

Dobbs-Weiss Hit Big Business Parties In Coast-to-Coast TV and Radio Talks

Weiss: Workers of World Will Abolish Capitalist War

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

As the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Vice-President of the United States and the running mate of Farrell Dobbs, our Presidential candidate, I am going to talk to you about the socialist analysis of the problems that confront the American people in this election. The central issue is, of course, the preparation for World War III.

The Big Business advertising men of Madison Avenue, backed by a campaign fund of about \$50,000,000 will tell you how peace and prosperity are the gift of the Republicans. The Democrats with their own supply of millionaires will tell you how peace and prosperity were really invented by the Democratic Party.

Both are right in their claim of responsibility for whatever it is we have. But I would hardly call it peace and prosperity.

ONE-QUARTER FOR WAR

One doesn't have to be a Marxist to know that if it weren't for the war economy there would be a depression. After all, nearly one-quarter of all that is produced in this country is for war. One out of every four hours the country works is devoted to making hydrogen and atom bombs, guided missiles and other instruments of destruction. If the government suddenly stopped giving lush, profitable contracts to Big Business we'd be back where we were in the Thirties.

Depression is nothing to look forward to, but neither is war a pleasant prospect. Man has discovered how to control atomic energy.

In a rational world this scientific advance would be cause for joy. Instead we are gripped by fear and foreboding. The reason is that while science has progressed, man has not yet resolved the social crisis. Society is still divided between antagonistic classes and hostile nations. If we do not solve our social problems these conflicts can lead to the destruction of civilization.

The only answer the Democrats and Republicans have for this crisis is to boom armaments production. They assure us that this is the only way to prepare for peace. Actually it is the only way to prepare for war. For it is a fact that there has never been an armaments race in history that did not end in war.

We are told that with atomic energy, war means total destruction and there can be no victor. Therefore, the wishful thinker says, there will be no war. Don't you remember a similar argument before World War II? With the development of air power, the argument went, civilians as well as soldiers will be killed. Whole cities will be blasted to the ground, turned into a mass of torn flesh and steel.

AGAINST NUCLEAR TESTS

As it turned out, you will remember, that didn't stop the makers of war. It only multiplied by many times the number of casualties. And it will not stop them in the future. Napalm bombs burned whole villages alive in Korea. Top military men in Washington seriously discussed the use of atomic weapons in the Indo-China war just a few years ago.

Millions of dollars were spent this spring on nuclear tests in the Pacific. These tests were conducted despite the fact that tens of millions of people in Asia protested against them. Scientists in this country warned about the harmful effects of increased radiation on our chil-



MYRA TANNER WEISS

next time we won't be so fortunate.

Both peace and prosperity are now only illusions. And there is no hope that they will be anything but illusions as long as either Democrats or Republicans remain in control.

Big Business tells us we need a war economy to meet the totalitarian threat of Russia. But it is clear now to all the world, that the bureaucrats in the Soviet Union are losing their dictatorial power. The Russian workers, grown strong in the post-war economic growth and inspired by the liberating struggle of the colonial people have begun a fight of their own for restoration of workers' democracy in the Soviet orbit. The East German uprising in 1953, the heroic revolt of the political prisoners in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, and the more recent workers' uprising in Poznan, Poland, spells the doom of the bureaucratic caste that dominates the Soviet orbit.

FREEDOM FOR GM

The U.S. State Department, however, is not really concerned for the freedom of the workers in the Soviet orbit. During World War II Washington sang Stalin's praises and covered up all his bloody crimes. The kind

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Student Heroes at Clinton, Tenn.



Negro students brave racist threats as they enter and leave the newly integrated high school at Clinton, Tennessee earlier this month after a racist mob had been stirred up by outside organizers of the White Citizens' Councils. Before the racist campaign, a full attendance of white students had accepted the 12 Negroes without trouble. One of the Negro girls, Jo Ann Allen, was elected vice-president of her home room. An anti-Negro riot one week after school opened reduced white attendance for a while, but the young Negroes refused to be scared away and are still attending classes. (See story about Kentucky, page four.)

Dobbs: Unions Must Rally To Support Negro Struggle

(Text of speech given by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President, over a nation-wide NBC-Radio hookup, Sept. 11, NBC-TV hookup, Sept. 15.)

In accepting nomination as Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I wish to place special emphasis on my party's support of the Negro people in the fight for their democratic rights.

At the recent Democratic and Republican conventions, the only platform planks which excited any attention were those on civil rights—that is, those dealing with the denial of equal rights to the Negro people of this country.

Over a year ago, the leaders of both Big Business parties had decided to keep the civil rights question out of the coming campaign. They were unable to do so, however, primarily because the magnificent struggle of the Negro people has not permitted them to ignore the issue.

TERROR AGAINST NEGROES

Since the Supreme Court decision that Jim Crow schools were unconstitutional, there has been a terrible wave of unpunished lynchings in Mississippi, culminating in the atrocity-murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till. The officials of practically every Deep South state have publicly declared their plans to evade or defy the court's ruling. A new version of the Ku Klux Klan—the White Citizens Councils—has spread throughout the South,



FARRELL DOBBS

threatening Negroes and Southern whites who are against segregation. Negro workers who belong to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have been fired from their jobs. Negroes have been denied credit, their mortgages called in by the banks. These attacks are intended to starve them into submission or force them to leave their communities.

In Georgia, the attorney-general has put the NAACP on the so-called "subversive" list. In Alabama and Louisiana, courts

have outlawed this leading Negro organization.

While such events were frustrating plans of the Big Business politicians to hush up the civil rights issue, the resistance of the Negro people in the South was making headline news. In South Carolina, for example, when hooded Ku Kluxers paraded to the edge of the Negro community of Ellmore to burn a cross—the traditional lynching threat—the Negro people did not run or hide. Unintimidated, they stood with arms folded and watched the medieval antics of their persecutors.

In states where the NAACP has been outlawed, new anti-segregation organizations have sprung up to carry on the fight. The determination of the Negro people in the South to have their rights was demonstrated to the whole world by Miss Autherine Lucy in her fight for admission to the University of Alabama.

PRaises BUS BOYCOTT

The most dramatic struggle of the Negro people against Jim Crow is exemplified by the boycott movement. A bus boycott has been going on in Montgomery, Alabama since last December. Another has been in progress since June in Tallahassee, Florida. I had the privilege of covering the Montgomery boycott and the trial of Rev. Martin Luther King, its spokesman, as a reporter for the socialist newspaper, the Militant.

I was able to study the movement first hand, to talk with its leaders and many of the rank and file. I have met many brave people within the labor and socialist movement. As a union organizer I have been in strikes where workers gave their lives to establish a union. In the socialist movement I have met European militants who fought in the underground and survived the concentration camps of Hitler.

But I want to say I have never met a more able, more courageous group of men and women than the Negro freedom fighters of Montgomery.

To all who believe in the principle of freedom I say: you cannot be neutral in the great fight going on in Montgomery and the South today. No matter what your political affiliations may be, if you believe in freedom, then you must be for civil rights for the Negro people—right now!

Organized labor has a stake of its own in the civil rights fight. The low-wage, open-shop South, is a drag on the union movement in the rest of the country.

Wages in the North can rise only to a limited height above those in the South before Northern Big Business starts—as it already has—to move its plants into the South. So long as the South remains open-shop, organized labor in the rest of the country will pay for it.

The South must be organized for the benefit of the Southern workers as well. They need and want unions. They are ready and eager to take their place as a mighty ally of the national labor movement.

JIM CROW BLOCKS UNIONS
But the Jim Crow system—which has its roots in the South and spreads its racist poison all over the country—presents an obstacle to unionizing the South. By keeping the Negroes from the ballot box and by playing off white against Negro, the Southern ruling class is able to send racists and labor haters to Congress. It's the same story from the state capitals down to the counties where trigger-happy sheriffs, without fear of punish-

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Letter to CP National Conference

(The following is a letter to the Communist Party from the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the CP's 1956 Election Policy.)

To the National Committee and State Representatives of the Communist Party Meeting in Conference, Sept. 29-30.

Dear Comrades:

We understand that the object of your conference is to determine policy for the Communist Party in the 1956 election.

We urge you to endorse our candidates, Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President. We also request permission for a representative of our Committee to address your Conference on this question.

We urge you to endorse our candidates on the following grounds:

- (1) They are campaigning for American working class support to the colonial revolution and the socialist revolution abroad. They speak for defense of the Soviet Union, recognition of revolutionary China, aid to embattled Egypt and other colonial lands struggling for national liberation against imperialist domination.
- (2) They uphold full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people against the white supremacists and the so-called "moderates" in both Democratic and Republican parties.
- (3) They fight all aspects of the witch hunt and proclaim the defense of civil liberties for all.
- (4) They are campaigning for independent working class political action—through the formation of an Independent Labor Party and the creation of a Workers' and Farmers' Government—as the means of solving all the vital problems confronting the American working people.

