

Dobbs on TV Explains Need for Labor Party

Flays GOP and Democrats for Atom War Plans

(Text of acceptance speech by Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for U.S. President, given over CBS-TV on Sept. 8. It will be repeated over CBS-Radio, Tuesday, Sept. 11, at 10:45-11 P.M. EDT.)

The key issue in national politics today is the need for the unions to launch an independent labor party in opposition to both the Democratic and Republican parties. This political step is urgently needed to prevent the capitalists from plunging the country into an atomic war.

In accepting nomination as the Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I will undertake to explain why the class realities of American society require the workers to take the road of independent political action.

There are two basic social classes, the capitalists and the workers. The nation's industries and banking system have been made the private property of the capitalist class. Through their stranglehold on the national economy the capitalists run the government, regulate public information, control public education and dominate cultural life.

Politically they impose their basic policies on both the Republican and Democratic parties, permitting them to disagree only on side issues where vital capitalist interests are not at stake. These minor issues are used by the two capitalist parties to run a political sideshow to delude people into thinking they have some actual voice in shaping the government.

The Road of Liberals

The capitalists are now using their monopoly control over the major parties to prepare a war of world conquest. They are conducting a witch hunt against all who oppose the imperialist foreign policy. They are preparing to make the working people finance the war through ultimate cuts in real wages and social benefits.

In contrast to the capitalists, the workers are virtually propertyless as a class, owning at most a home, an automobile or other necessities. Their class ties arise from mutual dependence on wage labor to earn a livelihood. Potentially the workers are more powerful than the capitalists. They are stronger numerically and are capable of dynamic action because of their concentration into compact bodies within industry. Once they break with capitalist ideas in politics the workers will emerge as the greatest social force in the nation.

The class struggle in industry has taught the workers to look upon the capitalists as an enemy class at the union level. But they have yet to realize that the capitalist politicians they confront in government are all class agents of the very capitalists against whom they must struggle on the job. Above all they are deceived by the liberal politicians who cleverly pose as friends of labor.

Liberalism is a capitalist reform tendency arising out of the middle class. Included in this class formation are managers, professional people, small businessmen and similar elements. They seek political reforms to curb the power of the big monopolies but basically they support the capitalist system. As a class they are incapable of opposing Big Business rule without political leadership from the workers.

Such are the class origins of the liberal politicians who attract labor support by proposing capitalist reforms. Their chief characteristic, however, is their fundamental support of capitalism on all vital issues. Let us examine their record.

Henry Wallace is a liberal, a former New Dealer who headed the Progressive Party ticket in the 1948 elections. Although Wallace is no longer prominent in politics, his record is instructive. In 1948 he campaigned for office on a promise to oppose war. When Truman launched the



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Democrats Blamed by SWP Slate for Racist Atrocities



Stevenson Scored For His Silence While in the South

The following statement was issued jointly on Labor Day by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for President and Vice-President:

Stevenson and Kefauver drove through Clinton, Tennessee, in a motorcade on the third day of the racist rioting aimed at driving the Negro school children out of the newly integrated high school. The failure of the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President to make any gesture or utter any word in Clinton or anywhere else during their trip below the Mason-Dixon line in condemnation of the white supremacists or in support of the Negro students shows, not only their own lack of devotion to the principle of human equality, but the iron grip of the Dixiecrats on the Democratic Party.

The reactionary leaders of the Southern Democratic Party who, led by the Governor of Mississippi, had gathered in Tennessee to honor Stevenson and Kefauver and promise them "a solid South" on election day are no less guilty than the racist hoodlums in Clinton, Tenn. and Mansfield, Texas.

NO THREAT TO THEM

What sort of work did the Southern Democratic leaders temporarily leave when they went to Knoxville to greet Stevenson and his running mate? In Alabama they have just pushed through amendments to the state constitution to evade desegregation in schools or public parks. Similar legislation is being prepared in Virginia and North Carolina.

The Southern Democratic leaders know that Stevenson and Kefauver are no threat to their white-supremacy rule either as leaders of the Democratic Party or as President and Vice-President of the U.S. That is why they are solidly behind the Democratic ticket.

The pitifully small amount of school desegregation being undertaken on this third school opening since the Supreme Court decision, as well as the increasing boldness and self-confidence

of the white-supremacist mobs, shows that much of the original legal and moral advantage of the Supreme Court decision has already been lost by advocates of desegregation.

The fault lies not with the Negro people, whose heroic young students in Clinton, Tenn., symbolize, no less than do the adults of Montgomery, their courage in this fight. The fault lies with the leaders of the Negro and labor organizations. Their policy of subservience to Big Business rule in America has led them to let things drift, hoping the school decision would enforce itself through the courts. They refused to mobilize the

(See Editorial on Eisenhower's role, page 3, and story on page 4.)

power inherent in the organized labor movement and the Negro masses for a bold strategy and militant tactics equal to the task of desegregation.

Most treacherous of all, the labor bureaucracy has bound the labor movement in a political coalition with the Democratic Party liberals, who in turn — as Stevenson and Kefauver's behavior so amply demonstrates — are bound in coalition with the Dixiecrats.

The first point in a program that can organize and desegregate the South is for labor and the Negro people to break out of the Democratic Party prison house into which their leaders have led them and where they are under the political control of the Southern white-supremacists and labor-haters.

We are campaigning in this election for such a program of working class independence from the Big Business parties as the only means of realizing the complete economic and political equality of all peoples. In November, Vote SWP!

invasion of Korea, Wallace showed his fundamental loyalty to capitalism by supporting what proved to be the most unpopular war our country has seen.

Senator Hubert Humphrey is a liberal Democrat. In 1954 he joined with Senator Butler, a right-wing Republican, to push through a measure against the Communist Party which outlawed a political party for the first time in American history. The same Humphrey-Butler law set the stage for a witch hunt against the unions. Two unions have already been attacked as "subversive," the United Electrical Workers and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

The liberal politicians voted as a body in support of the Humphrey-Butler law.

They backed Truman in the Korean war and all of them support the present foreign policy of the capitalist government. As defenders of private property rights in industry and finance, the liberals wind up on the side of monopoly capitalism on all vital issues.

The union officials go along with the liberals in supporting the imperialist foreign policy. They hope to get in return a few capitalist concessions to appease the union membership. Their policy, which fails completely to meet the needs of the workers, flows from their social position as privileged bureaucrats.

What Road for Labor Faction?

As every worker knows, the union officials enjoy living standards superior to those of the union rank and file. They draw salaries well above the workers take-home pay. They lead a soft life compared to the strain and exhaustion of labor on the production lines.

These special privileges have given the union heads a middle class mentality. Not living under conditions like those the workers face, they fail to think like workers. Instead they think more like liberal capitalists. To help them see things straight, the union bureaucrats need to be put back on the production lines for a refresher course in the facts of working class life.

The workers find themselves in a contradictory political position. The capitalist assault on labor has been deepening ever since the beginning of the cold war. It becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish any difference between Republican and Democratic policies on important issues. Yet the labor leaders continue to stimulate hope that the unions can act through the Democratic Party to reverse the anti-labor trend.

This contradiction is giving rise to a new political development among the workers. They show a tendency to vote as a class in choosing between capitalist politicians and to intervene in capitalist politics as a labor faction. This signifies they are beginning to understand their own social power if they act politically as a class. It also marks

a growing realization of the need to use their class power politically if they are to secure favorable action at the government level.

These things the workers are learning for themselves despite the false policies of the union officials. If they were given class-struggle leadership, as their fundamental interests require, the way could soon be prepared for a political advance to an independent labor party.

