

SWP Will Enter Candidates in 1956 Elections

By Fred Hart

NEW YORK, Sept. 26 — The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party meeting in plenary session last week, decided to enter its own candidates in the 1956

presidential elections. Named as candidates were the veteran standard-bearers of the SWP, Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-president.

Keynote of the SWP election campaign will be the need for working class independent political action. Great emphasis will be laid on exposing the treacherous role of the union bureaucrats in keeping labor tied to the capitalist two-party system through their coalition with the Democratic Party.

In pursuance of this necessary task the SWP presidential campaign in 1956 will be carried into the South where stirrings of working class struggle and political opposition to the Southern one-party system are becoming more and more manifest.

"Our main task in the coming months," declared SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs, "is to patiently explain that the working people can solve none of their basic problems through the capitalist political parties. They must build their own independent political party and create a workers and farmers government."

POLITICAL CLASS LINES

We must teach the working people of this country, said Dobbs, that crossing class lines

on the political field is as repulsive an act of treachery to labor's interests as crossing a picket line.

In his report to the National Committee on the political situation in the country, Dobbs stressed the basic instability of the capitalist economy and the fact that the most optimistic of capitalist apologists are nervously uncertain about its future. The current prosperity boom, he demonstrated by facts and figures, is built on shifting sand.

The 15 years of relative prosperity beginning with the war and extending into the post-war period, Dobbs asserted, could change virtually overnight. Any sharp economic decline will inevitably lead to a sharp break in the social equilibrium which would let loose class-struggle currents in the labor movement.

This is the perspective, said Dobbs, upon which the party is oriented. "We are now in the decisive period of preparation for coming mass actions," he declared. "We have the task of solving new problems in a new historic period. We must undertake the great work of theoretical clarification and launch a political propaganda offensive against all of our opponents. Our aim is to strengthen the

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An American Hero and His Son



Moses Wright, 64, and his son Maurice, 12, shown at their farm in Money, Miss., where Wright's 14-year-old nephew, Emmett Louis Till was kidnapped and then beaten, shot and dumped in the Tallahatchie river. Wright stood up at the trial in Sumner, Miss., and with quiet power and dignity pointed an accusing finger at the sadistic lynchers Roy Bryant and his half-brother J. W. Milam. All the bullying and pressure of the white-supremacist lawyers couldn't shake Wright from his testimony identifying the killers. He became the symbol of the Negro people's struggle against racist terror.

Republicans Staggered By President's Illness

By John Thayer

Eisenhower's heart attack is having important political repercussions. One thing is certain, no matter how quickly or completely he recovers, he cannot run for re-election.

This is a staggering blow to the plans and hopes of the top Republican leadership, whose strategy for the past three years has been to build up Eisenhower as above party and to make the 1956 election a popularity contest. With Eisenhower out of the picture and only a handful of unimpressive potential candidates to choose from, the Republican Party will be forced to go before the voters in what practically amounts to a state of political nakedness.

WINDFALL

For the Democrats, however, Eisenhower's removal from the 1956 picture is a marvellous windfall. Top Northern Democratic circles had privately been reconciling themselves to defeat in the coming presidential election. Now they feel that victory is assured.

Although the press moralizes that this rapid shift in the two parties' prospects is a tribute to the personality of Eisenhower, it is, rather, a strong commentary on the lack of important differences in the programs of the two Big Business parties.

In the absence of basic differences in program, the Republicans, openly a Big Business party, can defeat the Democrats, equally a Big Business party but with some liberal trimmings,

if only they can put up a candidate with some personal appeal, like Eisenhower.

All the papers editorialize about Eisenhower's popularity. What is it based on? Two things seem to account for Eisenhower's popularity.

First, the American people don't consider him a professional capitalist politician. His very political awkwardness reinforces this belief. Up till now his cabinet members have had to take the rap for unpopular acts of the administration, public opinion generally absolving Eisenhower as not being responsible.

Most important, however, is the fact that it was Eisenhower's good fortune to enter the White House at the moment when U.S. imperialism had arrived at a stalemate in its previously relentless drive toward World War III.

COLD-WAR SLOWDOWN

The unfavorable world relationship of forces brought about by the colonial revolutions and the Soviet development of the H-bomb meant that outright launching of war was no longer feasible. It would have to be postponed and in the interim diplomatic deals would be used to gain as much as possible for Wall Street until another change

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIX — No. 40

267

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1955

PRICE: 10 Cents

Huge Demonstrations Protest Racist Verdict in Lynch Trial

Chicago Meeting Votes for March On Washington

By Claude De Bruce

CHICAGO, Sept. 25 — Over 5,000 angry people today roared their approval of an NAACP resolution calling for a March on Washington to demand the immediate enactment of anti-lynch, anti-poll-tax and other civil rights legislation. Another resolution, calling for a continuous picket line around Chicago's City Hall, was also passed.

The resolutions were presented here at a meeting called to protest the Mississippi lynching of Emmett Louis Till, 14-year-old Chicago Negro boy.

Cora Patton, local president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People expressed surprise at the size of the turnout at the meeting. The large main auditorium of the Metropolitan Church was filled 45 minutes before the meeting was scheduled to begin. Several smaller chapels in the church were then opened. But this was far from sufficient. It was necessary to set up loud-speaking equipment on the street to take care of the several thousand who were unable to get inside.

Charles Hayes, CIO Packinghouse Workers vice president said, "This is the largest meeting I've seen since the White Sox threatened to win the pennant."

The meeting was actually held twice. As each speaker finished addressing the crowd inside, he or she then spoke outside. The bulk of the meeting stood for over three hours.

RAKES TWO PARTIES

Willoughby Abner, top United Auto Workers, CIO, official and NAACP vice president attacked the two big political parties for their failure to keep their promises on civil rights.

"These people who organized the shameful trial in Mississippi—who do you think they are?" asked Abner.

"Dixiecrats," someone answered.

"But remember," Abner continued, "A Dixiecrat is a Democrat. . . Mayor Daley of Chicago calls on Gov. White of Mississippi to do something on the Till case. Very good. But why does Mayor Daley do nothing about Trumbull Park where he has direct responsibility? And remember, Daley is a Democrat. . . And what party does the Alderman of Trumbull Park belong to? He is a Democrat."

Abner then called out, "What's the answer?"

Several voices from the throng shouted back, "Let's have our own party." "A Labor Party!"

Caught off guard, Abner quickly retorted, "I don't mean that! What I mean is, we must stop voting the straight party ticket. No party should be able to say it has the Negro vote in its pocket."