Hallinan Support for SWP

These are principles the CP membership subscribes to and have been working tirelessly to realize. By backing our candidates you would express their socialist convictions.

The Socialist Workers Party slate has been endorsed by such prominent radical spokesmen as Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential Candidate of the Progressive Party, and Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party leader. In addition, numerous unaffiliated radicals as well as rank and file CP members have indicated they will vote SWP in November.

Most of them have differences with one or another aspect of the Socialist Workers Party program. But they find the above planks a sufficient ground for united action behind the SWP candidates at the polls in November, reserving for future discussion the resolution of disagreements. We urge you to take a similar stand.

In asking for your support, we at the same time call on you to reverse the course you have pursued in the 1956 election campaign up to now.

Although you have never stated it forthrightly, this policy has been one of support to the Democratic Party. In effect you endorse the policy of the top labor officialdom of keeping the working class tied to this Big Business party.

We hold such support to be a violation of basic socialist principle. It is impossible for labor to emancipate itself as long as it remains politically subservient to the capitalist class. To support capitalist politicians means to renounce the struggle for socialism.

This elementary truth was taught by Marx, Engels, Debs, Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotsky and all the other great leaders of the international revolutionary working class movement. It was the issue in contention in all the great debates which ranged Marxists against opportunists throughout the history of the socialist movement. We believe the principle to be more valid than ever today.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the crossing of class lines in politics leads to betrayal of the interests of the working class. This is certainly borne out by your support of the Democratic party.

Cruel Blow at Negroes

Most workers recognize the Republican party as the party of their class enemy. They still entertain illusions about the Democratic Party, however. Your slogan, "Defeat the Cadillac Cabinet," covers up the Big Business character of the Democratic Party and reinforces their illusions.

At a time when the Negro people is embattled against the white supremacists you cover up the fact that the Southern Democratic leaders call the tune for the Democratic Party on the issue of civil rights. They did so in the writing of the platform and in every pronouncement of the Democratic Party candidates since then. The liberals are partisans of "moderation" to accommodate the Dixiecrats. The labor bureaucrats are accommodating the liberals, and that is what you have been doing, too, in the execution of your class-collaborationist policy.

Thus, at a time when the Negro people need the aid of the labor and radical movement most, the working class has been rendered politically impotent by the alliance with the Democratic Party liberals who are allied with the Dixiecrats. Isn't that a clear example of how class-collaboration prevents the working class from achieving its tasks and realizing its aims? Yet that is the course you have defended and tried to get all Communist Party members to pursue.

Isolation From Class?

The excuse many of your spokesmen give for support to the Democrats, is that a policy of independence would isolate you from the working class. CP spokesmen have argued that since the workers tend to vote as a class bloc along the lines recommended by their leaders, socialist-minded workers must do likewise in order to go through the experience with the workers and influence their political development.

But the further experiences of the American working class must inevitably bring disillusionment with the Democratic Party and a growing tendency to break with it. A break, however, will not be achieved spontaneously. It will be fiercely resisted by the labor bureaucracy. It will be realized only in struggle against the top union officials. The fight must be prepared ideologically in the ranks now. That is precisely the task of socialist-minded workers today and the meaning of patient socialist campaigning such as the SWP candidates are conducting.

Clifford T. McAvoy is a thousand times right against the critics of his pro-SWP stand among you, when he declared, "It is time for those who profess devotion for socialism to vote for a socialist." Those who today campaign and vote for the SWP ticket are preparing the next stage of development—labor's breakaway from the two-capitalist-party system and the formation of labor's own party.

Why We Advocate a Labor Party

It is true, as Lenin taught, that the socialist vanguard must stun its proposals to the class struggle experiences of the workers. An example of this precept is the advice Lenin himself

TO READERS OF THE MILITANT

How should those workers, students and intellectuals vote in the 1956 Election who are for socialism, civil rights and organized labor? Last week we published the stand of Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party candidate, who urged support of the SWP ticket. What is your opinion? Write to the Militant. We will publish your letters. Do not exceed 300 words.

— The Editors

Fraternally Yours,
National Committee,
Socialist Workers Party

Letters in Response to SWP Radio-TV Talks

[The speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss accepting the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominations of the Socialist Workers Party were broadcast by television and radio. They have brought a flood of letters asking for more information about the SWP, praising the candidates for their ideas, offering help, etc. In some cases donations have been enclosed. In only two or three cases have the letters been hostile. So far (Sept. 19), 525 letters from 45 states and the District of Columbia have been received. And more will arrive in the next mail. Moreover, several more TV and radio broadcasts by Dobbs and Weiss are scheduled. Already it can safely be said that the response of the general public to the SWP's 1956 campaign is far surpassing that of the last two elections. Below is printed a small sampling of the letters so far received. — Ed.]

Dear Sir,
I am writing for information about your party and would be very interested in helping in your campaign as I am a union worker and believe in all that you and your party are working so diligently to obtain. Looking forward to hearing from you in the near future.
G. H.
Los Angeles, Calif.

SWP Candidates On TV and Radio
See — Hear
MYRA TANNER WEISS
NBC-TV: Saturday, Sept. 22
2:30 to 2:45 P.M.
New York Only:
Sun. Sept. 23
12:00 to 12:15 P.M.
◆
CBS-TV: CHICAGO
Sun. Sept. 23
3:30 to 3:45 P.M.
◆
NBC-Radio: Thursday, Oct. 4
10:15 to 10:30 P.M.
Call station for time in your locality

We are about to arrange a display of political campaign material in our Library and should appreciate your sending us a copy of your 1956 National Platform and any other free campaign literature you may now have available.

Joseph C. Borden
Associate Librarian
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Ark.

The speech delivered by your Presidential nominee on the CBS television network the other day impressed me as having been one of the better speeches delivered during the duration of the election year campaigns.

E. W. R.
South Miami, Florida
If free, please send election platform, 25 copies campaign speeches of Pres. and V-Pres. candidates, suggestions for writing in vote, catalog of other available publications, leaflets, 1955, 1956 and similar materials issued by your Illinois office.

A. B.
Chicago, Ill.
Please send me the acceptance speech and the platform... Would be interested in the name of the candidate and where I can get information of his background or record of public office. Would be interested in the activity... in this vicinity. Would be interested in what they think of farm policy, small business, veterans benefits, and the Communist Party. Convince me that you are not leaning toward communism.

B. G.
Sycamore, Ill.
As one who is becoming more and more interested in the principles and activities of the Socialist Workers Party I would like you to send, at your convenience, the literature referred to in the radio broadcast last night. I heard the greater part of the address.

With kindest regards,
W. E. B.
Chicago, Ill.

The speech by your candidate for President has hit on the things I believe.
J. E. F.
Elgin, Ill.
Please send me a copy of your platform, also if possible a copy of the acceptance speech, which I did not hear. I desire these articles to use in our local union.

Asks How She Can Help in Campaign

Dear Mr. Dobbs:
Listened to your speech for the first time. I was very much impressed by your honesty. I hope that you were sincere. I feel you won't be able to reach the working people at all.

I would like to join you in your campaign. I may be able to help. I don't know much about politics, but that may be for the best. I must tell you a little about myself to make you understand why I feel I may be of some help.

I come from a family who came from a foreign country. My father and all my six brothers plus brothers-in-law work for U.S.S.C. in a little town. I know how those men live and work and die for nothing but the big money men. I myself left 17 years ago. There is no future there for any-

body, and yet those people are very important to the world. I hope you'll consider my letter. I'm very poor in letter writing or expressing myself on paper. I would like to meet you and see what I could do to bring you to the little people, who really are bigger than the big people, if you know what I mean. Maybe you can find some way for me to help out.

Please try to understand I want my kind of people to be informed on how badly this country is run. Heaven help us if Stevenson should ever get in. I know him as I was in his presence a few times.

Will be waiting for your reply if I could help in any small way.
A. D.
Chicago, Ill.

Perhaps it will help in some way to awaken our members to just what is happening.

J. R. J.
Chicago, Ill.

I certainly will not any more vote for either of the two parties. Is there a branch of your party in Illinois, mainly Chicago?

B. P.
Chicago, Ill.

To Whom it May Concern: Strangely in all the talk on local and world issues and problems one very serious (in my opinion) domestic problem is ignored by all parties.

I believe that the HOME is our most sacred institution. It has been (allowed) to be made a dirty, shoddy commodity for chiseling, profiteering and black-marketing.

There's no doubt that the moral responsibility for this lies at the doors of the Republican and Democratic Parties and the unions. For years I've been forced by circumstances to live in a building (one of many) that belongs to an unconscionable and unscrupulous landlord who has a well-oiled legal machine working and who seems to enjoy a great deal of immunity from the law, rent control and Dept. of Housing and Bldg. notwithstanding. It would take many pages to describe the aggravations, irritation, annoyance and humiliation

that I've been subjected to. There seems to be no one to protect people like us. And no one speaks up about this awful situation. Speak about this evil!
S. G.
New York City
Please send me a copy of the radio address you had on the air last Tuesday night. I liked it very much. I am sick of both the Republican and Democratic parties, and would welcome a new party that would really put some life and safety and economy into this decadent nation of ours.
M. C.
Baton Rouge, La.