Yet it is precisely at this moment that the Communist Party leaders have gone all-out to help the union officials keep the workers tied to capitalist politics. In the name of "co-existence" they aim to push for a deal between the Kremlin bureaucrats and the capitalist government in Washington. Their chief bargaining point is to demonstrate that the Communist Party will sabotage anti-capitalist political trends. Their method is to promote illusions that war can be prevented through the Democratic Party if mass pressure is exerted to influence its policy.

The recent Democratic convention put the line of the union officials and Communist Party leaders to the acid test of political reality. Some 200 union bureaucrats went to the convention as delegates. They operated in a bloc with Negro delegates and liberal politicians in an attempt to shape the election platform.

Since this bloc joined with the right wing in support of the imperialist foreign policy, it is not surprising that the Democratic platform called for stepping up the war preparations. On other key issues the labor-Negro-liberal bloc was run over by the right-wing steamroller. They got little more than a meaningless renewal of the long-standing pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, a promise the Democrats promptly forget after each election.

The Stevenson forces laughed at Walter Reuther's threat that they couldn't have both labor and Senator Eastland, the Dixiecrat leader. They lined up with the Dixiecrats in opposition to any promise to enforce the Supreme Court decision against segregation. Reuther responded by helping to maneuver the Presidential nomination for Stevenson.

People who work for a living can't solve their problems in a capitalist swamp like the Democratic Party. The Negro people can't win their civil rights; nor can the capitalist drive toward war be stopped through the Democrats or Republicans.

If war is to be prevented, living standards protected, democracy safeguarded and civil rights won by the Negro people, a labor party must be formed—a party based on the unions and embracing the Negro people and working farmers. Its aim must be to replace the capitalist government with a workers and farmers government.

In the coming elections you will have a chance to serve notice on the union officials to get out of capitalist politics and organize a labor party. You can serve such notice by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

SWP Candidates On Radio and TV

Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP Candidates for President and Vice-President, will give their acceptance speeches over the following radio and TV national networks:

Farrell Dobbs Schedule

CBS-TV: Saturday, September 8 — 6:45 to 7 P.M.
CBS-Radio: Tuesday, September 11 — 10:45 to 11 P.M.
(Except in New York State where the broadcast will be heard, September 15, 10:45 to 11 P.M.)
NBC-TV: Saturday, September 15 — 5 to 5:15 P.M.
NBC-Radio: Tuesday, September 11 — 10:15 to 10:30 P.M.

Myra Tanner Weiss Schedule

CBS-TV: Saturday, September 15 — 6:30 to 6:45 P.M.
CBS-Radio: Saturday, September 15 — 10:45 to 11 P.M.

Farrell Dobbs and Myra T. Weiss Schedule

ABC-Radio: Thursday, September 13 — 9 to 9:25 P.M.
ABC-TV: Thursday, September 20 — 10 to 10:30 P.M.

— All times given are Eastern Daylight Time —

Check Station and time in your locality
Watch for announcements of other broadcasts

The 'Great Cleavage' in the CP

By Morris Stein and Harry Ring

The discussion in the American Communist Party which was sparked by the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP last February is distinguished by an absence of any serious contributions by the Party's central leadership. In all the voluminous writings in the Daily Worker, Party Voice, etc., one finds an occasional article by Wm. Z. Foster, mostly aimed at stifling the discussion, but that is all.

The failure of the top leadership to participate with the ranks in a genuinely democratic discussion of the causes and solution for the crisis which now grips the party has become one of the major grievances of the Party membership. (See article in Sept. 3 Militant). The ranks had hoped that with the collapse of the Stalin myth there would be a new kind of regime and that the junior Stalins in the American party would mend their ways. They looked to an end of petty dictators barking orders to the membership.

The discussion reveals that the ranks are awakening to their elementary rights. They want a voice in determining the policies of an organization to which they have devoted their lives. They want to participate in the election of the men to whom they are to entrust the leadership of the party. And throughout they are demonstrating that they want an expression of confidence in them from the leaders before they extend confidence to the leaders.

TWO PARTIES

These sentiments are graphically expressed in a letter from the Communist Party steel workers in the Gary, Ind., area published in The Worker, Sept. 2. Describing the shameful state of the inner-party regime, it says in part: "... for the past many years there has been an absence of conventions, of democratic selection of leading people, of the ability of the members to disagree, and most important of all, an absence of leaders consulting with the comrades of the branches and learning from these comrades who are in daily contact with the people.

"From where we sit, we see a cleavage in thinking between the full time leadership and the rank and file which is so great as to give us in effect two parties."

The problem of how to overcome the cleavage between the bureaucratic leadership and the ranks, one of the dominant themes of the whole discussion, is the concluding point in the steel workers letter. "Some of our comrades say frankly that we need a complete overhauling of our present leadership. ... Most of us feel, however, that organizational changes must be made first. ... We feel that some of the present leaders can adjust to the new thinking but many will not. Those who are so

steeped in the bureaucratic methods that they cannot change cannot be allowed to continue in leadership."

That the leadership is intent on maintaining the "cleavage" between itself and the ranks and still hopes to cheat the membership of the right to participate in a meaningful way in settling party policy is demonstrated by the National Committee meeting which concluded in New York, Aug. 26.

FOSTER'S EXPLANATION

As is now widely known, the National Committee has been split three ways. The Foster group, to the extent that it can, is standing pat. It claims that the primary reason for the Party's isolation is the objective situation (cold war, witch hunt, prosperity, etc.). It dragged its feet on admitting Stalin's crimes or the crimes and blunders it committed in this country as a result of carrying out his line.

Those around Gates and Max of the Daily Worker staff ascribe the party crisis to the slavishly uncritical acceptance of the Kremlin line. Dennis stands cautiously in the middle, borrowing a bit from both viewpoints. Yet with three positions on the main questions confronting the party, a draft resolution, according to the Aug. 28 Daily Worker, has already been agreed upon. The Worker reports that this preliminary draft has been turned over to a committee "to consider the various points of view and amendments advanced in the meeting." The National Committee will meet again in mid-September to vote on the final draft and then present it to the membership for discussion, with action on the resolution scheduled for the national convention which will be held Feb. 9-12, 1957.

The Worker also reports that the National Committee will "make known the trend of the discussion" in the Committee and that "individual party leaders will make known whatever differences they may have with the resolution."

'THE SUMMARY'

From the description of this very elaborate procedure it is clear that the committee's main concern is to patch together a resolution that would hide the differences and make it possible once again to confront the membership at the convention in "united" fashion.

A pre-convention discussion will be held. The members will have the opportunity to blow off steam. Some individual leaders may voice their "criticisms." Then delegates to the convention will be confronted with a single resolution.

What will happen when the

resolution comes up for action? We can get an anticipation from an article by Robert Mann in the June Party Voice. He explains the phenomenon of the "summary." He writes: "We're all familiar with the summation. A meeting takes place. A report is delivered. ... Controversy over the report may be sharp. ... After the discussion is finished the reporter will 'sum up.' ... If he is totally objective, he will try to synthesize the discussion ... or indicate the approach which seems to be the majority point of view. Or he will merely repeat what he said in the first place. In any case, the meeting will be left ... [with], at worst, a sterile debate and at best a general awareness of agreement unsupported by any specific action of the participants."

When three distinct viewpoints are covered over in a single resolution, the "summary" is the only way to deal with the problem. The membership will discuss. The "summation" will be made by the reporter. And then the members will once again be left with the choice — either vote for the resolution or vote with your feet by leaving in disgust.

NOT A SOLUTION

The convention also will probably make some changes in the statutes of the organization to meet the demands for an end to the bureaucratic setup. But none of this can resolve the division in the leadership or establish the confidence of the ranks in the leadership. And it certainly cannot overcome the Party's isolation.