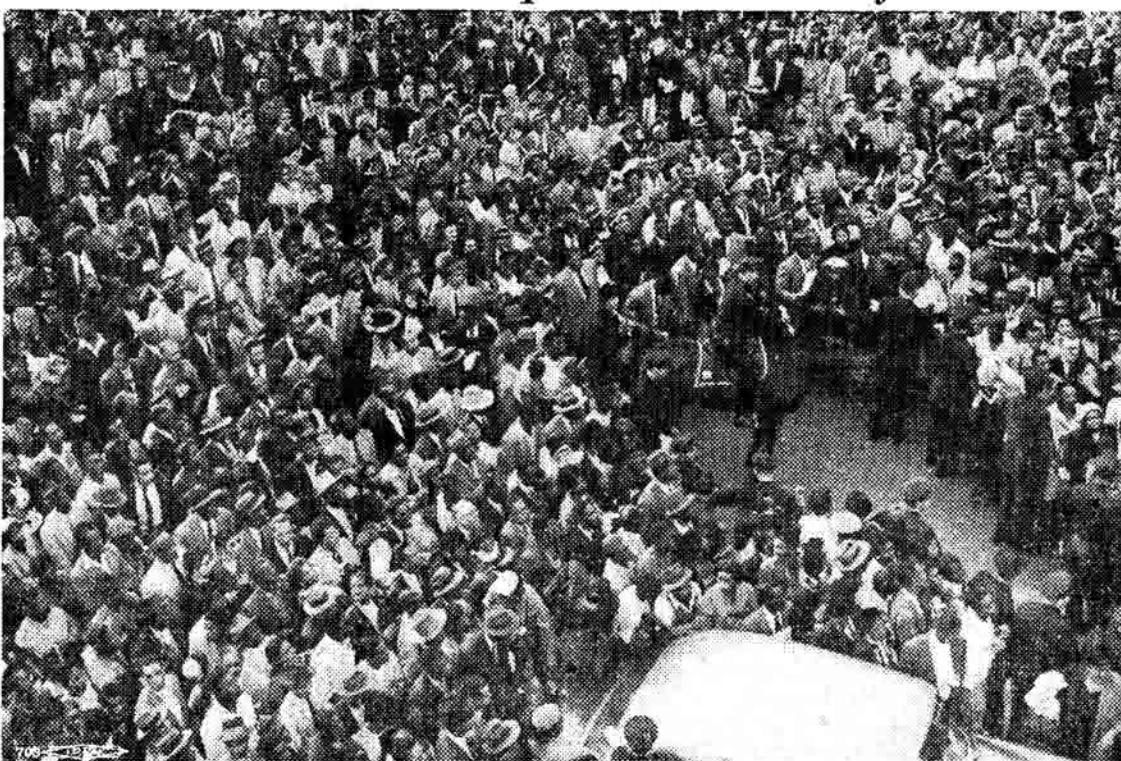
PASS RESOLUTIONS

The audience reserved its greatest applause for the resolutions presented by Gerald Bullock, legislative director of the Chicago NAACP. The first resolution called on the national NAACP to organize a March on Washington.

The second resolution called for the organization of a picket line as soon as possible around the Chicago City Hall to get action from the city administration on the racist terrorism in the Trumbull Park federal housing project. This resolution was amended to read "immediately" instead of "as soon as possible."

Bullock commented that in his experience, "Resolutions have never been passed before in the streets of Chicago, but they will be today. This is a new day."

Harlem Protests Acquittal of Till Lynchers



Mounted police and foot-cops, using chain tactics, try to clear a passageway through part of the huge crowd that overflowed the meeting in Harlem protesting Mississippi's mock trial of the lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till. Hours before the meeting began the church was filled and the aisles packed. About 8,000 stood for hours on 7th Avenue listening to the speeches broadcast from the meeting.

(Photo taken by Robert Cottrol)

For a Fighting Negro-Labor Alliance to Smash Jim Crow

An Editorial

The depraved "whistle murder" of 14-year-old Emmett Till and the acquittal of the lynchers in a farcical Mississippi courtroom trial has aroused the indignation of the Negro community from coast to coast.

Mass meetings and demonstrations are being held in major cities from one end of the country to the other to protest the latest Mississippi atrocity.

All observers attest to the very impressive size of the demonstrations and the heightened mood of militancy with which the Negro people are imbued. They want action, they are ready for action, they are eager to accept and applaud any reasonable proposal for effective action.

Yet, as a minority of the total population, they realize that action on their own can only be of a limited character and bring limited results. The target is Jim Crow in all of its ugly manifestations which cannot be maintained without the kind of terror now rampant in the state of Mississippi. The goal is complete economic, political and social equality for the Negro people. This can be achieved by the Negro minority only if they have tested friends — reliable allies with common interests facing a common enemy AND armed with a correct program of action!

Such an ally is today present on the scene — the powerful American organized labor movement. But it speaks with muted

tones through timid and craven leaders whose voices can scarce be heard. And when heard, too often sickens rather than inspires.

In the demonstrations and mass meetings held to protest the lynch murder of young Emmett Till, there occasionally appeared on the speakers roster a union official of lesser rank, to join in the protest and to offer advice on behalf of the "labor statesmen" occupying the summits of the AFL and CIO.

That this advice fell flat is not surprising. For it consisted of the usual platitudes. "You must vote on election day." "Go see your precinct captain and raise hob with him!" "Write your Senators and Congressmen!" "Elect our 'friends' to office and defeat our 'enemies'!" And so forth and so on, ad nauseam!

When you hear a labor leader expressing the official political line you can bet your bottom dollar that when he says "vote on election day" he means vote Democrat. And when he talks about electing "friends" and defeating "enemies" you invariably find the "friend" turning up in the Democratic column on the ballot.

Aren't the "labor statesmen" really aware of the fact that the Democratic Party in the South is directly responsible for the abominations heaped upon the Negro people in the name of preserving

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Mississippi OK's Child Murder; Negroes Who Testified in Danger

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, Sept. 29 — The anger of the Negro people over Mississippi's brazen acquittal of the fiendish lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till boiled over in massive protest meetings, such as have not been seen for decades, in the major cities of the country.

In city after city reports show the same story as here in New York. Protest meetings drew such huge crowds that halls were filled to capacity, then all available standing space was rapidly filled and then thousands more stood determinedly outside the meeting halls listening for hours to the speeches over public address systems.