Heard the plea to the American union workers by the Socialist Workers Party and indeed I was very interested and my thoughts and opinions run along the same line. I am very much interested in a Third Party. Too many politicians go back on their promises to the union workers. I am for justice for all, regardless of race, creed, or color, freedom of speech, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. I love this country, the United States of America and all its citizens and would like to see us prosper instead of being destroyed. Hoping for the opening of the workers eyes to this aim,
M. J. G.
Reserve, La.

I am desirous of learning more about your party and for what it stands. Therefore, I would be gratified if you would send me a copy of the platform of the Socialist Workers Party. Also, would you enclose, please, a general history of the Socialist Workers Party with a list of candidates who have run for the office of President and Vice President along with any other helpful information.
J. R. S.
Webster, Mass.

By Wire:
YOUR WONDERFUL TALK ON NBC SATURDAY WAS A GRAND EXHIBITION OF SOCIALIST DOCTRINE. YOU COULD NOT HAVE SELECTED A BETTER SUBJECT THAN THE PLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO. WE AGREE THAT ONLY SOCIALISM CAN SOLVE THE CRUEL INJUSTICES THAT ARE THEIR FATE IN EVERY STATE OF THE UNION. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITIES ARE BASED ON "DIVIDE AND RULE" ROLE OF CAPITALISM. CAPITALISM MUST GO. MORE POWER TO YOU IN YOUR CAMPAIGN.
M. AND J. D.
MINNEAPOLIS

We've got a farm and I just listened to the acceptance speech of Mr. Farrell Dobbs. Would you send me a copy of your platform? Maybe some extra ones for the neighbors to look at.

Could you send me some copies of the acceptance speech of Mr. Dobbs?
Where is the closest headquarters where I could get some more information and who is up for governor of Minnesota for the Socialist Workers?
B. C.
Glencoe, Minn.

'I Wish All Would Vote for the SWP'
I am a Negro, I just saw and heard the Socialist Party's candidate on television. It was wonderful. I wish every Negro in America would vote for the Socialist Workers Party. Please send me a copy of the speech. I wish there was some way I could make every Negro see this.
Respectfully Yours,
M. J.
Denver, Colo.

Please send me some copies of the radio speech on de-segregation. I heard it over WOCO. It is the best political speech I have heard this year.
N. M. T.
Mound R.L., Minn.
After listening to the broadcast from New York Sept. 11, I am very much interested in the new Socialist Workers Party Movement.
Rev. W. H. H.
Portageville, Mo.
Mail me a copy of your acceptance speech. I think it was great.
H. F.
Joplin, Mo.
After having heard your novel and stirring broadcast over WCAV radio a few minutes ago, I am desirous of knowing more about your party and its platform. I am particularly interested in how you propose to enforce immediate desegregation upon your election; and in just what your foreign policy would be, particularly towards countries of the Soviet bloc, whose stated aims, if not their actual ones, are similar to yours, though their methods may not be.
D. E. C.
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, N.J.
The speech given by Farrell Dobbs, your nomination for president of the U. S. showed very sound political thinking.
D. F. Jr.
North Plainfield, N.J.
Please send me a copy of the program you had broadcast Tuesday night, Sept. 11.
This program (talk) described the treatment and promises (false) that have been (and still are) being given to the Negroes by both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Due to the chatter round about me, I was unable to gain a complete understanding of all that the speaker said, and because of my being very interested in such things, I would very much like a copy.
B. L.
Smithville, Ohio
We are students in two local high schools here in San Jose. We have just listened to two speeches by your candidates for President and Vice-President on racial segregation in the South. We would like to have copies of those two speeches so we may

present them to our civics classes. . . . We know that segregation is a violation of the Constitution of the United States and brings down the Bible and every thing that it tries to teach us. This country is noted for freedom and equal rights to all men. What has happened to the freedom and equal rights in this country stands for is going to hell.
We know that you feel the same as we do about this crisis. If there is anything we can do to help, please write us and let us know.
L. H. J. S., C. H.
San Jose, Calif.
The reason that I write this is that it is fairly well apparent to a thinking person that the Democratic party is pretty much a war party. The Democrats were in power during World War I, World War II, and Korea. (I engaged in two campaigns in W.W.II and one campaign in Korea myself.) Whereas it is quite apparent that the Republican party is a party run by big business, for the benefit of the wealthy, at the expense of the poor. . . if you want to see what the Democrats have accomplished in the last twenty years visit about one hundred

Veterans Administration hospitals throughout the nation and you will see some of their primary accomplishments. . . . I voted Democrat in 1948 and ended up in Korea. . . I ended up being retired from the United States Marine Corps one hundred percent physically disabled. . . If you have no candidate for United States Representative of the Seventh Congressional District of the State of Missouri I might run on your ticket, providing you are agreeable, of course.
H. B. B.
Springfield, Mo.
"Full economic, political and social equality to the Negro people and to all other minority peoples. Solidarity with all mass actions of the embattled Negro freedom fighters. For the immediate enforcement and implementation of the Supreme Court decision against segregation. The above quotation is the section on Rights of Minorities in the Socialist Workers Party platform for the 1956 elections. Compare it with the so-called civil rights plank in the Democratic and Republican platforms. For a copy of the SWP platform write to Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

sidewalk or park by a hydrant—force—the arm of the law is there to penalize you. But the liberal capitalist politicians fore-swear any enforcement of what the U.S. Supreme Court has declared to be the constitutional rights of the Negro people.
At the Democratic convention, we saw the shameful sight of trade union officials and labor-hating white supremacists joining in support of Stevenson—Walter Reuther alongside Senator Eastland—on a platform that offers nothing to the Negro people.
What about the Republican plank on civil rights?
Those Negro leaders who counseled a break with the Democrats thought the Republicans would take advantage of the situation to adopt a strong civil rights plank. They were sadly disappointed. The Republican plank has no more real substance than that of the Democrats. American Big Business makes too much profit and is too closely tied up with the rulers of the South to speak out—even in campaign promises—against the Jim Crow system.
To advance their mutual interests, labor and the Negro people must break with both the Democrats and Republicans. The Socialist Workers Party calls on the labor movement to found a new party, a labor party, based on the unions in alliance with the Negro people and the working farmers. Such a party could establish a Workers and Farmers government that would rule in the interests of the working people and not for Big Business. Such a new party would legislate and enforce the full civil rights of the Negro people and all other minorities in the United States. In the coming national elections you can advance your interests only by supporting the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party — a party that works the year round for the full political, economic and social equality of the Negro people and all other racial or religious minorities.

On Nov. 6
Vote the Socialist Workers Party Ticket!
Farrell Dobbs for President
Myra T. Weiss for Vice-Pres.

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Letter from a Student To Farrell Dobbs

September 17, 1956

Dear Mr. Dobbs:
May I offer my humble congratulations and fervent support to you as presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party. I offer as well, myself and my sincere devotion to your cause and to the cause of the world-wide socialist movement. The socialist cause has already been served by two generations of my family and now I should like to serve in it as well. Since I am not eligible yet to vote I hope I can help in organizational and campaign work.

It is time, there is no doubt in my mind, for a new and more invigorating system of government. There exists today a great antagonism between the socialist movement and the so-called "free enterprise" administrations in government, a friction much greater today than at any previous time in our country's existence. The antagonism exists then essentially between the working people of America and the few, moneyed, privileged individuals who now control the United States government.

It is this privileged class that has imposed upon American society, a rigidity of class lines which makes a caste system inevitable; a caste system where money measures a man's worth in society. Because of the control of the press by these moneyed few the term free press has become obsolete. Press censorship for political reasons has become a commonplace thing today. Because of the centralization of the press in a few hands this has become a reality. These few have attempted to malign and exploit the American farmer, labor force, the unions and small business man. Today we can see an ever greater misuse in the South.

People ask why I am a socialist. I answer, "Because it is my greatest desire to see a healthy, free, equitable and beneficial society in America." I cannot recognize this country as a truly democratic nation while events such as have been going on in the South exist. I cannot recognize it as an equitable society while thousands starve and live in want and poverty and a few privileged souls spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on nonsense. Nor can I recognize it as a beneficial society when the few control the natural resources of every American individual for their own profit.

To be bound from just and equal access of material goods is bad, but in my mind, the stifling of intellectual freedom is an even more hideous deprivation. Therefore, where to turn? We know that no matter the label of the administration in Washington, the American people are to be deprived and connived of their share of the national earnings and liberties that are inherent in a democratic constitution.