The demand of the previously quoted Gary steel workers for an overhauling of the leadership expresses in the main the sentiment of the rank and file throughout the country. The hostility to the leadership is general in the party and it is of course justified. The membership has been abused and intimidated for many years. It has genuine grievances to settle with the arrogant and unprincipled men heading their party. But can the party, as such, be rehabilitated by merely removing some of the most despised leaders, by a change in the organizational procedures in one respect or another?

The answer should be self-evident. The problem of the terrible bureaucratization of the American Communist Party is not a "national" one. The identical process of bureaucratization has taken place in the Communist parties throughout the world as the result of their total domination by Stalin. Such a development was inevitable.

In order for Stalin to convert the Communist International into a pliant tool of the foreign policy of the Kremlin bureaucracy it was necessary to destroy not only its Leninist program-

matic foundations but the inner-democracy of the national parties as well. A democratic movement cannot serve a bureaucratic master.

The Gary steel workers aptly describe "the cleavage in thinking between the full time leadership and the rank and file, which is so great as to give us in effect two parties." This cleavage is the product of the conflicts in interests of a bureaucracy which owes its position of power not to the party ranks, but to the masters in the Kremlin. This is why the problem of bureaucratism in the American CP cannot be solved without an understanding of the problem of bureaucratism in the Soviet Union.

Within the Soviet Union, the same cleavage exists but in a qualitatively more profound way. There the division is between a bureaucratic caste which has usurped political power from the masses and built a police state rule in order to protect the enormous material privileges which they wrested for themselves at the expense of the masses.

The surest sign that the leadership of the American CP has no intention to reform itself is that it stubbornly refuses to undertake an analysis of the relations in the Soviet Union which produced 30 years of Stalinist tyranny and which corrupted the world Communist movement.

The discussion thus far has revolved around the question of whether the present crisis is the result of objective conditions or of the mistakes of the leadership. While Foster blames the objective conditions his critics attribute the present isolation of the Party to the "left sectarianism" which they claim prevailed since Foster took the helm after the downfall of Browder. Neither group has undertaken an examination of the responsibility of Stalinism as a political system for the present condition of the party.

SUPPORT SOVIET WORKERS

Stalinist tyranny in the Soviet Union, which both the capitalist propagandists and the leadership of the CP identified with socialism, has done more to alienate the workers from socialism and to isolate the Communist Party than all the capitalist with hunting and blundering tactics of the Party leaders combined. And this is true not only of America.

Internationally the crimes of Stalinism have done incalculable damage to the very idea of socialism among the workers. They have served to keep the anti-Soviet Social Democracy alive. A clean break with the Kremlin bureaucracy and the open championing of the Soviet workers in their struggle against the bureaucracy is therefore test number one for a change of the

Communist Party in a revolutionary direction.

But that section of the leadership which today is attempting to shake off the curse of the Party's reputation as an agency of the Kremlin either by protestations of "independence" or by open abandonment of Leninism certainly does not have the answer. Nor will it accomplish any genuinely socialist aim by shouting from the roof tops that the October Revolution was a purely "Russian" experience which has no validity for the United States.

The great historic significance of the Russian Revolution lies in the fact that it is the first stage in the world socialist revolution. Without grasping this fact it is impossible to understand the objective situation in the U.S., which cannot be explained in national terms. By the same token it is impossible to outline the perspectives of a revolutionary party in the U.S.

The Russian Revolution was the first great verification of Marxist theory and it had a profound effect on socialist regroupment throughout the world.

In this country it accomplished the first major regroupment of the radical workers movement. Association with the Soviet Union when Lenin and Trotsky stood at its head was not a curse but major political capital. The young Communist party in this country emerged as the dominant section of the radical movement, winning to its banner

many of the best cadres of the IWW and the Socialist Party of Debs, precisely because it stood on the program of the Russian Revolution.

The millstone around the necks of the present CP leaders is not association with the Russian Revolution but the fact of their service to its treacherous negation — the Stalinist counter-revolutionary caste. This blot can never be wiped from their record.

While the present discussion reveals the pent-up desires of the ranks for a thoroughgoing discussion of all issues, it must be noted that it also shows that the long years of Stalinist practices have thwarted the political development of the Party's ranks along Marxist lines. Most of the contributions to the present discussion are distinguished by a pre-occupation with organizational questions and problems of tactics in the mass movement. These are important, legitimate questions, but derivative ones.

It is the basic political line from which these problems flow that must now be grappled with. Such major questions as the degeneration of the first workers state, the line of "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist world and such derivatives of that line as "coalition" politics (support of capitalist parties), must become the subject of searching examination. It is only on that plane that the fundamental solution to the crisis can be found.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
CLEVELAND	\$350	\$352	101%
ALLENTOWN	85	85	100
BOSTON	500	500	100
BUFFALO	1,760	1,760	100
CHICAGO	1,560	1,560	100
DETROIT	825	825	100
LOS ANGELES	3,300	3,300	100
MILWAUKEE	250	250	100
NEWARK	200	200	100
NEW YORK	4,000	4,000	100
PHILADELPHIA	400	400	100
SAN FRANCISCO	650	650	100
SEATTLE	300	300	100
TWIN CITIES	1,320	1,320	100
YOUNGSTOWN	250	250	100
Oakland	200	180	90
St. Louis	85	55	65
Akron	140	85	61
General		270	
Totals	\$16,175	\$16,342	101%

101 Percent

We publish above the last scoreboard in the Socialist Campaign Fund. As we indicated last week, when the fund went over the top, we are extremely gratified with its success. Scores of socialist militants sacrificed to make the success possible. We extend to them our congratulations for a job well done.

On the American scene, the principles of revolutionary socialism are under attack within the radical movements as never before. There is a flight from anything connected with Leninism, even in name, and a search for some vague kind of purely "American Socialism."

Our Socialist Campaign fund will be used to counter the flight from revolutionary socialism with basic works making available the authentic Marxist-Leninist teachings on the problem of this epoch. We have already begun with publications by Pioneer Publishers of James P. Cannon's pamphlet, *The IWW — The Great Anticipation*. Needed reprints of basic works by Leon Trotsky will also be made available. You who have contributed so generously have done your share. Now we will do ours.

Guillotine, Hostage Killing Mark Algeria French Rule

By George Lavan

(The following is part of an interview with a French socialist and active trade unionist who is well acquainted with the movement of the Algerian people for independence.)

Question: Are the stories about terrible French repression and reprisals in Algeria true or are they the usual wartime atrocity stories?

Answer: I don't know what stories you have in mind but there is an unbelievably barbarous repression being carried out by the French military and police in Algeria.

Some 15,000 Algerians are in prison. This includes almost all the known leaders and militants of the Messalist movement [the Algerian National Movement, so-called after its leader Messali Hadj]. The prisons are overflowing and in the concentration camps there are old men and women of 70 and 80 years as well as children from five to 15.

Everyone in Algeria knows of the infamous prison called the Villa of Birds where the methods of torture perfected by the Nazi Gestapo are practised on the Algerian independence fighters. This torture includes the most bestial cruelties with water, electric shock, etc. Many have died under the torture. Most die without turning informer.

Q: Haven't there also been public executions?

A: Yes, at least ten Algerians have been guillotined in the past few months by the Social-Democratic government of Premier Guy Mollet. Instead of decreasing the terrorism, the executions have caused it to spread. On the day after the guillotining of three in Algiers a big wave of terrorist acts occurred.

"SHOT WHILE ESCAPING"

In addition to the publicized executions there are almost daily unofficial executions. Usually when guerrilla fighters are captured by the French troops they are shot. The standard formula is "shot trying to escape." This is done not only to guerrillas but to those arrested on suspicion of sympathizing with the rebels. One well-known case took place in the city of Tlemcen. An Algerian doctor was arrested and "shot trying to escape." — they said he tried to run from them. Some teachers in France who knew him began a protest. They made public the fact that he was a cripple — 80% disabled and could at best walk slowly and that only with the aid of canes.