TELLING THE WORLD

The tremendous response, which everywhere far surpassed the expectations of the meetings' sponsors, showed the depths to which the Till lynching has stirred the Negro people. The thousands standing in the streets were not merely listening to speeches; they were physically demonstrating to the racist rulers of the South, to the ruling class of the U.S., and to world opinion their wrath over the Till lynching. For this atrocious child-murder and its endorsement by the government of Mississippi epitomizes the brutality and mockery of justice that constitutes America's Jim Crow system.

In New York the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, headed by the veteran Negro leader, A. Philip Randolph, announced a protest meeting for Sunday, Sept. 25 at Williams Institutional CME Church in Harlem. Over 10,000 people came. The church and its aisles were soon packed. Then the crowd overflowed onto Seventh Ave., which is a divided street. Sidewalks on both sides, as well as that in the center, were soon a dense mass of humanity.

In Detroit crowds, variously estimated at from 10,000 to 20,



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

000, poured out to hear Negro Congressman Diggs' eyewitness report on the Summer Mississippi trial. The church at which the meeting was scheduled was soon filled and an additional church had to be secured. Even this proved insufficient and thousands listened from the streets.

In Chicago it was the same story of additional meetings having to be arranged for the overflow crowds. In the meeting halls and on the streets resolutions were passed for a March on Washington and for a continuous picket line around City Hall.

Earlier meetings in other cities, such as Cleveland and Baltimore, told the same story of record turnouts for meetings on the Till lynching. The indignation of the Negro people has not reached such heights since the days of the Scottsboro case. Another feature common to

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Mississippi -- 1955

(To the Memory of Emmett Till)

By Langston Hughes

Oh, what sorrow!
Oh, what pity!
Oh, what pain
That tears and blood
Should mix like rain
And terror come again
To Mississippi.
Come again?
Where has terror been?
On vacation? Up North?
In some other section
Of the nation,

Lying low, unpublicized?
Masked — with only
Jaundiced eyes
Showing through the mask?
Oh, what sorrow,
Pity, pain,
That tears and blood
Should mix like rain
In Mississippi!
And terror, fetid hot,
Yet clammy cold,
Remain.

A Record Turnout at Detroit's Meeting

By William Bundy

DETROIT, Sept. 25 — The largest mass demonstration of Negroes in the history of this city occurred today at a meeting called by the NAACP to protest the reign of terror against Negroes in Mississippi. Principal speaker at the meeting was U.S. Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Democrat, from Michigan's 13th district who gave an eyewitness report of the Till murder trial.

A crowd of 4,000 filled the Bethel AME Church which was built to hold only 2,500. A second church about a block away was opened in an attempt to empty the aisles in the first building, but it too was quickly filled to over-capacity.

Diggs spoke at both churches to an audience of over 6,000. Though there was no loudspeaker arrangement, additional thousands stood in a quiet, determined demonstration in the surrounding streets. Traffic was bumper to bumper for blocks around the area.

The NAACP officials were obviously unprepared for the size and tenor of the meeting. The chairman spoke apologetically about the size of the meeting place, adding: "We do not always anticipate every contingency." He spoke of the dangerous situation created by the jamming of the aisles and exhorted those standing to leave. The crowd was orderly, quiet, and polite, but would not leave.

People approaching the entrance would be told by others standing there that it was impossible to get in. "But I've got to get in there," they would say. A woman pushed her way out from inside. "Are you leaving?" someone asked. "Not at all," she replied. "But it is too tight in there for me. I'll stand outside." "This meeting should have been held in a stadium," said one person. A middle-aged woman answered bitterly, "It should be held in Mississippi." "Amen." "That's right," echoed the surrounding crowd.

"I hear the European Newspapers are giving this case real coverage," someone said. And everywhere the comment: "The whole world is watching this thing, the whole world."

The first speaker was Medgar Evers, field secretary for the Mississippi NAACP. Simply and effectively he described the campaign of intimidation and subterfuge being employed to deprive Mississippi Negroes of their right to vote.

He listed the 20 odd catch-questions on the Mississippi application form for registered voters. One question, for example, is to give "a reasonable interpretation of the section of the constitution of the State of Mississippi referred to in a previous question." "Needless to say," Evers pointed out, "if the voter is a Negro, and if he failed to dot an I or cross a T in his essay, the interpretation is not considered reasonable." He told of knife-slashings and shootings of Negroes who refused

to give up their right to vote. "Though the intimidation is almost unbearable, there is no silence from our speakers," he said, and drew cheers from the audience.

Evers attacked the Democratic Party, saying that Democratic Committeemen in Mississippi have received orders to challenge all ballots cast by Negroes.

He appealed for unity among Negroes in continuing the fight for equality, for increased membership in the NAACP, and for all Negroes to register and vote. "You have a fine congressman here to show for your efforts in that direction," he said referring to Diggs. He drew a laugh when he mentioned Diggs' party affiliation, adding, "Of course not all Democrats are the same."

Of the fight to end segregation, Evers asked the audience, "Shall we stop now?" The answer was not a shout, it did not shake the rafters, it was a low, determined "No!" and it came from every throat in the hall.

Eyes moistened throughout the crowd, and the feeling of pride and power was overwhelming when Evers ended his speech with the simple statement, "This crowd is tremendous. I shall go back to Mississippi and tell the people there."

DIGGS IN SUMMER

Diggs' speech was dramatic. He denied that he had gone to Mississippi to gain the national limelight for personal political purposes. He stated that his presence there gave a feeling of protection and security to the Negro witnesses and newspapermen.

"A trembling Negro photographer met us at the airport in Jackson," Diggs said. "He told us of the tense atmosphere in Summer. When we first arrived, there were not more than five Negroes to be seen around the courthouse. The afternoon of our arrival Negroes began to come in from the cotton patches and

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The History Of Jim Crow

By John Thayer

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. By C. Vann Woodward. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. 155 pp., \$2.50.

(continued from last week)

In the previous installment we saw how the author proved what to many will be an astounding fact. Namely, that the present Jim Crow system of total segregation and discrimination in the South did not come into practice or onto the lawbooks with the end of Reconstruction in 1877.

Negroes continued to vote and hold office in large numbers in the South for decades after Reconstruction. The Jim Crow laws for separate streetcar seats, theatres, parks, drinking fountains, toilets, bibles to be sworn on in court, etc., date only from the last years of the 19th Century and the first two decades of this century.