A new and more invigorating system, then. A concerted socialist effort towards a free and equitable America. G. B. Shaw called it the social system of the future. The future has arrived.
Most sincerely,
P. L.
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

... Myra Tanner Weiss Speech ... Farrell Dobbs

(Continued from page 1)
of freedom the capitalists want is for Ford, General Motors and others to be free to make profits out of the labor of the Soviet workers as they now exploit workers in Britain, France, Japan, Canada, West Germany and the rest of the capitalist world. Let us not forget that eight million Russian casualties in World War II testified to the determination of the Soviet workers to prevent a return to capitalism. The Soviet people fought to keep their planned economy won in the revolution of 1917. They defended the Soviet Union despite all the crimes and oppression of Stalin's regime. Among all the underground organizations that fought Stalin and that still fight the Kremlin bureaucracy, there hasn't been one that advocated a return to capitalism. In the East German and Polish uprisings the workers demanded better living conditions and democracy but not a return to capitalism. The new stage in the Russian revolution has already destroyed the Stalin-myth and the lies that supported Stalin's police dictatorship. It is time we destroyed a few myths spread by the monopolized capitalist press in this country.

CHINA'S REVOLUTION
Let us start with China. From 1944 until 1949 the State Department pumped money and arms into China in the attempt to bolster up the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship. Could the people of China who had fought the Japanese invasion for more than ten years go back to the misery that was life under the hated Chiang Kai-shek? Chiang represented the ancient parasitic Chinese feudal landlords, money lenders and tax collectors. He also represented U.S. business interests. Sure, under Chiang, American capital was free to move into China, to make its profits, but China remained a backward nation. The expression "to work like a coolie" became a part of our language to describe labor in its most exploited form. When Chiang Kai-shek was in power, little girls were legally sold into marriage or into slavery by their parents. This is not true today. Women in China have won equality. As a matter of fact according to Reg Leonard, an Australian newspaper correspondent, women in China have even won equal pay for equal work. The labor movement in the United States has been trying unsuccessfully for years to get a bill passed in Congress so that American women would get equal pay for equal work. In this respect at least, China is more advanced than we are. Leonard also reported that in all the new factories there were clinics and rest rooms for pregnant women. Management said mothers had fifty-six days off with pay after the birth of a child. Women workers confirmed this.

Of all the struggles in the colonial world China alone won a comprehensive land reform — the basic problem of undeveloped nations. The land was taken from the ancient feudal lords. It was given to the peasants and is now being worked on a cooperative basis. The first steps have been taken to mechanize agricultural production. China is still a very backward nation, of course. But a genuine revolution has taken place. The bureaucratic regime of Mao Tse-tung will be disposed of in the further progress of this revolution. But the struggle of China to lift itself up from the bottom should win the sympathy and support of the American people, for we, too, had to fight, first Great Britain and then the Southern slaveholders, to become the materially advanced nation we are today.



MYRA TANNER WEISS, SWP candidate for Vice-President, is shown when she ran for Mayor of Los Angeles in 1953. Myra is a veteran socialist campaigner. She was candidate for Mayor three times in Los Angeles, twice candidate for Congress, a candidate for Board of Education and the 1952 Vice-Presidential candidate of the SWP.

British troops are rushed to the scene. What is at stake? The capitalist press doesn't even try to camouflage the real reason for the crisis. It is oil. Standard Oil of New Jersey, and other U.S., French and British companies are worried about their self-proclaimed right to grab the oil resources of the Middle-East. And it isn't even the oil itself that they're worried about — for that could always be purchased in trade — but the huge profits they make out of oil production.

Isn't it clear that when Big Business and its monopolized press talk about freedom they're talking about Rockefeller's freedom? Not ours, or the Arabs? If any sense could be made at all out of the State Department's "crusade for freedom" what could be said about U.S. support of Franco? In fascist Spain the workers have suffered for twenty years under the iron heel of this dictator. It is illegal for the workers to strike. Students are shot down in cold blood for daring to demonstrate for minor reforms. But U.S. capital is safe in Spain. Big military bases for the next war are underway in fascist Spain. And what about all the Latin American dictators that tyrannize their people? They grant big concessions to U.S. capital and these countries remain undeveloped, poor, disease-ridden and smothered in the embrace of their big neighbor to the North. Where is the "crusade for freedom" here? The Negro people in America are fighting for some of that much-touted freedom which the State Department is so anxious to export in war planes to other lands. When it comes to the demand for equality in this country the Democrats and Republicans are all for "moderation" and "gradualism" while the White Citizens Councils organize a reign of terror and literally get away with murder. Unemployed auto workers in Detroit get a taste of what freedom means to the powers that be when Eisenhower's aid told them, "The right to suffer is one of the joys of a free economy." Explode the billionaire government's myth and what is left? The fact that Big Business is desperately trying to preserve its outmoded system of capitalism. The industrial tycoons are still lords of this land, but almost everywhere else in the world their rule is shaking. The

(Continued from page 1)
ment, shoot Negroes and assault union organizers. That is why organized labor, together with the Negro people, and all believers in freedom have a direct stake in the battle for civil rights. The question remains: What can you do about it in the coming elections? The labor leaders, liberals, social-democrats and the Communist Party tell you to vote Democratic in November. Yet look at the recent Democratic Party convention and its shameful record on civil rights. The plank adopted does not even pay lip-service to the Supreme Court decisions against segregation. It ducks the issue so that it will not offend the Southern Democrats, the very people who are leading the vicious opposition against Negro rights. The sham battle put up by Northern liberals at the Democratic convention—a battle which lasted ten minutes—was designed to provide these same liberals with an alibi when they face the people in their own election districts. The amendment they proposed was little better than the plank that was adopted. They proposed to accept the Supreme Court decision but said not a word about enforcing it. Their plank did say, however, that they were against the desegregation decision. **RACISTS BACK STEVENSON** Every law in the land has force behind it. If you spit on the

colonial peoples are breaking through ancient barriers. The Soviet workers are tearing down the murderous regime that oppressed them in order to advance on the road to socialism. Long ago the workers of Europe, in their unions and political parties, expressed their hope for a socialist future. Capitalism is doomed. When the workers of America break from the capitalist parties and challenge Big Business on the political field as they did on the economic field during the union struggles of the Thirties, the corner will be turned. The workers of all lands will join hands and march in peace to abolish all poverty and war from the earth.

On Nov. 6
Vote the Socialist Workers Party Ticket!
Farrell Dobbs for President
Myra T. Weiss for Vice-Pres.

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 I would like more information about the Socialist Workers Party.
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Why Support for the Democrats by Reuther And the CP Helps Preserve White Supremacy

By Richard Fraser

[At present an intense discussion is going on in the ranks of the Communist Party as to why it has lost all influence in the Negro community. In the course of the discussion the CP leadership has presented the members with a "new look" program. We herewith print a section of a speech, delivered at a Socialist Workers Party forum in Seattle, in which the "new" position of the CP on the Negro struggle is analyzed. — Ed.]

A report from Texas in the June issue of Political Affairs [a magazine expressing the viewpoint of the Communist Party — Ed.] is entitled "The Defeat of Shivers." It leaves no doubt about whom the Communist Party supports in Texas: "Johnson's election over Shivers as the leader of the Texas delegation was a positive development within the context of the situation in Texas." Why? Because Senate Majority Leader Johnson's role "was to help register a major defeat to Shivers and the Dixiecrats."

In concluding the article states: "A most important aspect of the Shivers-Johnson campaign is that it serves, once again, to undermine the widely-held, but false, view that there exists a monolithic white South. . . A third lesson is that growing numbers of the Southern masses are learning to locate their main immediate political enemy, the Dixiecrats, and have already taken great strides in developing a movement capable of extinguishing this cancer from Southern life."

If the Dixiecrats are the "cancer of Southern life" in what respects do they differ from the so-called "moderates" like Johnson and Rayburn? Are the "moderates" for white supremacy? Not even the Communist Party denies that they are. Do they represent capitalist and plantation (interests which owe their profits to the super-exploitation of labor and the degradation of the Negroes? Of course they do.

What then is the difference between the Dixiecrats and the rest of the Southern politicians? Only the question of how to circumvent the Supreme Court decision against school segregation. The Dixiecrats are for open and avowed defiance of the decision. The others are for evading it.

The straw man of Dixiecratism as the "cancer of the South" is a fraud and a lie. The cancer of the South is white supremacy. The fundamental instrument of white supremacy in the South is the Democratic Party as a whole. The differences within the leadership of the Southern Democratic Party are tactical ones of how best to protect white supremacy. Johnson's tactic on the Supreme Court decision would keep the issue out of politics and thus contribute to the unity of the Democratic Party nationally. This brings us closer to the center of the question. The whole American capitalist class is vitally concerned in maintaining the unity of the Democratic Party, whether it wins or loses in the elections.

perform the nasty and humiliating task for the Democratic Party bosses of thwarting every effort of the Negro movement to assert its independence? Reuther knows that the break-up of the Democratic Party would impel the working class towards class consciousness and a revival of the class struggle on an extended scale. This would presage the end of the domination of the bureaucracy over the labor movement.

NEGROES HOLD KEY

The CP leaders are not interested in the radicalization of the American working class, but only in "peaceful coexistence." This international class collaboration, between the Kremlin and Washington, to which they are dedicated, requires the class-collaboration of the American workers with U.S. imperialism. This would be undermined if the labor movement broke away from the Democratic Party and began its own independent political party.