In another city ten prominent Algerians were arrested as hostages. When they were brought to the jail there was no room for them. So they were put in a truck with a police escort to be taken elsewhere. En route the police escort killed all ten. Is it any wonder that in Algeria the police are called the French Gestapo?

Q: Don't these repressions of the French imperialists affect only those active in the independence movement or those whom the French police and military mistakenly believe are active?

A: Not at all. The repression is not only against the militants of the independence movement but against the whole Algerian people. This is because the imperialists know the Algerian people are almost wholly in sympathy or support of the movement. Consequently collective repression and mass terror are the official policy.

PUNISHING WHOLE TOWNS

In the villages where the peasants are believed to have given money, food, etc. to the guerrillas the French police or troops shoot the villagers in the fields. When a French soldier is killed, hostages are taken from the nearest village and shot.

In one village all the people were ordered to assemble in the main square where they were guarded while soldiers and police went through every house smashing everything in them.

In another, the people were assembled and an old man of 70 was forced to undress, dance naked before them and shout "Vive La France," then the police selected ten men at random, marched them to a ditch and shot them there. In still another place the women were so afraid that they took their children and crowded into the mosque — a Moslem church — hoping there to have sanctuary. But the French officers ordered the church machine-gunned. Also there have been mass deportations of whole villages.

ACT LIKE NAZIS

Q: Aren't these collective repressions similar to those carried out by the Nazis during the Occupation in several French villages?

A: Of course. The Algerians even put out a pamphlet addressed to the French people calling up the memory of Oradour sur Glane, which was martyred by the Nazis. The pamphlet said: "You French people have pious memories of Oradour sur Glane, but it is necessary for you to know that the Algerian people have suffered thousands of such Oradours."

Q: Are these facts known in France?

A: More and more is known but the French government tries to prevent such news from reaching the French public.

For example, the newspaper of the French Trotskyists, *La Verite*, has been seized by the police during the past year on an average of about twice a month. This is because of its uncompromising opposition to the Algerian War and because it prints the forbidden articles and manifestos of the Algerian National Movement. Other working class tendencies opposed to the Algerian War, such as the Anar-

chists, have also suffered much persecution.

ARRESTS IN FRANCE

Journalists who tell the true facts about the situation in Algeria are persecuted. Thus Claude Bourdet, editor of the well-known weekly magazine *France Observateur*, was arrested and at first concealed in various prisons where his friends couldn't find him. A famous hero of the Resistance, his arrest caused such a public outcry that the government was forced to release him.

Another case in which public pressure forced the government to back down involved a Catholic writer of the University of Paris. He wrote an article in the conservative newspaper *Le Monde* saying his "Christian conscience" compelled him to protest the events in Algeria. The article was quite moderate. Yet the police raided his home declaring he must have in his possession the illegal publications of Algerian independence movement. They found none but he was charged with conspiring against the security of the state.

Finally there is the case of Claude Gerard, a famous hero of the Resistance, the only woman who was a chief of the maquis. She was a member of the MRP, the Catholic party, which has the biggest following among the reactionary French settlers in Algeria. After the war she was given a high post in the government and went to Madagascar. There she witnessed the terrible massacre of 60,000 by which the French government crushed the independence movement after the war. This honest woman was so affected that she swore to devote the rest

of her life to aiding the independence movements of all colonial peoples.

She came to know the movement led by Messali Hadj and recently visited areas in Algeria controlled by the independence movement. She wrote an article in *France Observateur* describing what she had seen and said that Messali was the symbol of Algerian independence. Though back in France, an indictment against her was handed down by a judge in Algiers. This was especially ominous because arrest in France is one thing. In Algiers it means torture. The public protests were so great that the government hastily brought charges against her in Paris thus preventing her transfer to the torture chambers of the French regime in Algeria.

To get the background on the present conflict in the

MIDDLE EAST

You Must Read:
Egypt — A People Rising
By Abu Hashim
42 pages 25c.

The Algerian Revolution
By Messali Hadj
11 pages 10c.

Middle East at the Cross Roads
By T. Cliff
24 pages 15c.

Order from
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116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

World Events

ITALIAN SOCIALIST merger negotiations between the Right-Wing party headed by Giuseppe Saragat and the so called Left-Wing party headed by Pietro Nenni, have run into a snag. Nenni, an ally of the Stalinists, has been moving away from them since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union. Right wingers expected Nenni to accept the anti-Soviet Atlantic Pact and to denounce his "unity of action pact" with the Italian Communist Party. Nenni, however, has called for a "neutralist" role for Italy in the cold war, and refuses to denounce the CP unity pact outright, saying it should be allowed to lapse quietly.

EGYPT'S RECOGNITION OF CHINA "played a very prominent role" in the decision of the U.S. State Department to withdraw the offer to aid Egypt in Building the Aswan High Dam project which precipitated the Suez crisis, according to Simon Malley in the September 6 Reporter Magazine. This act convinced Dulles that the U.S. was unable to stringe Egyptian policies through straits attached to its "Point Four" aid, and the aid was withdrawn, with a harsh statement about the instability of the Egyptian economy.

Malley also describes the July 26 meeting in Alexandria where Nasser announced the decision to nationalize the Suez Canal. Hundreds of thousands of Egyptians crowded into the huge central square of Alexandria on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Egyptian revolution. All the foreign diplomatic missions were in attendance. The crowds kept shouting "Long live

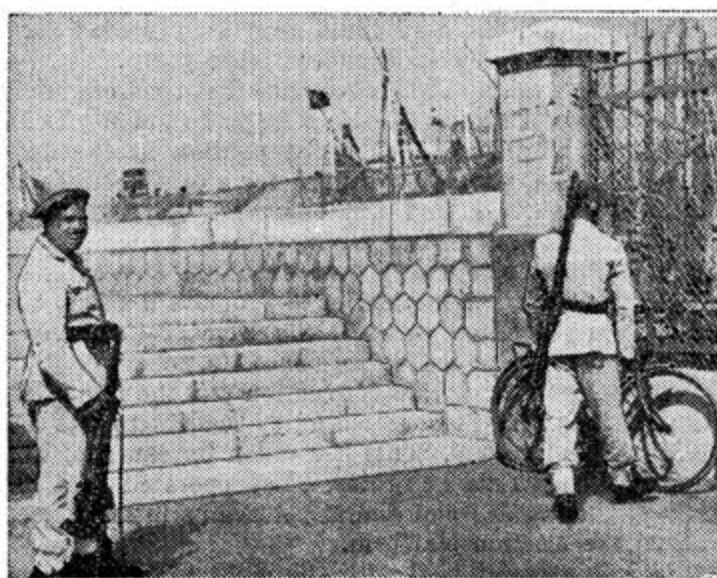
the struggle for independence!" "Down with imperialism!"

Nasser began by reviewing the threats made by the U.S. government because of her role at the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations and because of the Czechoslovak arms deal. Finally, at the end of his three-and-a-half hour speech he announced the decision on Suez. "Hundreds of thousands of Egyptians roared, shouted, kissed each other, threw their fezzes in the air, laughed and cried," says Malley. "The foreign diplomats were stunned. Dazed, they remained seated for several moments while the crowd took up its slogans again stronger than ever."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S work week will be reduced from 48 to 46 hours beginning Oct. 1, but "output norms" will be tightened up to compensate for the shorter hours, according to an announcement by Premier Vilam Siroky.