BITTER FRUIT

The barbaric Jim Crow system as it now exists in the South was the bitter fruit of a defeat inflicted upon the poor workers and farmers — both white and Negro — in the 1890's.

It was not the Negroes who took over the reins of government in the Southern states when Reconstruction was destroyed but the former slave-holding class.

Traditionally their social attitude to the Negroes differed from that of the poor whites. The latter saw in the freedmen economic competitors. The upper class whites had no such fear. Moreover, they pretended an attitude of noblesse oblige, an aristocratic obligation to be "kind to inferiors." In fact they hoped to use the Negro vote to counterbalance the vote of the poor whites.

This explains such seeming anomalies as the fact that General Wade Hampton, who "redeemed" South Carolina from Reconstruction, appointed at least 86 Negroes to office during his administration and that Negro candidates ran on the Democratic ticket in several South Carolina counties.

Though the Democratic wooing of the Negro voters in the Eighties did not bring the Negroes over in a mass to that party, it did split their vote, lull them and cause the decline of the Southern Republican Party which had led Reconstruction.

POPULISTS

It was at this point that the Populist movement — that radical movement of the farmers which all students of U.S. history know about in its Western phase — hit the South.

The Southern Populists made no pretenses of paternalism toward the Negro. They approached him on the basis of common self-interest. It was an approach toward racial equality based on poverty and the struggle against those who impoverished both white and Negro.

Tom Watson, principal Populist leader told the two races: "You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. . . the colored tenant is in the same boat with the white tenant, the colored laborer with the white laborer. . . the accident of color can make no difference in the interests of farmers, croppers and laborers." He promised Negroes that "if you stand up for your rights and your manhood, if you stand shoulder to shoulder with us in this fight" the People's Party will "wipe out the color line and put every man on his citizenship irrespective of color."

PIONEER PAMPHLETS On the Negro Struggle

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Reuther Apologizes For Dismal Record of Democratic Congress

By Henry Kemp

One of the major problems confronting AFL President George Meany and CIO President Walter Reuther in their role as labor salesmen for the Democratic party is the record of the Democratic majority in the first session of the 84th Congress. The CIO has just published a pamphlet, "Report on Congress: '55," which attempts to skirt around and gloss over that problem.

Reuther is hell-bent on clinging to the tail of the Democratic donkey, no matter how bad its record. For that reason his preface to this report, as well as the report itself, strains a gut to present that record in the best possible light. On the basis of the report, Reuther draws up what he considers to be a balance sheet of the positive and negative side of the record.

"ACCOMPLISHMENTS"

He lists four points of accomplishment: (1) "The minimum wage law was raised to \$1.00 an hour." (2) "Bi-partisan support for the essential elements of a constructive foreign policy has been restored." (3) The Administration's give-away program to Big Business "has been slowed down." (4) "The evils of McCarthyism . . . have been eliminated as a serious threat to our free institutions."

On the minus side of the ledger are found these crucial issues: (1) "The civil rights program of the Congress has been totally blank." (2) "A first step has been taken to add \$800,000,000 to the bills of urban consumers of natural gas." (3) "No school construction program was enacted, despite the desperate and growing need of the nation's children for school rooms and for well-paid and well-trained teachers." (4) "The tax load on low and middle-income families has not been eased and they still carry an unfair portion of the nation's tax load." (5) "The infamous Taft-Hartley Act has remained unchanged; and no step has been taken, through amending the Taft-Hartley Act, to halt the drive by reactionary employers for anti-union laws in the various states."

The report itself lists other "failures" that are to be "regretted." But Reuther's score sheet, taken by itself, is a terrible indictment, not merely of the Democratic Party, but of the political course that has been foisted on the union movement by its leaders.

Take only one point in the "failure" score-board—the "blank" on civil rights. Fill in the "blank" and what do we get? For years liberal Northern Senators had promised to make a fight on the Senate's opening day to change rule 22 which permits filibustering.

When the opening day of the 84th Congress came, not only did the liberal Senators betray their promises to the Negro people and

Democratic Party Labor Salesmen



President Walter Reuther (left) of the CIO is shown introducing AFL President George Meany to Cleveland Auto Workers convention. Top labor officials see the coming merger of labor as a means to strengthen their policy of supporting the Big Business owned Democratic Party, but the experience of working people every day shows the futility and worthlessness of this policy.

to the labor movement to make a fight — they failed even to introduce a proposal to change Senate Rule 22. This sell-out on the very first day of Congress sealed the doom of any civil rights legislation not only for 1955 but for next year as well.

This kind of active treachery is what Reuther calls a "disappointing failure" and a "blank." What do the "accomplishments" consist of? The Democrats passed a \$1.00 an hour minimum wage law. Leave aside the fact that during the election campaign they pledged to support labor's demand for a \$1.25 minimum. The CIO itself has proven that in view of increased living costs it would be necessary to establish a \$1.06 minimum — just to maintain the

same purchasing power that was provided by the 75-cent minimum when it was established in 1949. That means that the real minimum is now six-cents-an-hour less than it was in 1949.

The argument that the Democrats "slowed down" the give-away program would be more impressive if it were not for the scandalous record of the "cost-plus contracts," "dollar-a-year" men, the "deep freezes" and "mink coats" of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

FOREIGN POLICY

Pointing with pride to the "bi-partisan" foreign policy is probably the most shameful part of the report.

It was this same bi-partisan foreign policy that hurled an unwilling American people into the Korean war. It armed and financed the "dirty war" of the French imperialists against the Indo-Chinese people. It installed an anti-labor military dictatorship in Guatemala. It kept Franco and a host of other foul reactionaries in power throughout the world. And despite the present "peace" maneuvers, which are but a breathing spell, American bi-partisan foreign policy is stockpiling the H-bombs that threaten world civilization.

Perhaps the most far-fetched of Reuther's claims is that the Democrats stopped McCarthyism. Where could he have been during the 83rd Congress when the Democrats made international spectacles of themselves by crawling before McCarthy in slobbering fear? Where was he when the Democrats wound up that session with a red-baiting orgy to "out-flank" McCarthy that culminated with the leading liberal Democrats ramming through the police-state Humphrey-Butler Communist Control Act of 1954?

Reuther concludes that, "It is to be hoped that the 84th Congress, during its second session, will heed the people's voice and enact a program responsive to the people's good." But out of his own mouth comes the facts that prove that the only real hope for labor is to break with the Democrats and build its own independent party.