It is the Negro movement which at the present moment holds the key to the whole picture. If the Negroes should succeed in breaking away from the Democratic Party, large sections of the industrial working class in decisive sections of the country would be impelled to do likewise. The result would be the disintegration of the Democratic Party in its strategic Northern centers and its replacement by independent labor political action.

Foster, Dennis, Gates & Co. are thus presently engaged in a betrayal of the Negro struggle which is every bit as vicious as the betrayal under Browder during World War II. Then they condemned the Negro struggle for equality as sabotage of the "war effort." They joined all the reactionary forces of the country in witch-hunting the great March - on - Washington Movement, which won so much for the Negro workers.

There are, as I have said before, many reasons why the CP lost its influence in the Negro community. Among them is their bureaucratic approach to the theory of the Negro struggle, which has not been altered one bit by their recent dropping of the absurd slogan of "Self-Determination for the Black Belt." This will be discussed at another time.

However, on the basis of the record there can be no mystery of how and why all the long years of toil and struggle which the CP ranks gave to building an alliance between the CP and the Negro people have been dissipated in open betrayal of the Negro struggle by the CP national leadership. A betrayal which is going on right now through their role in trying to keep the Negro movement in the party of the Jim-Crow South.

Southern Democrats



A typical cross burning scene at Ku Klux Klan meeting place at Stone Mountain, Georgia, 15 miles from Atlanta. Cross burnings and other fascist threats and violence are rife throughout the South now as Southern Democratic leaders head the fight to maintain racial segregation.

How to Help

Among the letters printed on page two from people who heard the TV and radio speeches of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, is one from A.D. of Chicago. She asks, as do many others, how she can help in the campaign.

This is a very welcome question. Indeed, the letters and the questions are themselves a big help to the SWP campaign. They demonstrate to the hard-working candidates of the Socialist Workers Party and the many volunteer campaign workers that their efforts are worthwhile. That, despite what the skeptics and faint-hearts say, an important section of the American working people in all parts of the country are interested and, in many cases, inspired by hearing the truth for a change on the air waves. They prove, further that (despite ten years of witch hunting) working people are ready to examine the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

But the letter writers want to know how they can help further. There are many ways. Since this is an election campaign the most obvious way is to vote for Dobbs and Weiss where they are on the ballot and to write in their names where they are not. Letters have been received from every state of the South and, of course, in this section of the "democratic" U.S., large numbers of Negroes and poor white workers and farmers are prevented from voting. The former by sheer terror, the latter by poll-tax laws. For those who cannot vote, the spreading of the message of the SWP, must be the alternative. For this, after all, is the most important objective of the SWP in the present election. To get the truth about the situation in America and the world

to as many people as possible is the SWP aim.

You can help us in various ways to get the truth about school segregation, the war danger, economic injustice, and all the other social ills whose only cure is socialism. If you belong to any labor, progressive or leftist organizations you can present the program of the SWP and ask that they invite Dobbs or Weiss to appear before them.

You can educate your friends and fellow workers on the job or in your neighborhood about the issues in the campaign and solicit their support for the SWP. The SWP campaign headquarters will supply you with platforms and other literature to help in this effort.

To send the candidates on speaking tours, to mail out free literature — to do all the things necessary to spread the SWP message — requires money. The SWP has no millionaire angels as do the Democrats and Republicans. It's very modest funds are all contributed in small amounts by hard-working people. The more money it gets, the more it can do in this campaign. All contributions, no matter how small, are a tremendous help.

The greatest aid you can give, is to give yourself. That is dedicate yourself to the only historically justified "crusade" in America today. That is the crusade against capitalist injustice in all its multifarious forms — economic, racial, social — and for a world of peace, equality and justice. This is no mere election crusade — it is a year-round campaign. You join it by joining the Socialist Workers Party. Write and ask about the SWP's principles and policies. Visit the SWP headquarters and talk it over.

Liberalism in the Suez Crisis

The nationalization of the Suez canal by Egypt has brought forth a torrent of statements warning against the "destructive nationalism" of the Egyptian people. The latest voice to join this chorus is the Council of the Liberal International which met in Stresa, Italy last week.

While admitting that the "anti-colonial movement had been inspired by their own principles," reports the Sept. 15 New York Times, these European liberal leaders have decided that "nationalism in Africa and the East is a threat to peace and economic progress." They now consider it their "duty to try to convince the newly independent nations that excessive nationalism does not pay."

To justify this admitted abandonment of their often avowed principles, the liberals attempt to identify the anti-imperialist nationalist struggles of the colonial people with the pro-imperialist nationalism of Hitler and Mussolini. This is the same sort of logic that leads American liberals to accuse American Negroes who are militantly fighting Jim Crow of "extremism."

The reason for the liberals' stand is that they are defenders of British, French and U.S. capitalism. This capitalism is dependent upon imperialist exploitation of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It cannot tolerate the spread of what used to be traditional capitalist freedoms, including the right to national self-determination.

And no wonder. For nationalist struggles in the three exploited continents — symbolized currently by the Suez Canal nationalization — are, in the first place struggles against imperialist domination and control.

There is nothing destructive about this movement. On the contrary, the Suez crisis has already revealed the tremendous progressive developments inherent in these struggles. Primary among these is that the Arab masses have entered the political arena. These impoverished masses understand that the first thing they must do to improve their lot is to get rid of the imperialist yoke. (The average income in Egypt is less than \$100 a year according to the Sept. 20 Reporter magazine.)

Liberals are fond of the argument that these "backward areas" need British, U.S. and French investments to develop their economies. However, such investments have precisely the opposite effect. Imperialist corporations invest in these countries to extract minerals and agricultural

products, mainly oil and cotton, for processing in the advanced countries. The imperialists find their only native support for this destructive robbery among the most backward native elements — the feudal landowners and puppet Arab chieftains. These elements use their share of the imperialist profits to maintain their brutal repressive apparatus and resist all social change.

So far the leadership of the movement for national independence is in the hands of the Egyptian capitalist class which had its main growth during World War II, and wants more elbow room for itself. Nasser is its spokesman.

Even under this leadership, however, a deep gap has been opened up between the masses on the one hand and the traditional feudal despots on the other — between all that is archaic in the Arab world and all the forces striving for reconstruction along modern lines.

A number of Arab despots "particularly those of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, and Lebanon," reports the Sept. 15 Christian Science Monitor, "are believed to deplore the way Colonel Nasser is rousing the excited nationalism of the Arab populaces whom these leaders govern. . . Nasser has created potentially dangerous conditions for the leaders who are required to keep the emotionalism of their peoples within safe bounds."

The real power behind the nationalist movement, the wave upon which Nasser is now riding, is the movement of the masses to make real social progress. This means the distribution of the feudal land-holdings to the landless peasants, the development of native industries and the raising of the standard of living.

The Egyptian capitalist class does not dare go beyond a few reforms in these realms. The government nationalized the Suez Canal and deserves the most complete support for this act by every class-conscious worker. But it dare not expropriate all foreign holdings nor dispossess the landowning class. It is too closely tied to the landowners and too dependent on foreign capital. Wage increases, too, threaten the profits of Egyptian capitalists.

A further division within the national liberation forces is therefore inevitable. Only the working class at the head of the other oppressed masses and in opposition to the native capitalists can carry the movement through, and solve the economic and social problems necessary for the modernization of these countries. This can only be accomplished through the socialist reorganization of society.

These nationalist struggles are the first step of the Arab masses on their road to the socialist revolution. It is a sign of the epoch of capitalist decay in which we now live that struggles for the traditional democratic rights of national independence and freedom are abandoned by liberals and championed by revolutionary socialists.

WANT LABOR CAPTIVE

This is the greatest fear of the American capitalist class. As long as the working class is under Wall Street's direct control, in the sense that it is in a capitalist party coalition, Wall Street yet has time to prepare its future course — toward World War III, destruction of the colonial revolutions, Red China and the Soviet Union. Right now Wall Street needs time to reorganize its forces, and the continued captivity of the working class in the Democratic party will give it that time.

The American capitalist class is quite willing to place the Dixiecrats in the back seat for a while in order to maintain the basic unity of the Democratic Party. It was for this reason that Wall Street so demonstratively shifted its weight in Texas away from Shivers.

In this uneasy coalition known as the Democratic Party, the Northern Negroes are the only real present danger to unity. The Negro leadership receives no recognition in the upper councils of the party. Every section of the Democratic Party must be compromised with and catered to — except the Negro. Sufficient concessions must be given only to the white allies of the Negroes — to the liberals and the labor fakery. This gives them a foundation to blackmail and blackmail the Negroes into line, as Mrs. Roosevelt did with NAACP head Roy Wilkins.

Why are Walter Reuther and the CP leaders so willing to

SWP Letter to Editor Of the Monthly Review

[For previous correspondence between the SWP election campaign manager and the editors of Monthly Review please consult the May 21-28, 1956 issues of the Militant. — Ed.]