CHINESE WOMEN liberated by the revolution are "Chinese communism's most formidable force," according to an Australian newsman, Reg Leonard, of the Melbourne Herald writing from Canton August 13. He says the decree granting complete equality to women is strictly enforced by women's organizations. "In every farming co-operative a woman is either director or deputy director. They have responsible positions in industry and commerce. They have equal voting rights with men. ... In all the new factories this correspondent saw, there were clinics and rest rooms for pregnant women. Management said mothers had fifty-six days off

Egypt's Troops Guard Suez



Regular troops such as those shown above guarding the Suez Canal have been augmented by militia volunteers — including women — and formed into a National Liberation Army. Meanwhile, last week, the British imperialists increased its troop contingent on Cyprus — a colony 250 miles away from the Canal. French troops, too, were garrisoned on Cyprus in a new armed threat against Egypt.

with pay after the birth of a child. Women workers confirmed this. "Arranged" marriages have been eliminated and divorce made automatic upon consent of both parties and presentation of proof that the children will be provided for, says Leonard. "China's women are generally happy in their new life of equality," he reports. "They seem to prefer today's status to the restraints and inferiority that might come with restoration of the old order."

MOROCCO'S INFLATION and widespread unemployment are behind a deep political crisis in the North African semi-colony of France. A rift has developed between Sultan Mohammed V, and the largest party in Morocco's coalition government, the Is-

tigial (Independence) party, which seeks to eliminate French influence. French imperialism was forced to grant a measure of political independence to Morocco earlier this year, but still garrisons French troops there and maintains ownership of much of the nation's economy. The Sultan's supporters have taken a conciliatory attitude toward France to obtain French support against the Moroccan masses demanding economic planning and social reforms along with complete national independence. The Istigial party itself is reportedly split between a "moderate" faction which wants to maintain the coalition with the Sultan, and a "Cairo-oriented" faction which is pressing for continuation of the national revolution.

Principles Have Shaped His Life

By John Thayer

The life of Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, and that of Eugene V. Debs have many points in common. Both were native products of the American working class, both became socialists in the class struggle, both organized many thousands of workers into unions, both went to prison for their socialist anti-war convictions, and both were repeatedly chosen by socialists as candidate for President.

Like Debs, Dobbs comes from the Middle West. Born in 1907 in Queen City, Missouri, he grew up and went to school in Minneapolis, Minn. After graduation from high school, he tried various jobs, finally working steadily for Western Electric. He became a highly skilled worker and travelled all over the Middle West installing long-distance telephone and telegraph transmission equipment. He was made foreman and was marked for promotion to the managerial and executive stratum of the corporation. At this point, however, Dobbs began to feel a dissatisfaction with his Horatio Alger-like career.

In conferences with the department executives he began to learn things about company-worker relationships that rubbed him the wrong way. His social conscience rebelled at such prac-



CARL SKOGLUND

tices as the planned firing of an elderly worker in order to save the company paying the pension that would soon be due him. Though he had not as yet come in contact with socialist ideas he was obviously not made of the stuff required of an American businessman or corporation executive. He already believed that working people had rights. Consequently he quit his job.

The early days of the great depression of the 1930's found Dobbs working in a Minneapolis coal yard to support his wife and three children. It was here that he made his first contact with militant trade unionists. Quietly and carefully building union sentiment in the coal yards was a group of men who were destined soon to lead a series of strikes that would transform Minneapolis from one of the worst open-shop cities in America to the best organized city in the country. Outstanding among these were Carl Skoglund, the Dunne brothers — Vincent, Grant and Miles — and Oscar Coover.

These men — all of an older generation than Dobbs — were not only militant trade unionists but veterans of the socialist movement. Some had backgrounds in the IWW and the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs' day. All had been expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for resisting the spread of Stalinism to the American party. They had founded in Minneapolis a branch of the Trotskyist movement which was later to become the Socialist Workers Party.

Their union organizing drive in the depths of the depression was an inspiration to the whole American working class. First they organized the coal yards, and while the employers association was still rubbing its eyes

and wondering how unionism could have raised its head in their hitherto anti-labor fortress, a whirlwind campaign was already underway to organize every truck driver in Minneapolis.

Dobbs was in the midst of the coal yard strike and the organizing campaign. His militancy and ability brought him close to the Trotskyist spearhead of the movement and his education in the hectic days of 1933-1934 included not only practical union-building but socialism as well.

The great showdown between Minneapolis labor and the bosses came in two strikes in the summer of 1934. Farrell Dobbs played a leading role in these battles that made international news. Not only did they establish unionism in Minneapolis for once and all but they set a new high for militancy and brilliant strategy for American labor. The workers met and defeated not only the bosses, the police, an army of deputized vigilantes and the national guard — they licked them at every turn and won the support of large sections of Minneapolis' middle class and the farmers of the state in the process.

The Minneapolis strike victories, to which Dobbs contributed so much, had an incalculable effect on the morale of the American workers that was soon to prove itself in the crusade that built the CIO. Labor students still turn to the Minneapolis strikes as models of leadership, democracy and militancy. An excellent account of them as well as a biographical sketch of Dobbs and other strike leaders may be found in a sociological study of Minneapolis by Charles Rumford Walker entitled *American City*.

After the definitive victory of the teamsters' union in Minneapolis, Dobbs was occupied with the work of organizing the unorganized, first in Minneapolis, and then in wider and wider circles in the Middle West. His organizing abilities were so marked that the national bureaucracy of the Teamsters Union, which had at first expelled the militant Minneapolis Teamsters local and, this proving unavailing, had finally returned their charter, made Dobbs an international organizer. In this post he led a pioneer drive to organize the over-the-road drivers of 12 states. This drive was completely successful and resulted in 1938 in the organization of 250,000 Mid-West truckdrivers and the establishment of a uniform contract.

A recent issue (June) of *Fortune* Magazine, the favorite journal of big businessmen and



Farrell Dobbs (right) and Harry DeBoer, an organizer of Teamsters Local 544 at a recess during the Minneapolis trials. DeBoer participated in the Over-the-Road organizing drive and was convicted along with Dobbs and 16 other SWP Local 544 leaders under the Smith Act.

executives, contains an analysis of the union movement today. In it the Teamsters Union is discussed and Dobbs' record referred to as follows: "Two men built the contemporary Teamsters Union, and their tactics will form the pattern for the organizing campaigns in the next years. One, whose name has been erased from teamster histories, was a Minneapolis Trotskyite named Farrell Dobbs who had an acute sense of labor strategy. He it was who first clearly realized that the key to teamster power lay in organizing the 'over-the-road' drivers who haul between cities. By declaring 'embargoes' on cargoes coming from non-union areas, the teamsters besieged and finally organized many recalcitrant centers."

The other man to whom the *Fortune* author credits the building of the Teamsters Union is Dave Beck, now president of the union. Suffice it to say that Beck stands for almost everything in the labor movement that Dobbs is opposed to. Instead of organizing the workers, he prefers to organize the bosses via "sweetheart agreements."

Dobbs gave up his well-paid job with the Teamsters in 1940 to become National Labor Secretary of the SWP. When the

union bureaucracy and the Roosevelt administration, as a preparation for entry into World War II, began its campaign to rid the unions of anti-war elements, the leaders of the SWP and of the Minneapolis teamsters movement were arrested and convicted in the first use of the Smith Act. Dobbs was one of the 18 sent to prison for their socialist ideas.

Today Dobbs is National Secretary of the SWP. He has held other posts such as that of editor of *The Militant*. First picked as SWP Presidential candidate in 1948, he has been renominated both in 1952 and 1956.



VINCENT R. DUNNE

On Tour



MYRA TANNER WEISS
SWP Vice-Presidential
Candidate

break with its class enemy in politics! The Negro people must ally themselves with labor in this break.

Reuther, despite his loud talk prior to the Democratic convention, showed that he can live in the same party as Eastland, but the working people and the Negro people are accumulating plenty of evidence that it is they who will have to pay the bill for such coexistence."