...Protest Mississippi Verdict

(Continued from page 1)

all these mass meetings was the manifest desire of the audiences for concrete proposals for action. Any and all proposals for action were wildly applauded. Some of these proposals were for a March on Mississippi, a March on Washington, etc. The principal Negro leaders, however, tried to tone these down.

Instead their proposals were on the line of those made by NAACP head Roy Wilkins to the great Harlem meeting—"Be a precinct leader, or go see him and tell him you want to see that the Democratic Party gets that mess cleaned up in Mississippi." While such proposals received polite applause, they evoked no real enthusiasm.

The presence of A. Philip Randolph on the platform at the Harlem meeting led the chairman, Rev. David L. Lico-

ish, to call on him to lead a March on Mississippi and others to call out for a March on Washington. It was Randolph's wish at the beginning of World War II of a March on Washington to demand job equality that frightened the Roosevelt administration into issuing the FEPC order. This time, however, Randolph made no reply to the urgings to organize another such action.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED

The New York mass meeting unanimously passed two resolutions that were presented to it. First was the demand for a special session of Congress called to pass an anti-lynching law in view of the revival of lynch law in the South.

Second was a demand that U.S. Attorney General Brownell immediately investigate the whereabouts and physical well-being of two Negro witnesses to Till's murder who were repeatedly referred to in testimony at the trial, but were never called. They have disappeared and the resolution expressed alarm for their safety.

Dr. T. M. Howard, militant Negro leader of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, gave a standing-room-only meeting in Baltimore some information about Leroy Collins, one of the missing witnesses. Collins, an employee of one of the lynchers, had been ordered to wash the blood off the truck used to carry 14-year-old Emmett Till's tortured body from the lynch scene to the river.

Collins disappeared before the trial. He was secretly imprisoned in the Charleston, Miss., jail to prevent his testifying. Where he is now is not known. Another potential witness against the lynchers vanished before the trial and has not been heard from since.

DEATH THREAT

Moses Wright was given a death threat by the lynchers the night they entered his home and dragged off his 14-year-old nephew. Milam ominously asked the tenant farmer how old he was, and was answered, "I am 64." Milam then warned: "You'll never live to be 65 if you tell what you saw here tonight."

Another witness, Mrs. Amanda Bradley (no relation to Till's mother, Mrs. Mamie Bradley) refused offers to help her out of the state after the trial and went back to the plantation on which she lives and works. Later that night she fled to Mound Bayou, the all-Negro town, which

serves as a station on the modern Underground Railway. Reports are that a group of white supremacists were out looking for her.

She then decided to go North with Congressman Diggs of Detroit. Willie Reed, an 18-year-old Negro youth also accepted Diggs' offer of asylum in Detroit. Reed had testified to hearing sounds of beating and screaming coming from the barn where young Till was murdered and of seeing the lynchers there, one of them wearing a pistol.

No matter how much evidence was put out on the court record, the lynchers were never in danger of punishment. A recent survey shows that in the 18 Delta counties of Mississippi, white people get heavier punishment for killing a deer out of season than they do for murdering a Negro.

The whole trial demonstrated the viciousness of the Jim Crow system and the impossibility of justice in the present-day South. Negroes in the county, where the trial took place, outnumber whites three to one. Yet no Negroes are allowed to vote in Tallahatchie County. Since the jury panel is taken from the list of registered voters, all juries are "lily white."

ABUSE AND INSULT

At the trial, segregation was iron-clad. Even a U.S. Congressman was forced to sit in the Jim Crow section. Officials at

August 13 Lynching

Lamar Smith, 63-year-old Negro farmer, was shot to death by three white men on the courthouse lawn in Brookhaven, Mississippi, for "meddling in politics." There were 30 to 40 eyewitnesses standing within 30 feet of Smith and his lynchers. Yet the grand jury was unable to "find" one witness and failed to indict either for murder or manslaughter. This lynching as well as the Lee and Till lynchings have been "looked into" by the FBI as a result of NAACP demands. Militant leader of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Mississippi, Dr. T. M. Howard, who produced five prosecution witnesses for the Till trial, recently said of these FBI investigations: "It is getting to be a strange thing that the FBI can never find out who the killer is when a colored man is killed in the South."

May 7 Lynching

Reverend George W. Lee, Negro leader in Belzoni, Mississippi, who refused to be intimidated by threats from the White Citizens Councils into removing his name from the voting registration list, was shot to death by a group of white supremacists. Belzoni officials at first tried to cover up Lee's murder by listing it as a death in an auto accident.

When forced by widespread publicity in the Negro and labor press to admit Lee was murdered, the authorities claimed they had no clues to the murderers. Negro witnesses to the crime fled Mississippi in fear of their lives. The NAACP located them and relayed their testimony to the FBI. Though the identity of the lynchers is an open secret in Belzoni, and though the FBI has the information, no steps have been taken to punish them.

The trial walked up to the Negro press table and said, "Hello, n-----rs." Mrs. Bradley, when on the stand, was addressed by prosecution and defense attorneys alike as "Mamie" since the Jim Crow code does not permit "courtesy" titles, such as "Mrs." to Negroes.

The jury foreman's sneering comment on the heart-rending testimony of Mrs. Bradley about the identification of her son's broken body was: "If she had tried a little harder, she might have got out a tear."

The lynchers, Milam and Bryant, on the contrary, were treated with deference and respect. The white supremacists raised a defense fund for them. All the lawyers in the area volunteered to serve on their defense. They were not guarded and never were handcuffed. They were allowed to play with their children in the courtroom. They were given the run of the judge's personal quarters in the court for their own convenience. Admirers came up and shook their hands. After 67 minutes of discussion the jury unanimously endorsed their crime.

The tremendous anger of the Negro people and the horror of organized labor over the Till lynching case must not be allowed to dissipate without achievement. It must be channeled into a program that will smash the whole brutal, corrupt Jim Crow system.

"Times That Try Men's Souls"

By Harry Ring

"These are times that try men's souls," dolefully declared the liberal N. Y. Post on Sept. 23, as it reported that the author of that famed quotation, Tom Paine, is now too hot to handle in Rhode Island.

Mayor Reynolds of Providence, R.I., has rejected the offer of a statue of one of the most honored fathers of the American Republic. "It is my feeling," said the mayor, "that Thomas Paine was — and still remains — so controversial a character that city sponsorship of a memorial is out of the question at this time."