Dear Mr. Huberman:

Election day is now but a month and a half off. In the March issue of Monthly Review you wrote that you would not vote for a capitalist candidate but would support one of the socialist parties even though you had criticism of each of them. Subsequently we solicited your support for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. We still solicit your support and also request the opportunity of presenting the case for supporting the SWP in your magazine.

In your letter in the March MR you listed four possible alternatives. One of these, the Communist Party, is running no ticket but supporting the Democratic Party, and thus we presume is now ruled out of consideration.

In connection with the SP we note the correspondence of David Reynolds (MR, September) correcting a statement made by us in March that the Socialist Party would not run candidates. That statement, disproved by events, was made in good faith on the basis of information then available. This included not only statements by SP members but the fact that the dates for filing petitions to get on the ballot had

closed in a number of key states without any attempt by the SP to get on the ballot.

The belated decision of the SP convention to present a presidential slate limits the party to a write-in campaign with the possibility of getting on the ballot in some states where petitions may be collected late in the campaign. This is not intended to disparage the SP campaign. Indeed because of the harsh and discriminatory ballot laws, all minority parties, even those which bend every effort to get on the ballot, will have to conduct write-in campaigns in some states where it is virtually impossible to get on the ballot.

The fact that the SP is running a slate is no grounds, however, for socialist-minded workers to extend support to it. As you correctly stated in your letter to Joan R., in the March MR, the SP is "socialist in name only." Its support for the Korean war and endorsement of the government screening program in employment (see the SP's 1956 platform) are such gross violations of socialist principle as to rule the Socialist Party out of consideration by any genuine opponent of the capitalist system.

As I pointed out in a previous letter, the Socialist Labor Party's "neutrality" as between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet bloc as well as its refusal to support union struggles in the United States, should remove it from support by active fighters in

labor's battles.

We do wish to urge your further scrutiny and reexamination of the Socialist Workers Party. Might we add that a number of those approaching the election with much the same considerations you have — determination not to vote for a capitalist ticket but for a socialist ticket — have after carefully considering all the alternatives, announced for the SWP. Among these are Vincent Hallinan, the 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party and Clifford T. McAvoy, American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York City in 1954.

Hallinan, McAvoy and others who have announced for the SWP have made it clear that they are not in full agreement with its program. However, they have singled out those key issues which distinguish the SWP from the SP and SLP and which should be decisive for choosing it in this election. These are: (1) opposition to every phase of the witch hunt and defense of all its victims, and (2) opposition to U.S. imperialism's diplomatic maneuvers and military threats against the colonial revolution, China and the Soviet Union.

Trusting that you will give consideration to the arguments presented above and hoping that you will vote for Dobbs and Weiss, I am,

Fraternally, Art Sharon SWP Campaign Manager

World Events

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, through its press chief, Leonid F. Ilyichev, has finally acknowledged charges against it of anti-Semitism which appeared last April in Folksstime, Jewish-language newspaper published in Warsaw. But rather than seriously answer the charges, the press chief passed them off as "slandorous and anti-Soviet."

This was rebuked by Freiheit, Jewish-language newspaper in New York, which reprinted the original charges from Poland. Freiheit, which presents the viewpoint of the Communist Party, pointed out that it was only one of many pro-Soviet newspapers that had reprinted the Folksstime charges. Freiheit, in taking sharp issue with the press chief, pointed out that "it was not alone individual Jewish victims, but the entire Yiddish culture that was liquidated."

LEADERS OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY (CP) are reported engaged in a bitter internal struggle, says Sydney Gruson, writing in the Sept. 17 New York Times. Poland's political, economic and social development and relations with the USSR are the issues in dispute. One group, pressing for more reforms is led by Premier Cyrankiewicz and Edward Ochab, the party's First Secretary. It is described as the Center-Left faction. The Right faction is reportedly led by Lieut. Gen. Kasimierz Witaskowski, chief of the Army's propaganda and political education section. Last June's general strikes and demonstration in Poznan brought the two groups in open skirmishing, says Gruson.

ECHOES OF THE SUEZ CRISIS are felt at the Panama Canal in what the Sept. 16 N.Y. Times describes as "a radical upsurge of nationalism that is manifesting itself in general bitterness toward the United States over the Panama Canal." The deterioration of the U.S. position there is illustrated by the current wage dispute between Panamanian canal workers and U.S. officials. Under the pressure of Panamanian merchants the U.S. is closing its commissaries to Panamanian canal workers as of Jan. 1. Panamanian workers have responded by demanding

wage increases to cover the resulting increase in their cost of living. U.S. flat refusal to consider these demands has set off another round of protests.

JAPAN'S STRONGEST LABOR ORGANIZATION reveals what the Sept. 8 Christian Science Monitor describes as "an alarming shift toward the left in Japanese organized labor." The three - million - member Sohyo (General Council of Japanese Trade Unions) at its annual convention rejected a proposal forbidding "joint struggles" together with the Communist Party. The convention also rejected a resolution for closer ties to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is dominated by top AFL-CIO officials working closely with the U.S. State Department. Instead, the convention voted for support to a group of unions in Africa and Asia that includes the Chinese Communist Federation of Labor. The Monitor notes a "steady stream" of the Sohyo's members travelling to China. Those returning, he states, "are convinced that communism is the best answer for Japan."

Youngstown

Hear MYRA TANNER WEISS SWP Candidate for Vice-President Speak on: 'Why American Workers Need a Labor Party' Friday, Sept. 28 - 8 P.M. Youngstown Hotel Shrine Room

Newark

Hear Daniel Roberts Candidate for Congress, 12th District "ISSUES IN THE 1956 ELECTIONS" Sat., Sept. 29 - 8:30 P.M. 52 Market Street Second Floor

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What Unionists Can Do On Civil Rights

(The author is Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-President. The following is a portion of a speech she gave Sept. 15 over CBS-TV. It is an addition to the text of the broadcast as printed in last week's Militant.)

The Negro people in the South must not be left to fight for justice alone. It is the duty of the organized labor movement throughout the country to come to their aid. If the White Citizens Councils—who hate unions as much as they hate Negroes—are permitted to dominate the South, the promised campaign of the AFL-CIO to organize Southern workers, white and black, will be defeated in advance.

The very same rulers of the South who perpetuate the Jim Crow system, also maintain the union-busting, so-called right-to-work laws, the open shop, low wages and sub-standard working conditions. The very same sheriffs and cops who brutally maltreat Negroes are ready to do the same to union organizers and picket lines.

Low living standards which mean a shorter life-span for both Negroes and whites in the South drag down wage standards all over the country. The power of reactionary Southern congressmen in the federal government is the mainstay of all the anti-labor laws, like the Taft-Hartley Act. Social legislation like an increased minimum wage and increased social security are blocked by the reactionary Southern Democrats as well as by the Republicans.

For progress on the political field, the labor movement must defeat the racists in the South. This campaign must begin at once. The combined labor movement has great financial power. It could use some of these funds to go on the air in the South, over TV and radio, to fight the racist propaganda of the White Citizens Councils. Union organizers from every International could aid their brothers and sisters in the South, they could

become a rallying center for all Negro and white workers who want to fight together for better wages and working conditions for all instead of fighting each other.

There are many things each of you can do to help in this great struggle for freedom. First, you can introduce a resolution in your union meeting asking that the union organizing drive in the South be started at once. Tell the top labor officials: Instead of aping the rich with big salaries and trips to the Florida beaches, they should do what they are supposed to do: that is, organize the unorganized. Secondly, you can send financial help, yes and station wagons, too, to Montgomery and Tallahassee for those who are walking for freedom rather than ride buses where they are segregated and insulted every day of their lives. A reporter asked a Negro woman in Montgomery if so much walking didn't make her feet tired. She eloquently replied: "For many years my soul was tired. Now my feet are tired but my soul is free."

The Longshoremans on the West Coast sent a thousand dollars to Montgomery to aid their oppressed brothers. Such solidarity among working people is inspiring and should be emulated by everyone.

And finally, I want to say, that this fight above all else is a political struggle. To win it, labor must stop searching among capitalist parties for a so-called lesser evil—a candidate or a party that isn't quite as bad as the other one. Labor should have a party of its own, independent of the millionaires. A party that will represent the interests of the majority of Americans—those who work for a living, the working farmers, the Negro people and other oppressed minorities.

Until such a party is built, until such a party has taken power and organized a workers and farmers government there can be no real peace, prosperity, freedom and justice in this land.

Movie Portrays Witch Hunt

By Trent Hutter

In the last two years the witch-hunt has been slowly ebbing, although it still isn't dead and buried—far from it. Yet the general atmosphere is somewhat changed for the better; the public's reaction against the most rabid forms of witch-hunting has certainly become stronger, and this is also reflected in the movie industry's return to a greater number of realistic pictures. "Official" Hollywood had been more afraid to touch scripts dealing with "controversial" present day problems as long as the witch-hunt was at its peak.