Myra Weiss remarked that "an important function of our campaign is to provide an avenue for the expression of protest against the political policy of the labor officials. Workers, Negro and white, who feel that the time has come to take the independent path of building a labor party can register their feeling by voting SWP."

APPEAL TO RADICALS

"This avenue for expression of anti-capitalist sentiment," she added, "is open, not only to workers who are first approaching radical conclusions, but for those in the radical movement itself, Communists, socialists and former members of the Progressive Party."

Speaking from the experience of her national tour earlier this

You Too Can Speak Out!

There has been a gratifying response to our appeal for financial aid to the Socialist Workers Party election campaign fund. What has been most gratifying is the fact that the contributions have been accompanied by requests for more information on the SWP, offers to help in the campaign and applications for membership.

One friend added his own category to the blank and requested a bundle of five Militants to distribute to his friends. He writes, "I have found several people who are interested in receiving a copy of your paper. So here's hoping I can get a few more votes for Mr. Dobbs this November."

We feel this is your chance to do something you can be proud of. These days working people who know the truth about capi-

talism rarely get a chance to strike an effective blow for socialism. Often they are compelled to keep quiet in order to survive. They are surrounded by forces that work hard to keep them quiet.

HERE IS CHANCE

There are the government witch hunters who threaten to take your jobs if you speak the socialist truth. There are the right wing union officials who police the unions for the witch hunters. Everywhere you turn the pressure is on to conform to the rules and regulations of the capitalist system of exploitation.

Now you have a chance to speak out effectively, through your socialist candidates. You know they will tell the whole

truth about capitalism, its hypocrisy and greed, its determination to keep the exploited and downtrodden "in their places," and its insane drive towards an H-Bomb war.

For every worker who has been gagged during the last years, the socialist candidates will try to speak all the louder and clearer and carry their message to the people of this country. Get into the fight. Let your money talk. Contribute to and work for the SWP election campaign! It's your fight, it's the fight of every class conscious worker who believes in socialism and peace.

Fill out the blank below and write to us. Let us know what you and your friends are thinking and doing for the socialist cause.

Support

A Working Class Party!

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

We ask you to help in this campaign — for Dobbs and Weiss — for peace — for equality for all races — for a Workers and Farmers Government — for a socialist world!

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

Name

Street

City

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

No Need to Act, Says Eisenhower

At his Sept. 5 press conference President Eisenhower revealed that he is no friend of the Negro people nor a defender of those sections of the constitution dealing with civil rights.

Peppered with questions by reporters about his attitude to the white-supremacist rioting against school desegregation in Tennessee and Texas, he started off by declaring that there was no need for federal intervention. He said that the attorney for the Negro school children in Mansfield, Texas, had requested federal help but this was unnecessary because "the Texas authorities had moved in and order was restored, so the question became unimportant."

When reporters pointed out that Governor Shivers had sent state police not to enforce the federal court order integrating the Mansfield school but to remove the Negro children and put them back in Jim Crow schools, and while doing so had publicly declared his defiance of the federal government, Eisenhower could only reply that he had not seen Gov. Shivers' statement.

Eisenhower went out of his way to attack "extremists on both sides" of the desegregation struggle. This is becoming a favorite formula for those taking a Pontius Pilate attitude on the school desegregation issue. They wish to wash their hands of the desegregation fight and thus uphold the Jim Crow status quo by implying that both sides are equally at fault

— that trouble is caused by "extremists on both sides."

The "extremists on the white supremacy are well known. They are the Southern senators, governors, etc., who boast their defiance of the Supreme Court decision; they are the lynchers, cross burners, and racist mobs in front of the school buildings. But who are the "extremists" on the other side? Are they Negroes who ask that their children receive that which the Supreme Court says is theirs under the Constitution? Are they the Negro school children who "provoke" rioting by going to formerly segregated schools? Where are the desegregation "extremists" in Clinton, Tenn., or Mansfield, Texas? In the first town the children entered the high school as the result of a five year court battle, in the latter after three years in court.

This "extremist" smear, used not only by Eisenhower but by some Northern Democrats, is really aimed at the NAACP and all others who demand that the Supreme Court decision be enforced.

Those laws and those sections of the Constitution protecting capitalist private property are strictly and fully enforced by the federal government. There is no talk about "changing the hearts of men" on such matters. Violations result in arrests, trials, fines and imprisonments. But then Eisenhower and all the capitalist politicians have a vested interest in enforcing such laws. In securing to the Negro people their legal rights, they have no such interest.

Favorable Civil Liberties Rulings

A number of civil liberties victories have been won in Federal courts recently. For instance, on Aug. 14, the Government lost an action to reinstate contempt of Congress indictments against Corliss Lamont and two other persons who had refused to answer questions of the Senate sub-committee on investigations when it was headed by Joseph McCarthy. The ruling upheld the defense contention that the committee was out of its jurisdiction in investigating persons not in the Government.

Again, on Aug. 29 a government suit to strip Rose Chernin Kutnitz, head of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, was thrown out of U.S. District Court. And on Aug. 30, the State Department issued a previously denied passport to Leonard B. Boudin, General Counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Victories such as these are heartening. They all stem from determined struggles put up by civil liberties defenders. But they do not signify the break-up of the witch hunt which continues to grind out a fresh batch of victims in each of its divisions. Furthermore, in most cases, the victories were scored on narrow legal points or because of retreat by the Justice Department. In this way, the courts and the Justice Department avoided a test on the constitutionality of witch-hunting measures.

Thus the structure of the witch hunt remains intact. Its basic pillars are these: The Smith Act, recently made more vicious

by quadrupling penalties (the more stringent punishment was passed without dissent by the 84th Congress); the Internal Security Act of 1950, which set up the notorious Subversive Activities Control Board and provides for concentration camps; the Humphrey-Butler Law of 1954 which provides for declaring unions "subversive" and which is being used against the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers at the present time; the Attorney-General's "subversive" list; and Congressional "investigations."

Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have pledged to repeal a single one of these laws or administrative procedures. Their platforms do not say a word about the witch hunt. This is consistent with their bipartisan sponsorship and execution of all these police-state measures.

In contrast, the platform of the Socialist Workers Party, consistent with its record of struggle for civil liberties, declares:

"Abolish the 'subversive' list. Repeal the McCarran Internal Security and Immigration laws. Halt all deportations. Repeal the Smith Act and grant amnesty to all victims of this thought-control law. Abolish the 'loyalty' oaths. Repeal the law abridging the Fifth Amendment. Abolish the House un-American Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee. Halt all political prosecutions for contempt and perjury based on the testimony of stoolpigeons. No political tampering with pensions or other social benefits."

ARAMCO's Anti-Semitism

The United States Government is supporting anti-Jewish discrimination by the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) and its vassal, King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, in at least three officially admitted instances.

One: The U.S. agreed to a ban on hiring Jews at the Dhahran Air Base in the 1951 agreement with Saudi Arabia. This agreement is still in effect. Two: American soldiers assigned to bases in Saudi Arabia are screened to eliminate Jews. This practice has been protested by the American Civil Liberties Union, but is still in effect. Three: ARAMCO refuses to hire Jews even though the New York office of the firm hires hundreds of Americans annually.

The American Jewish Congress last month filed a complaint with the New York State Commission Against Discrimination charging ARAMCO with refusing to hire Jews even for its New York operations.

The New York Commission had sanctioned the anti-Semitism of the company in a 1950 ruling under direct orders of the U.S. State Department (which was under Democratic administration at that time). This is admitted in the New York Times of Aug. 3.

