.

I am shocked, chagrined and hurt, that a fundamental right of citizenship under these circumstances is denied me. Haven't I any recourse?

S. P. Fink



ANDREW WADE IV and his wife, CHARLOTTE, heroic fighters against segregation in Kentucky, are shown with their two daughters, Andrea and Rosemary. Dynamite exploded by racists on June 27, 1954, wrecked their home. Little Rosemary (right) happened to be away that night or she would not be alive today.

...Cowley Hits Ban

(Continued from page 1)

leaders are urging that they vote for the Democrats. But many former ALP'ers are reluctant to vote for a Big Business party — and that's what the Democratic Party is. Moreover, several important leaders of the ALP — namely Clifford McAvoy, the ALP candidate for mayor in 1953, and Vincent Hallinan, the ALP-Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952 — are urging their former followers to vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party qualified for a place on the ballot by collecting 15,100 signatures on its petitions while only 12,000 are legally required. These included well over 100 signatures in each of the state's 61 counties. In 1948 and 1952, the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket qualified for the ballot after following the identical procedure. This year an objection to the signatures was cooked up by the Democratic machine. Ashamed to do it openly in the name of Democratic candidates, the objection was camouflaged as the act of an independent citizen presumably unaffiliated with the Democrats.

The Socialist Workers Party has ripped off this camouflage. First, the independent citizen while registered as non-affiliated at present, is a former Democratic Committeeman in his district. Secondly, the work of drawing up objections to each of the signatures in his county was done by the chairman of the Democratic County Committee and a Democratic committeewoman. Similarly, in each of the 13 counties where the SWP petitions were challenged, it was the Democratic machine that did the dirty work that was publicly represented as the doings of an independent.

At the hearing in Albany — it was in DeSapio's office with his assistant sitting as judge — the Socialist Workers Party showed that in Dutchess County the Democratic election commissioner who passed on the objections to the SWP signatures had a few days before drawn up the particular objections. Thus he was passing official judgment on his own charges.

It was shown that in the case of another county that the objections were permeated with fraud. Names, rejected as those of people not registered, were shown in a spot check to be registered in case after case. But DeSapio rules the roost in Albany and the two minor parties were ruled off the ballot.

The Socialist Workers Party is fighting this outrageous ruling. It is going to the courts. Regardless of what party you intend to vote for — if you believe in free elections and the right of minority parties to a place on the ballot, then help in this fight! Protest to the Secretary of State. Write to the Socialist Workers Party for further information on how to help.

would be arrested. There was no trouble.

Louisville had come a long way in two years. Much, it is true, remains to be done: the problem of segregated housing remains much as it was two years ago; more complete school integration must be achieved, and job discrimination is still a major problem. But progress has been made. If we have contributed to that progress — even if merely by serving as lightning rods for some of the ancient prejudice and fury — we feel that our efforts were not in vain.

We could not, of course, have

carried on without the help of many, many people like you. We hope you will feel that by helping in this case you, too, have made a very real contribution toward progress in the South. If you do not hear from us again, you can assume that the charges against us were dismissed in November and that no new charges were brought.

Gratefully yours,

Carl Braden
Anne Braden
Vernon Bow
I. O. Ford
Louise Gilbert
Lewis Lubka
LaRue Spiker



ANNE AND CARL BRADEN at his trial for "sedition" in Louisville, Dec. 7, 1954. Carl Braden's conviction was reversed last July. But before it was spent seven months in jail while his friends were raising \$40,000 bail for his release pending appeal.

Expose Ballot Rights Attack In N.Y. Paper

[We reprint herewith the story on the challenge to the SWP's ballot rights that appeared in the Sept. 28 Catskill Daily Mail, an upstate N. Y. newspaper. — Ed.]

His firm faith in the two-party system of politics and government impelled him to challenge the right of the Socialist Workers Party to appear on the ballot in the November election, Frank Tarallo, 60 New St., Coxsackie, has told the Daily Mail.

"I just believe in the two-party system — that's it," said Mr. Tarallo.

Mr. Tarallo, a past Grand Knight of the Coxsackie Knights of Columbus, a former Democratic committeeman, is a skilled machine operator, employed at the Watervliet Arsenal. He has challenged the validity of the nominating petitions filed by the Socialist Workers Party from 13 counties of the state, including Greene, Coxsackie and Catskill are both located in Greene County. — Ed.]

Asked who helped him in the very considerable task of checking signatures in 13 counties, Mr. Tarallo replied:

"I had a couple of friends helping me."

Mr. Tarallo is not enrolled in either party at present. In 1946 and 1947, he operated a tavern at 8 Reed St., Coxsackie.

Although the identity of Mr. Tarallo's supporters was not revealed, the net effect of his move, if successful, would be to keep off the ballot a party that could very well draw enough votes from Democratic candidates to swing a close election over to the Republicans. The senatorial race between Jacob K. Javits, Republican, and New York's mayor Robert F. Wagner, Demo-

crat, is expected to be a very close one, and the presidential vote may be equally close. Under no circumstances could the Socialist Workers slate draw a large vote, but even a few thousand votes, taken from the Democrats, could throw the state into the Republican column.

It is taken for granted that the Socialist Workers Party could not attract many votes from the Republican column. The party is now carrying on an active campaign in the state for Farrell Dobbs, its presidential candidate. Mr. Dobbs received 2,212 votes in New York State when he ran for president in 1952.

Myra Tanner Weiss Tour Information

PHILADELPHIA

"The Next Great Step: A Labor Party of the Negro and White Workers." Sat., Oct. 20 — 8:30 P.M. 1303 W. Girard Ave. (Pennsylvania Ballot Name: Militant Workers Party.)

SEATTLE

"Why American Workers Need A Labor Party" Sat., Oct. 27 — 8:00 P.M. Polish Hall 1714-18th Ave.

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Farrell Dobbs Tour Information

BUFFALO Sat., Oct. 27 — 8 P.M. 831 Main St.

YOUNGSTOWN "How to End All Wars" Fri., Oct. 19 — 8 P.M. Youngstown Hotel Shrine Room

CLEVELAND Sun., Oct. 21 — 3 P.M. 10609 Superior Avenue

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