Now, for the first time, one of the major American studios (Columbia Pictures) has released a motion picture on the witch-hunt itself. The authors, Daniel Taradash and Elick Moll, deserve credit for having written the script when McCarthyism was rampant—and not after its defeat. But the Stanley Kramer Company, which acquired the story, did not use it. The company probably was afraid; and when it left Columbia it sold the script to the studio. A few years after it had been written, "Storm Center" was finally produced by Taradash's and Julian Blaustein's Phoenix Productions in the framework of Columbia Pictures.

Bette Davis, who was to play the role of a witch-hunted librarian, quickly agreed to leave her semi-retirement in Portland, Maine—and shows once again how great an actress she really is! The other actors are excellent, too: Kim Hunter, Kevin Coughlin (a ten-year-old boy), Brian Keith, Paul Kelly, Joe Mantell (who was Ernest Borgnine's false friend in "Marty") and Sally Brophy.

Many scenes were filmed on location in a small town 400 miles north of Hollywood; for Blaustein wanted to set the story in an "anonymous" American town. It's a story that could have happened—and basically did happen (in various versions)—anywhere in the U.S. In fact, it can still happen today.

New York

TV Listening Party!
MYRA TANNER WEISS
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Vice-President
NBC-TV (WRCA)
Sunday, Sept. 23
12 Noon to 12:15
116 University Place

PUBLIC MEETING

Hear
George Lavan
"THE STRUGGLE
FOR SCHOOL
DESEGREGATION"
Fri., Sept. 28 — 8 P.M.
1316 University Place

A small-town librarian is asked by the City Council to remove a communist book from the library's shelves. (The authors mistake Stalinism for communism throughout the story.) She is anti-communist and dislikes the book, but after giving in at the first moment, she feels that her strong liberal principles do not allow her to have any book banned. A McCarthy-type politician on the Council, trying to use the incident in order to foster his career, confronts her with a list of Stalinist front organizations to which she donated some money during World War II. He wants to play the role of the anti-communist hero liberating the town from dangerous influences . . . and to become a Congressman that way.

Alicia, the librarian, does not capitulate. She is fired. Some of the Councilmen vote for this measure reluctantly—but they, too, vote for it because their fear of being branded "pro-communists" by the McCarthyites is greater than their liberalism or their personal regard for Alicia whom they have known for many years. The various types of reactionary and pseudo-liberal bourgeois politicians represented by the Councilmen are very ably depicted indeed.

A defense meeting for Alicia is called by the Protestant minister; but few show up and a majority of these is relieved when she renounces the struggle, while the minister realizes this to be a mistake. The fear, which was already present before one of the Councilmen discovered the communist book—the authors ineptly call it "The Communist Dream" with a Russian-sounding name in the byline), now spreads rapidly; and those who know perfectly well that Alicia is no "dangerous subversive" fear the fear.

BURNING IDEAS

The witch-hunt is linked to a strong anti-intellectual current. "Storm Center" makes this point quite clear. The children, whom Alicia likes so much and who used to like her, turn away from the "suspect" their minds poisoned by the witch-hunt atmosphere and their parents' anti-"red" scare—until the most sensitive (rather hysterical) little boy of them all, whose former adoration of Alicia and interest in the library's books for children have turned into violent hatred under the influence of his anti-intellectual father and of the general wave of insanity, sets fire to the library.

The books are burning. But the local witch-hunt's peak provokes a deep shock. The Mayor and the Councilmen ask Alicia to take up her job again. Perhaps their regrets come a little too quickly to be convincing: The

authors of "Storm Center" apparently want us to believe that the non-McCarthyite City Fathers at least, who so miserably failed when it was necessary to defend our traditional liberties against a minority of two particularly vicious colleagues, are still worthy of their fellow-citizens' trust and will do better the next time. We don't think so.

But we go along with Alicia when the Mayor asks her "to help us rebuild the library" and she answers: "I have no intention of leaving. I'm party responsible for this. I didn't fight back, as my friends wanted, and as I should have done. (Now I'm going to stay and help to rebuild the library if I have to do it with my bare hands. And if anybody ever again tries to remove a book from it, he'll have to do it over my dead body.)"

Although the authors completely ignore the difference between Stalinism and communism, denouncing communism for the characteristic features not of communism, but of counter-revolutionary, totalitarian Stalinism; although they want us to believe in the thoroughness of the cowardly politicians' conversion, the picture is a remarkably good one. For on the whole, it paints a true picture of the witch-hunt's psychology, mechanism, standard-bearers and accomplices.

A COSTLY ERROR

The library is a fine symbol of intellectual and cultural values. And Alicia, the librarian, is not a typical Hollywood heroine, a stern, moralizing preacher who never falters, but a human being with human weaknesses. At first, she is almost ready to make a deal with the City Council and reluctantly agrees to remove the book. A few hours later, after doing a lot of thinking, she fully realizes the enormity of the City Council's demand and courageously takes a stand. Yet, when she sees how fear makes many people abandon her, she tries to retire quietly into private life—without changing her principled position but also without actively fighting for it, without even trying to appeal to public opinion. This is a big mistake which only increases the witch-hunt's effect and the witch-hunters' arrogance—a mistake she finally understands when a neurotic boy's mind has been so perverted that he burns the books he used to cherish. The library on fire is a symbol of the witch-hunt's consequences and the ultimate warning signal for the community.

"Storm Center" is a picture that has something to say about the U.S. of the Forties and Fifties and about freedom in general. It is undoubtedly an important picture—a picture you must see.

Defend Victims of Smith Act! Says SWP Senate Candidate

By Joyce Cowley

SWP Candidate for U.S. Senate from New York

Kentucky Officials Cancel Integration at Clay, Sturgis

By George Lavan

SEPT. 18 — The State of Kentucky has given in to the white-supremacist mob in the town of Clay. Not only has it given in, but high officials including Governor

Chandler and the State Superintendent of Education have aided the racist officials in Clay in devising the legal trickery by which the Negro children who had been accepted in the school for a week have now been thrown out.

The formula was an opinion of the Kentucky Atty General that the Negro children were illegally in the school. The Webster County School Board thereupon ruled that the Negro children must leave the Clay school and go to a Jim-Crow school in Providence, Kentucky. This order was read to the four Negro children and their parents on the school steps yesterday. Mrs. James Gordon, mother of two of the four children and the one who instituted the attempt to have the Clay school accept the Supreme Court ruling, then escorted the children back through the lines of National Guardsmen and rejoicing white supremacists.

STURGIS BOYCOTT

The immediate effect of the successful return to segregation at the Clay school was to rekindle the anti-integration movement in Sturgis, Kentucky. This is where the first mob action against school integration in Kentucky took place. The arrival of the National Guard made possible the attendance of seven Negro students. White supremacists called a boycott which soon petered out. By Friday, Sept. 14, 241 white students out of a total enrollment of 275 were attending school with their Negro classmates.

However, it became known on

the weekend that white supremacists in Clay were going to win through connivance with high state officials what they had been unable to win by mob action, namely the exclusion of Negro children. This gave heart to the racists of Sturgis. They saw that the battle they had already lost could now be won. All that was needed was sufficient pressure.

Agitation and threats resulted in resumption of the school boycott Monday. 75 white students attended. Today, local and state officials cooked up the same formula to expel eight Negro students from the Sturgis school.

Such capitulation by the State of Kentucky to the racists can start a wave of white-supremacist boycotts and riots at already integrated schools. Undoubtedly the White Citizens Council in Clinton, Tennessee, has taken heart and learned lessons from the events in Clay. If desegregation in reverse gets going it could even result in disturbances in Louisville where integration has, up to now, proceeded without difficulty.

In Sequin, Texas, a six-foot cross was burned in front of the high school. It bore the inscription: "We don't want N-ers (KKK) in Sequin schools." Six Negro students attended the high school.

Another cross-burning took place in Mobile, Alabama, where a courageous white woman attempted to enroll her 12-year-old Negro foster daughter in a white school. A motorcade of men in 18 cars placed the almost 15-foot-high cross in her driveway.

I vigorously protest the conviction and sentences imposed Sept. 17 upon the six leaders of the Communist Party in the Foley Square trial. The Smith Act under which they were convicted is a violation of freedom of speech and the First Amendment of the United States Constitution which says: "Congress shall pass no laws abridging . . . the freedom of speech."

My opposition to their conviction is based upon the belief that we must fight for the civil liberties of all minorities. I am in profound disagreement with the policy of the leaders of the Communist Party which I consider a political betrayal of the working people of this country and of the rank and file of the CP itself. By supporting the Democrats in the present election campaign they are joining the labor bureaucrats in an attempt to prevent the independent political action of the working class, and they are deserting the Negro people in their courageous struggle. They are actually supporting the political machine which is responsible for the witch hunt and for their own persecution and conviction.

ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN

It was a Democratic President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who signed the Smith Act and first applied it against the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party, who went to jail during World War II. It was a Democratic president, Harry Truman, who first invoked the Smith Act against the Communist Party. The Democratic Party controlled the 84th Congress which only last spring made the penalties under the Smith Act even more severe.