King Ibn Saud, allows Wall-Street-owned ARAMCO to plunder the country's natural resources over the opposition of the Arab masses. ARAMCO pays royal-

ties directly to the ruling dynasty which uses them on the one hand in luxurious living, such as the purchase of slaves, and on the other to support an army to maintain its brutal regime.

Like many reactionary despots, Saud uses anti-Jewish demagoguery to attempt to divert mass discontent. To protect its oil profits, Wall Street and its government have no hesitation whatsoever about supporting any and all of Saud's brutal acts of repression, including anti-Jewish acts.

How different is Wall Street's attitude toward the nationalization of the Suez Canal, which was a direct result of the desire of the Arab masses to control the resources of their own countries!

In this case, the imperialist powers — the U.S. included — were ready to start a Korea-type war to stop the Egyptian action. Even now, when forced to negotiate, they seek to impose their domination over the Egyptian waterway under the guise of "international control."

That is because the movement of the Arab masses for national independence strikes at the heart of imperialist domination of the colonial world and therefore threatens the very existence of capitalism. It is part of the world struggle for socialism, and is so treated by Wall Street and its agents. It is the diametric opposite of the anti-Semitism and other reactionary policies pursued by ARAMCO and its junior partner, Ibn Saud.

SWP Election News

Campaigning for Socialism

By Art Sharon

SWP Campaign Manager Myra Tanner Weiss began her national-wide tour as Vice-Presidential candidate of the SWP Sept. 5 in Minneapolis, Minn., speaking on "The American People Must Build a Labor Party." After addressing a Sept. 9 meeting in St. Paul on "The Elections and the Fight Against Segregation," she will continue her tour through the Midwest centers, the East Coast and then swing out to the West Coast winding up Nov. 3 in Los Angeles.

The SWP Presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, will open his tour Sept. 14 in Los Angeles at a rally at the Embassy Auditorium, North Hall, 8:15 P.M. on "Labor in the 1956 Elections." Dobbs' tour will take him through the San Francisco Bay Area, Seattle, the Twin Cities, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Youngstown, Cleveland, Buffalo, Boston, Philadelphia and New York.

With our two candidates out in the field and speaking on coast-to-coast radio-TV broadcasts, our campaign will go into full swing. Simultaneously, local candidates of the SWP are stepping up their activities adding to the total striking power of the campaign and penetrating more deeply into the labor and radical movement on the local level.

What are the aims of the SWP in this election? We asked Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss for comment on this question before they left to go on tour.

"Our primary aim in the campaign," said Dobbs, "is to present the program of working class opposition to the rule of the billionaire monopolists, opposition to their foreign policy which is designed to save the system of imperialism, opposition to their domestic policy of war economy, union-busting legislation, witch hunt and support of Southern racism, and opposition to their two capitalist parties."

CAMPAIGN NEEDED

How effective can such a campaign be in view of the fact that official leaders of the labor movement have given support to the Democratic Party?

"It would be better," Dobbs countered, "to ask how much more necessary such a campaign has become in view of the continued practice of company-unionism in politics followed by the labor officials and the leaders of the Negro people."

The SWP Presidential candidate went on to show how the central question facing the labor and Negro movement is the question of a break with capitalist politics and the launching of an independent party of labor which could then rally all the oppressed minorities, the working farmers and large sections of the middle class to its side in the fight against monopoly capitalist rule over the U.S.

"The handwriting is on the wall," said Dobbs, "and every fresh experience with the Democratic Party makes the message more emphatic — Labor must

The Negro Struggle

By Herman Chauka

They Walked in Through the Front Door

The epic story of the struggle of the Negro people for full equality, like that of every other people fighting for its rights, is studded with the names of heroes. At every stage of the long struggle there have always been men, women and children for whom the cause of their people has meant more than their very lives. They have invariably been the kind of human beings whose deep-rooted convictions, are coupled with great personal pride and dignity. Our generation, too, is producing its share of heroes.

Millions of opponents of the Jim Crow system roared out their protest at the horrible killing of young Emmett Till. Their bitter anger grew deeper when Look magazine published the confessions of the acquitted killers, Milam and Bryant. But at the same time the ugly confession revealed that 14-year-old Emmett Till had stood up to his lynchers to the end.

Milam and Bryant bitterly complained, "We were never able to scare him. They had filled him so full of poison he was hopeless." They said Emmett Till went to his death defiantly saying, "I'm as good as you are. You can't scare me." Emmett Till died a hero.

Another name was added to the list of those whose courage inspired millions when Autherine Lucy braved a howling mob at the University of Alabama because she had quietly decided that she would not be prevented from attending a school of her own choosing.

And now in the town of Clinton, Tennessee, nine young men and women of high school age, along with their parents, have joined the ranks of the truly heroic figures in the fight for freedom.

The press of the entire world has reported how racist agitators incited mob violence after it became known that Negro students would attend Clinton's previously lily-white high school. And the press has reported that in the face of this mob violence these three young Negro women and six young Negro men have for almost two weeks daily attended their classes.

For seven days they walked calmly past the filthy insults and threats of violence and quietly entered the side door of the high school to go about their business of obtaining an education. On the eighth day the six young men, again quietly but demonstratively, walked through the front door of the school building.

The Sept. 5 New York Times reported: "Nine of twelve enrolled Negro pupils attended integrated classes in Clinton High School today without incident. With the surrounding countryside tense with interracial ill-will and sporadic outbreaks of violence pitting neighbor against neighbor, the central drama shifted once more to the Negro pupils who have fearlessly appeared each day at the school since integration began eight days ago."

"The Negro children, six boys and three girls, were cheerful and spirited. They submitted graciously to sidewalk inquiries from newsmen. . . They were brought to school in cars. However, when the session ended . . . seven of them walked home swinging their books and chatting gaily up the steep hill leading to the Negro settlement some 2,000 yards away."

They are marching up a steep hill. But they are doing it in a way that makes the heart of every partisan of freedom and justice swell with pride and confidence in the coming victory.

so no one will take the responsibility for their welfare.

In the meantime the big farm corporations grow fat on government agricultural subsidies. They squeeze out the small farmers and gobble up their land. The profits roll in while the migrants starve.

1956 SWP Platform on Migrant Farm Workers

The following is an excerpt from the Socialist Workers Party's 1956 Election Platform:

"The growth of monopoly on the land has uprooted large numbers of people who have become migratory farm workers. They travel from area to area working as seasonal help on the corporation farms. Paid only a starvation wage, whole families are compelled to labor in the fields, mother and children alongside the father. Seasonal gaps in employment reduce their average earnings below \$1,000 a year. Yet they are generally denied the benefits of existing social legislation."

"These migratory workers badly need the help of organized labor to build the unions they have started in an effort to improve their lot. Especially they need the benefit of a labor party to compel government action for correction of the social wrongs they now suffer."

down the valley with no luck at all.

Finally, with money gone and car out of gas, the family took shelter under the Merced River bridge over Highway 99. It was there the baby died from infant diarrhea.

When found by local authorities, Mr. Johnson said that the family had not eaten for two days. Coroner Kenneth Briggs verified Johnson's statement with the comment that the parents and five surviving children "looked as if they'd just gotten out of a concentration camp."

The Johnson family plight only highlights a situation that has existed for a long time in the Central Valley of California. The corporation farms that dominate the valley's economic life care little or nothing for their workers' welfare. Every year they deliberately plant rumors in the eastern parts of the country about the need for farm laborers. Their idea of a "sufficient labor supply" is about double the number actually needed to harvest the crops.

In addition to those lured west by rumors of work, there are the Mexican nationals who either work on contract or cross the border illegally.

Competition for jobs was further heightened this year when corporations sent their recruiters to Japan for extra labor. A few weeks ago the papers announced that 2,500 Japanese had been given visas to work in California fields.