On the basis of what they taught me in public school about Tom Paine, I felt that maybe the Post had a point in feeling that Mayor Reynolds was carrying the witch-hunt to a ridiculous extreme in vetoing the statue. About all we were taught about Paine was that he had been one of the leaders of the American Revolution and that he had written a number of works with such reasonable titles as Common Sense, The Rights of Man, and The Age of Reason.

But the mayor's contention that Paine not only is but also was a controversial figure got me to look a bit deeper into the question. I looked back to an article written about Tom Paine by Jean Simon in the Marxist magazine Fourth International, April, 1952, issue of the Marxist magazine Fourth International, that what I read convinced me that from the viewpoint of those who champion today's rotting capitalist system of exploitation and injustice there is certainly logic to the mayor's stand.

Tom Paine was a revolutionist whose deeds and writing would certainly put him high on the "subversive" list of today's witch-hunters. And the fact is that Mayor Reynolds' slam at Paine is just one small part of a long record of violent attacks on that heroic figure that began during his lifetime and did not end with his death.

Tom Paine was not one of the silk stockinged leaders of the revolution. He came from the ranks of the people. He expressed their aspirations and spoke their language with powerful eloquence.

His pamphlet, Common Sense, was a flaming call to action that played a major role in mobilizing the American people for the fight. Published Jan. 10, 1776, it for the first time spelled out a fully rounded and conscious revolutionary program. Its enormous

effect is indicated by the fact that over 300,000 copies were sold at a time when the population was less than three million.

And he did not confine his struggle against the reactionary monarchist system to American soil. After the American victories he plunged into the struggles of the English and French masses against their tyrants. It was in England in 1791 that he expressed his basic viewpoint by coining "The Revolution of the World."

Hounded from both these countries, he returned to America to find his still consistently revolutionary view quite unpopular with the new conservative rulers of the country. During his last days in the country he helped to found he suffered constant harassment. The campaign against him reached its climax when he was denied the right to vote in New Rochelle, N. Y., on the ground that he — a revolutionary citizen of the world — was an alien!

Paine's tireless fight for every progressive cause, his savage attacks on every reactionary institution, left its mark on the consciousness of the rulers of America and their spokesmen. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, called him a "filthy little atheist." When first proposed, his name was voted down for the Hall of Fame. In 1942 the Fairmount Park Commission in Philadelphia gave Providence its precedent by also refusing authorization for the erection of a statue of Tom Paine.

Tom Paine never whimpered at the attacks leveled against him by the reactionaries. He stood up and fought to eliminate them from the social scene.

Those who today simply sit and bemoan the assault of reaction would do well to consider a bit more of what Tom Paine told the embattled revolutionary troops:

"These are times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW deserves the love and thanks of all men and women. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Indignation and anger at the acquittal in Mississippi of the murderers of young Emmett Till is running high throughout the country. Several core respondents have reported the events in their cities which are printed elsewhere in this issue. The literature agents tell us what effect these events had on the sales.

John Tabor of New York says: "A protest meeting on the Till murder was held in Harlem by the Sleeping Car Porters Union. The Militant was sold so fast it was hard to keep up with it."

The first batch of 185 were sold in twenty minutes. One of our best pluggers, Johnny Adams, sold 147 papers, which is a record for recent times. Twelve sales people sold a total of 490 papers. The papers seemed to melt out of our arms. We are planning another mobilization next week with a thousand papers."

Chicago reports: "We haven't reported our Militant sales for a while, but business goes on as usual. The last three week-ends have been especially notable. Marge Rains and Lou Griffin

sold sixteen papers at a union meeting, Jackie Booth and Dot Mack sold eighteen Militants and three Trumbull Park pamphlets at an open air Forum; Ed Larsen and Larry Haines sold twenty papers and six "Struggle for Negro Equality" pamphlets at a youth meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The next week 72 Militants were sold at various points in the city. This week we sold 220 Militants and twenty pamphlets at the NAACP Protest Rally on the Emmett Till murder. Fortunately we had extra papers, but we could have sold 300 more if we had them."

The report from Detroit parallels the report from New York. Allen Winters writes: "Three salesmen took the current Militant to sell at the NAACP meeting called to demand justice in the Emmett Till case. The 31 papers they took with them were sold in about five minutes, so they went back for more. Tom Johnson, Bob Himmell and Sherry Cohen sold a total of ninety papers as well as 49 copies of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality.' They did not have to 'sell' the paper—they simply held it up and people lined up to buy. No other political group sold or distributed anything there."

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(Continued from page 1)

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The Negro Struggle

A Step in the Right Direction

Several columnists in the Negro press have criticized the top leadership of Negro organizations in this country for not being active enough in the struggle to preserve civil liberties against the witch hunters. The point made by these perspicacious columnists is that Negro leaders and the Negro people should not think that defense of political freedom from the "loyalty" purgers and the Attorney General with his subversive list is an issue unrelated to the struggle against Jim Crow.

The fight for civil liberties and the fight for the civil rights of the Negro people are two inseparable parts of a common struggle. However, perhaps because of a division of labor that has grown up, the shortsighted and dangerous notion has been developed that these were separate battles.

The daily experience of both the civil liberties' and the anti-Jim Crow civil rights' fight demonstrates the falsity of this idea.

On Aug. 1 Georgia's racist Board of Education declared: "Any teacher in Georgia who supports, encourages, condones or agrees to teach a [racially] mixed grade, or any teacher who is a member of the NAACP, any allied organization or any subversive organization, shall have his or her [teaching] license revoked and forfeited for life."

The obvious inspiration of this attempted anti-integration "subversive" list was the federal government's "subversive list." The Georgia racist figured.

People fired on "loyalty" charges, have in countless instances been unable to get jobs in private industry, are barred in some places from unemployment compensation due them, have been ordered out of housing projects, have even been denied the necessary licenses to tune pianos.

In Mississippi the White Citizens Councils noted all this. They are now applying this technique of the witch-hunt to ruin any Negro who signs a desegregation petition or who registers to vote. Such "subversives" of the Dixiecrat Way of Life are fired from jobs, blacklisted, denied credit, etc.

Thus the spreading of the methods used to suppress those who believe in radical, economic and political changes in capitalism to those who demand radical changes in the racist system of the South, has underlined the indivisibility of the fight against the witch hunt and the fight against Jim Crow.

That the leaders of the Negro struggle are awakening to the need to participate more actively in the fight against the witch hunt is seen in the formation on Sept. 25 of a new organization. It calls itself Americans for Traditional Liberties. It is headed by 82 prominent figures, a sizeable number of whom are identified with the fight for Negro equality.