The Republican Party shares the responsibility for the witch hunt because they have always cooperated with the Democrats and during their own administration attempted to outdo them in

their vigorous persecution of anyone suspected of leftist tendencies.

Neither party in its election platform says anything at all about repealing any of the witch-hunt measures. The conviction of scores of Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act and other witch-hunt legislation has thus far gone unchallenged by the main section of the labor and Negro movements. The responsibility for this criminal failure to defend the civil liberties of a persecuted section of the working class movement lies with the officials of the unions and Negro organizations.

Ironically, these officials follow the same policy of political support to the capitalist politicians as the CP leaders. One of the worst consequences of this political policy has been to legitimize the practice of labor officials joining in capitalist-sponsored witch hunts against a radical minority.

CLASS SOLIDARITY

There was a time when the American labor movement was imbued with the principle of working class solidarity in the face of capitalist class attacks on the civil liberties of any section of the movement. The principle of "all for one and one for all" prevailed. Whatever the

political differences between various groups in the labor movement, the entire organized working class united to defend all victims of capitalist injustice.

It's high time we returned to this basic principle. Part of the struggle to emancipate labor from political bondage to capitalist politics is the struggle to reintroduce the unbreakable rule: No scabbing in the fight for civil liberties!

That is why our political disagreement with the policies of the Communist Party leadership can in no way slacken our efforts to defend them against persecution under the Smith Act. Differences within the workers' movement must be fought out within the working class and not by red-baiting or closing ones eyes to the witch hunt.

The six men who have just been sentenced should receive the support of the entire labor movement, of all supporters of civil liberties and all radicals. All of us must work to have these convictions reversed, for the release of the other imprisoned victims and for the repeal of the Smith Act itself which is a threat to the civil liberties of every man and woman in this country and to every labor and minority organization.

Hallinan's Support of Dobbs Makes Impact

By Art Sharon

SWP Campaign Manager

The Socialist Workers campaign headquarters is being flooded by mail as a result of the TV and radio broadcasts of Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss. (See page two.)

The office staff and corps of volunteer helpers are hard put to answer all the letters and to mail out the requested copies of the SWP's 1956 election platform. And it looks as if there is no relief in sight. More, and still more, broadcasts are scheduled.

It is not only in the campaign headquarters that the impact of the fighting socialist speeches of the SWP banner bearers is being felt. From the field there are reports of these speeches being discussed on the floor of NAACP meetings and in college classrooms.

HALLINAN CAUSES STIR

The other big news is the repercussion in leftist and labor circles of Vincent Hallinan's endorsement of the SWP ticket. This action of the 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party has been a major topic of conversation in West Coast radical circles. The tremor has, in fact, been felt as far east as New York where it reinforces the impact earlier made by the similar action of former American Labor Party leader, Clifford T. McAvoy.

Farrell Dobbs began his national speaking tour in Los Angeles on Sept. 14. A large and spirited audience turned out to hear the SWP Presidential candidate speak on "Labor and the 1956 Elections" at the Embassy Auditorium. Heavy applause greeted his concluding appeal for all those desiring a socialist America to support the SWP ticket. "This doesn't require agreement on every single point," he said, "but it can serve notice that a sizeable number of citizens want a decisive break with capitalist politics and a turn to independent working class political action." In Los Angeles, Dobbs also spoke to an audience of 140 at the banquet of the West Coast Vacation School.

The SWP campaigners in Los Angeles are stepping up their activities. In addition to raising funds, they are putting out an election newsheet called the SWP Campaigner. Three issues have appeared so far. It is distributed and mailed to numerous contacts. Other work includes sending of speakers to other organizations. For example, on Sept. 3, Errol Banks addressed

the Westside Jewish Community Center on behalf of Dobbs and Weiss.

CHICAGO RALLY

On the same night that Farrell Dobbs was addressing an election rally in Los Angeles, his running mate, Myra Tanner Weiss, was speaking to a similar meeting in Chicago. The announcement that Vincent Hallinan had come in support of the SWP met with enthusiastic applause. Howard Mayhew, SWP Congressional candidate in the 2nd Illinois District, briefly reviewed his party's battle in 1952, 1954 and now in 1956 to get on the ballot.

In addition to radio and TV speeches, press conferences, and appearances at social affairs, the SWP Vice-Presidential candidate did some old-fashioned soap-boxing while in Chicago. The audience at an afternoon open-air meeting addressed by her was so interested that it prolonged the question and discussion period till after dark.

Mrs. Weiss will campaign in Youngstown, Sept. 27-28; Cleveland, Sept. 29; Akron, Sept. 30; Buffalo, Oct. 3-4.

The word from Minnesota is that the petition campaign to put Dobbs and Weiss on the ballot there is off to a flying start. In the first six days 1,800 signatures were obtained. Only 2,000 are legally required but the SWP campaigners intend to clinch it with a minimum of 2,500. Plans are underway for Dobbs' visit to his old home town. Tentative arrangements include an election rally at the Labor Temple in Minneapolis, another rally in the Negro community of St. Paul, and appearances before the Central Labor Union, student organizations, etc. He will be in the Twin Cities, Oct. 2-6.

Socialist Answer to War Won Joyce Cowley to SWP

Not only the class struggle in America, but the international class struggle, shaped Joyce Cowley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York, into a fighter for socialism.

Joyce Cowley was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey on Aug. 3, 1914. It was a symbolic date for the entry of a child into the modern capitalist world for it was the very day on which World War I broke out in Europe.

Her first interest in politics came during her first year of high school. The Sacco-Vanzetti case was in the headlines. Puzzled by the determination of the State of Massachusetts to execute these men and the worldwide campaign to save them, she went to the library and read everything she could find on the case. The result was that at this early age she became a firm champion of civil liberties and a hater of injustice.

Joyce Cowley was of the generation that left school to hunt jobs during the depths of the depression. After long periods of heartbreaking search and temporary jobs, she found permanent work in an office at the salary of \$15 a week.

The sum total of her reading and experience had made her socialist-minded. She had supported Norman Thomas during election campaigns. She was sympathetic to the new society in the Soviet Union where there were no bosses, depression or unemployment. Like so many others then, she had no realization that the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union, instead of carrying out the aims of the generation that left school to hunt jobs during the depths of the depression, she found permanent work in an office at the salary of \$15 a week.

Posessing an adventurous spirit, she decided in 1932 to go to Europe to study. She took her savings and a small inheritance and embarked for France. In those days with stringent economy and a small appetite one could live for \$30 a month in Paris. Later she went



JOYCE COWLEY

to study in Berlin where German friends had invited her to stay with them.

She arrived in Berlin the day after Hitler came to power. For three months she had a front-row seat for the advent of fascism and what it did to the labor movement. She witnessed the anti-Jewish campaigns, the book-burnings, Reichstag Fire and other crimes of the Nazis.

The family she was staying with belonged to the German Communist Party. She was bewildered by their acceptance of the official Stalinist line that not the Nazis, but the Social Democrats, were the main enemy. "Give Hitler enough rope and he'll hang himself," Hitler will last three months, then we'll come to power" were the official party slogans which they parroted. She was dismayed by the failure of either the powerful Communist Party or the Social Democrats to fight. Instead these organizations with millions of members passively allowed themselves to be cut to pieces and destroyed by the still weak Nazi regime.

Finally the head of the household where she was staying, an editor and himself a Communist was arrested. On her return from Europe

Mrs. Cowley became the business manager of the Modern Monthly, an independent left magazine in New York, politically close to the Socialist Party. Its roster of editors and contributors included most of the luminaries of the non-Stalinist left wing. They all pledged opposition to another imperialist war. But when World War II did come, almost to a man, they became supporters of it or lapsed into silence.

For Joyce Cowley the war question was uppermost. For some time she had known of the Socialist Workers Party and the writings of Trotsky. Now, however, she saw that it alone remained true to its anti-war principles. That decided her. She joined the SWP.

Since then she has been an active party member, a militant trade unionist and a prolific writer and educator. She has worked in a shoe factory, where she belonged to the CIO United Shoe Workers; as an aircraft worker in Seattle, where she belonged to the AFL International Association of Machinists. There she participated in the five-month strike of 1948. She was an outstanding, faithful picket and member of the coffee detail and was backlisted.

As an educator she has given courses and written, in the Militant and International Socialist Review, on U.S. labor history, the position of women in industry and juvenile delinquency. She was drawn to these latter subjects as a working mother and because of her disgust with the reactionary, ignorant tirades of the popular press, judges and sociologists who blamed the post-war wave of juvenile delinquency on working mothers.

Corrections

Farrell Dobbs' radio speech, "Our Country's Real Allies," printed in last week's issue was given over ABC-Radio, not NBC-Radio, as it was erroneously listed. Myra Tanner Weiss' speech, "Desegregate Now!" was given over CBS-TV only, and not CBS-TV and Radio.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

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