For example among the founders are A. Philip Randolph, President of the AFL Sleeping Car Porters; Arthur B. Spingarn, President of the NAACP; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College; Prof. J. Saunders Redding of Hampton Institute; Russell P. Crawford, President of the N. Y. Branch of the NAACP; and Prof. Frank Dorey of Howard University.

Americans for Traditional Liberties have listed nine major evils in present day America. These include not only discrimination and segregation but the witch hunt with its use of "loyalty" purges, subversive lists, paid informers and guilt by association. While their attack on the witch hunt is not as basic as is needed, it is a step in the right direction and the prominent participation of Negro leaders is a welcome sign indeed.

Off-Duty Cop

By Ben Haines

I rode home from work the other night together with five of my shopmates who are Puerto Ricans. We stopped at a bar on New York's Lower East Side for a few beers. We had worked overtime and it was one o'clock in the morning.

The talk got around to the problem of discrimination against the Puerto Rican people in New York, particularly those with dark skins.

"You know," one of the fellows said, "we have discrimination in Puerto Rico, too, but its mostly from the rich people who are white. There are some places they won't let a man with a black skin go."

"Yes," said another, "but if they dared to stop me on the street in Puerto Rico I would slap their faces — here in New York it's different. Here they insult you even on the street."

The oldest worker in the group whom I've known ever since I went to work in the auto assembly plant, moved next to me at the bar and pressed his brown arm next to my white one.

"You see," he said, "the color is different; yet you and I can be good friends. Why shouldn't it be that way with everyone?"

At this moment a new customer walked into the bar. He was at least half drunk. On his way to the other end of the bar he paused as if he were going to say something, then moved on.

"Cop," muttered three or four voices. The conversation continued but it became strained.

The off-duty cop ordered a drink and then motioned to the one in our group nearest to him to come over and talk with him. He began to ask all kinds of personal questions and acted as if he were questioning a "suspect." The rest of us sat waiting with tension mounting.

Finally the youngest in our group burst out, "I'm going over there. What right has he got to talk to my friend like that?"

"Sit still!" the older worker told him. "he's got a gun and he'll use it."

"I don't care. He's got no right to do that, we're not bothering anyone."

At this point the bartender intervened: "It's all right officer. All these people are my friends."

"Are you sure?" the cop asked suspiciously.

"Yes, they're all good people. Come on and have a drink."

The cop hesitated drunkenly and then turned back to his place at the bar.

A few minutes later I passed by him on the way to the rest room and said, "Why are you bothering us? We're just having a few beers on the way home from work."

"Beat it!" said the off-duty cop in a thick voice.

Stein, wife of Sidney Stein in Federal Detention House in New York City, has asked the Federal Prison Bureau to allow him to see his father who is 81 years old and ill. When Stein's mother died he wasn't allowed to attend her funeral.

A CATHOLIC WORKER salesman won a reversal by the New York Court of Appeals from a lower-court conviction for selling literature on the streets without a license. He was defended by an American Civil Liberties Union lawyer.

NEGRO FLIERS are available for air line employment the Urban League has announced. The announcement, in effect, tests the seriousness of a "decision" made by the President's Committee on Government contracts to act against job discrimination by airlines, railways and steamship companies. The League has on file the names of 100 Negro fliers with broad flying experience, some with as much as 11,000 hours flying time.

"HOW BIG IS BIG BUSINESS?" asks columnist Sylvia Porter in the New York Post. Here is her answer in part: About half of the Western World's industrial output is produced by the United States — and almost one half of this, is produced by about 500 corporations. These 500 corporations represent less than two-tenths of one percent of U.S. industrial enterprises, yet they rake in 66 percent of the net profits of all industrial companies. The giants are getting bigger all the time; GM is the biggest of them all with Standard Oil of New Jersey, Bell System, du Pont and U.S. Steel following in that order.

FARM SURPLUSES are now at the \$5 billion mark, the Department of Agriculture has announced, and it costs about \$367,000 a day simply to store it. Henry Wallace, who served as Secretary of Agriculture under Roosevelt and helped institute the farm price support system, has called for a program of feeding the hungry, at home and abroad.

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists — from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" — are answered in this classic work.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1955

NUMBER 40

After 23 Weeks, Southern Strikers Win



A long, bitter strike in a company town, where the union couldn't even rent a headquarters and had to use a church bus instead, ended in victory for the CIO Textile Workers. The town is Tuxedo, North Carolina. Strike against Green River Mills began April 6. Settlement included all the benefits of a union contract over open-shop conditions, plus wage boosts of 5 to 20-cents an hour, averaging 12 1/2 cents.

Our Readers Take the Floor

The Braden Case

Editor:

Today is our 55th Wedding Anniversary. (My wife is 83; I am 85 years old.) We celebrate by appealing (as widely as we can) for help in moving America towards complete Desegregation.

An example: A white newspaper man, Carl Braden, is out of jail on a \$40,000 bond — pending appeal from his sentence to 15 years in prison, plus \$5,000 fine. (He spent 8 months in jail before his friends could raise the monstrous \$40,000 bail.)

What crime? Carl and his noble wife Anne Braden (address: P.O. Box 1302, Louisville, Kentucky) bought a modest house in a semi-rural community, two or three miles outside Louisville. They sold it to a refined colored man, his wife and two small children.

The colored family was fiercely

ly attacked. Finally, their new home was dynamited!

Local legal authorities, instead of moving against the lynchers, indicted Carl and Anne Braden and 5 other white friends of desegregation (including 2 trained social workers) for — "Conspiring to damage property (by bombing) — to achieve a political end — communism."

To help undo this mad injustice — and to help preserve America's reputation for fair play — we urge our fellow citizens to write Mrs. Anne Braden (at her Louisville address, given above) for full, free information, including nine photographs. (We have also, voluntarily, contributed \$15.00 thus far towards the necessary, large Defense Fund.)

Thus we hope that others may be led — as we are led — to help remove this terrible stain from our country's soul.

Sincerely,
Charles F. Heller
Founder-President of World Fellowship, Inc. and the World Fellowship of Faiths

Suggests Cartoon

Editor:

Here is an idea I would like to suggest as appropriate for a cartoon on peaceful coexistence.

In the left background the figure of Moneybags is backing away, a terrified look on his face, his right palm extended for protection, and his left arm poised to hurl an H-Bomb.

The amazing sight he beholds in the foreground is the stirring of a chained giant, a symbol of the revolutionary colonial peoples who are struggling to break the chains of imperialism.

In the middle of the picture and slightly in front of Moneybags is the Kremlin bureaucrat, Bulganin. Although his eye is on the giant, his head is turned towards Moneybags to whom he is saying, "I tried to explain."

His arms and open palms are stretched downward and out in exasperation.

The title might read: "COEXISTENCE OR THE FINAL CONFLICT?"

J. B.
Minneapolis, Minn.

OHIO BOSSES RAISE FUND TO BEAT CIO DRIVE FOR \$50 JOBLESS PAY

YOUNGSTOWN, Sept. 28 — Ohio employers have swung into action against the CIO's campaign to raise unemployment compensation to a decent minimum. Recently the State Board of Elections announced that the CIO had secured enough signatures on its petition to place the jobless pay issue on the November ballot.

The CIO measure would raise rates to \$50 a week for 39 weeks from the present \$33 for 26 weeks. The labor organization obtained 130,000 signatures, with 77,000 valid signatures required

to put the initiative measure on the ballot.

PLAN SMEAR

The employers' committee is raising a war chest in order to smear the CIO proposal. The plan is to dun each employer in the state 75c per employee. At that rate, the State CIO estimates, the slush fund will come to \$2 million.

The Big Business controlled press has already opened an offensive against the CIO's proposal. For example, the lead editorial of the Sept. 18 Youngstown Vindicator denounced the proposed raise in jobless benefits as "fantastic." The editors — repeating

a stock argument of the bosses — claim that the increase would encourage workers to loaf.

In addition, they complain that the CIO is using the initiative provision of the Ohio Constitution as a tool in the interests of a "minority" group (namely, the working people).

The Vindicator, of course, is careful not to cite the real reason the employers oppose a hike of unemployment compensation rates to \$50. (This rate, by the way, is well below regular wages at union scales.) They fear that such a hike will serve as pressure on employers paying below union-scale wages. Furthermore, it gives the workers just a shade more security and would force the employers to pay a greater tax.

The bosses resort not only to their slush fund and newspapers in order to fight the measure but to the two major parties as well. Democratic Governor Lausche has spoken out against the CIO measure. So has the Republican party.

The labor movement has no party of its own through which to campaign for the proposal and mobilize the workers' votes on election day. This hampers its campaign to carry the proposal.

The blame for the handicap falls squarely on the leadership which has steadfastly opposed the building of a labor party and keeps the powerful union movement tied to Democratic and Republican politicians.

The family and friends are chipping in to help the victims. Two children, Philip, ten, and William, seven, will stay with a friend, James, five, and Jo Ann, three, are staying with one of Mrs. Beechel's sisters, Patricia, 12, will stay to help her mother. After the funeral they will stay with another sister.

Thus ends another working class tragedy. For the company, however, it is just another insurance statistic. There are and will be other Felix Beechels to carry on the thankless struggle for existence and maintain the flow of profits and dividend payments which must never stop — never that is until a Socialist order eliminates the desperate choices that lead to such grim tragedies.

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Negro Girl, 18, Accosted; Cops Put Her in Jail

By John Black

PITTSBURGH, Sept. 24 — Like everywhere throughout the country, people here have followed with passionate interest the details of the Mississippi trial which followed the kidnaping and murder of

the 14-year-old Negro youth Emmett Till, for "whistling." Newspapers in this city have, of course, editorialized about the need for a fair and just trial. But the daily press has shown no interest in the case of Miss Thelma Taylor, 18-year-old Negro Pittsburgher employed in a beauty shop on the Northside of town.

When the case was finally heard the judge fined the parents and the two white louts \$10 each — and held Miss Taylor for further court action! The charge against her will probably be "resisting arrest."

Mr. Taylor, a steelworker, is an usher at the Macedonian Baptist Church. He told his story to his minister, Rev. Harvey. The following Monday, at the regular business meeting of the Church, the case was presented and the congregation voted unanimously to set up a \$1,000 Legal Defense Fund to aid any member of the Church needing help in similar cases of injustice at the hands of the authorities.

ROUSED ANGER
The police treatment of the young woman was bad enough. The shameful acquittal of the lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi coming on top of this local case has greatly aroused the anger of the Negro population of Pittsburgh.

Democratic Mayor David Lawrence, of wage-tax notoriety, has repeatedly boasted of the amiable race relations which Pittsburgh is supposed to have enjoyed during his administration. The names of the four cops involved in the Taylor case are known. It remains to be seen if the Mayor and the other city officials will do even the barest minimum — suspending them for their brutal racial bigotry, pending a thorough investigation of the case at a public hearing.

This case and many others involving police brutality have been called to the Mayor's attention. With elections coming up here, there will be many opportunities to question all city officials seeking re-election about their conduct in this affair.

By this time another squad car appeared and also Miss Taylor's parents, who had been called by a friend, arrived on the scene.

When her parents saw the police choking their daughter, the father intervened by saying: "Don't choke her. Arrest her if you wish but don't abuse her."

The police then arrested him and the mother, too. In the process Miss Taylor was manhandled, her clothes torn and she was called insulting names. The two white men who had

...President's Illness Staggers GOP

(Continued from page 1)

in the world and weapon situation made the war drive again the order of the day.

Specifically this meant the ending of the Korean war, the war in Indo-China, the beginning of some sort of modus vivendi with China and the Soviet Union. These things have all been more or less accomplished or begun in the three years Eisenhower has been in office and the public has generously, but mistakenly, credited him personally for "keeping us out of war."

The labor bureaucracy, meanwhile, has done everything in its power to strengthen this impression. Chained to the defense of the Truman administration's record, the labor bureaucrats speak more belligerently on foreign policy than does the State Department.

While the labor officials may fancy this shows how anti-Communist they are and allows them to charge that Eisenhower is being taken in by the Soviets, it actually strengthened the popular impression that Eisenhower alone was working to ease the war threat. Thus most anti-war sentiment in this country went by default to Eisenhower and is the principal factor in his "popularity."

THEY SEE VICTORY

Inside the Democratic Party the leaders of the big city machines of the North and the labor leaders are jubilant. The defeat they suffered at the hands of the Southern Democrats over policy in Congress appears to be now undone. The Southern wing, which prefers to control Congress, and thus the Democratic Party, but to have a Republican President with whom it can make deals, ran the 84th Congress so that the Democratic campaign in 1956 would lack the legislative record needed to beat Eisenhower.

Now the machine bosses and the labor leaders see a presidential victory in 1956. Control of the White House and federal

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