This kind of situation—an oversupply of labor—keeps farm wages low. Even those lucky enough to find work seldom get enough to carry them through the lean months when there are no crops to harvest. So the field workers are always on the edge of starvation.

To add to their tough lot, they are barred from unemployment benefits. Their nomadic form of life—here for a few days now and then a week from now—may be 500 miles away in the other end of the Valley—deprive them even of meager relief handouts. They have no permanent homes.

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Dixiecrats Hail Stevenson As Mobs Riot Over Integration

By George Lavan

Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver were in Clinton, Tennessee, on Aug. 30, the third day of the white-supremacist rioting against the integration of 12 Negro school children in the previously lily-white school.

But neither Stevenson nor Kefauver said one mumbled word against the racists or for the courageous Negro students. Not in Clinton, or anywhere else in the state, did the Democratic candidates for the country's highest offices make any public statements about the anti-Negro violence that was flaring up under their noses in Tennessee, as well as in Texas and other parts of the South.

No one attributed Stevenson's silence to a loss for words; among capitalist politicians he is outstanding for his glib tongue. As for Kefauver, during the primary campaigns he had pictured himself to Negro audiences as a true champion of civil rights in contrast to Stevenson who had sold out. Yet Kefauver, a Senator of Tennessee, did not try to use his influence there on behalf of the embattled Negro school children.

DIXIECRAT ALLEGIANCE

The explanation for the shameful silence of the liberal Democratic candidates was obvious. They were in Tennessee to attend a regional conference of the Democratic Party and receive the pledges of allegiance of the white-supremacist politicians. This was duly sworn by senators, representatives, governors and local officials and candidates of ten Southern states. All of them are avowed opponents of school desegregation. An undetermined number of them are members of the White Citizens Councils.

As the New York Times (Aug. 31) reported, the Southern Democratic leaders gave the candidates "enthusiastic predictions of a 'solid South' in the November election. None saw any reasons for the civil rights issue or any other problem to stand in the way of a Democratic victory."

The planned ceremonies for the Democratic banner bearers included a motorcade from Knoxville to Oak Ridge. The highway goes through Clinton, the scene of the racist demonstrations. In fact it goes within one block of the school building.

The outbreak of anti-Negro rioting in Clinton posed an embarrassing problem for the Democratic candidates. If they called off the scheduled motorcade their cowardice on the school desegregation issue would be advertised to the whole country. They decided the lesser evil was to go through Clinton but to act as if they were unaware of anything unusual going on there.

MUM IS THE WORD

A third alternative — stopping in Clinton and issuing statements in favor of carrying out the Supreme Court decision, thus throwing their influence behind the embattled Negro students—apparently never was even considered. This would have violated a cardinal rule of the Stevenson-Kefauver campaign: Do nothing that might offend the Southern white-supremacists!

The slightest expression of sympathy for the Negro students of Clinton would have offended the white-supremacist political leaders who were in charge not only of the motorcade but of the whole Southern campaign for the Democratic ticket.

Indeed the Southern political leaders assembled in Tennessee to welcome Stevenson and his

running mate are the inspirers of the wave of racism inundating the South. They are the ones who for three years have campaigned against compliance with the Supreme Court decision. They have declared they would evade or defy desegregation. They have denounced the high court justices. They have shouted of "mongrelizing," and abused the Negro people.

MOBS APPLY POLICY

They have outlawed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in some states and have called it subversive in others. They have encouraged economic terrorism against Negro and whites in favor of desegregation. They have allowed the lynchers of Emmett Till and other Negro victims to go unpunished.

The hate-inflamed mobs, in Clinton and Oliver Spring, Tennessee, in Mansfield and Fort Worth, Texas, and in other parts of the South where Negro school children are being insulted and threatened, where Negro motorists are being beaten, where dynamite blasts and gunshots accompany the burning of Negroes in effigy, are simply translating into deeds in the streets and before the schools the speeches of the Southern Democratic leaders made at party gatherings, in the state legislatures and in Congress.

'DEPLORE' RIOTING

While local officials in Clinton held firm on their integration stand until, after great delay, Gov. Clement ordered the National Guard to the scene, in Mansfield, Texas, the state police ordered the Negro children back to Jim Crow schools.

Stevenson and Kefauver ended their Southern silence after they had returned to Chicago and a question about Clinton had been put to them point blank by a reporter. Stevenson weakly replied that "rioting anywhere . . . is to be deplored." Kefauver chimed in that the Supreme Court decision should be complied with. On Labor Day in Detroit Stevenson tried to repair his badly-shattered reputation on civil rights by telling a labor and Negro audience that the high court decision was "the law of the land."

On how to enforce this law he was silent. The most he would say was that the President should "do all in his power to create a climate of understanding in which the Supreme Court's decisions can be made effective everywhere." This double-talk means no enforcement but instead an "effort" to persuade the white-supremacists to stop being white-supremacists.

Courage in Clinton, Tenn.



Ohio Democrats So Bad Labor Tops in Dilemma

By Jean Simon, Chairman, Ohio Committee for Dobbs and Weiss

Cleveland, Sept. 3.—The labor movement of this state is up a tree trying to decide what to do in the November elections. Committed by the national AFL-CIO leadership to support of the Democratic presidential slate, and without a perspective of independent political action, Ohio labor leaders are left blustering about a campaign to get out the vote.

Even from the "lesser evil" standard of the union movement here, the ballot presents a major dilemma this year. Endorsement for the Democratic ticket is excluded by the fact that Governor Frank Lausche, the Donkey's candidate for U.S. Senate, openly supports union-busting "right-to-work" legislation.

The Republican choice for Senator from Ohio, incumbent George Bender voted "right" in the past according to the standards of the labor bureaucrats. But if labor in this state supports him, it will be supporting

the candidate Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey told Republicans they must support to back Ike. Moreover, the Ohio Republican Finance Committee—and they are no "friends of labor" by any stretch of anyone's imagination—reportedly is paying a half million dollars in campaign funds to help re-elect Bender.

GANG-UP

Both the Democrats and Republicans made it perfectly clear where they stand on issues affecting the working people of Ohio when they combined to help defeat the unemployment compensation bill placed on the ballot last November by the united and independent efforts of the unions.

The two capitalist parties are so brazen in their anti-working class policies that they amended the election laws in 1951 to make sure that labor candidates, independents and socialist parties cannot get on the ballot in this state.

The number of signatures on

nominating petitions required to place any party other than the two Big Business parties on the ballot was raised to 15% of the total vote for governor in the last election, or about 500,000 valid signatures.

The number for independent candidates was raised from 1% to 7% of the gubernatorial vote for the state, county, or district, as the case may be. In Cuyahoga County, where Cleveland is located, an independent would need about 40,000 valid signatures to qualify — more than three times the number necessary to place the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in New York State.

An attempt to challenge the constitutionality of the new restrictions on minority parties and independents was made in March, 1952. Common Pleas Judge Joseph H. Silbert ruled against the defendant on a technicality, but made it clear that he thought the changes unconstitutional. He said the new requirements for independents were "excessive and unreasonable."

COULD BE

"Could it be that the Legislature, or its elected representatives, do not trust the voters in their ability to elect competent officials and therefore restricted their opportunity to vote by secret ballot according to their personal belief?"

The Ohio Committee for Dobbs and Weiss is urging all voters opposed to the stranglehold of the cynical Democrats and Republicans on the political processes of this state to register their opposition by writing in the names of Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice President. That is the only way to vote for a workers' party and candidates in Ohio in November.

Chicago Election Rally

Hear
Myra Tanner Weiss
SWP CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

"Why Labor Needs an Anti-Capitalist Platform in the 1956 Elections"

Fri., Sept. 14 — 8:15 PM

777 W. Adams Street
Auspices:
Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Committee
Phone: CE 6-4183

Omitted Last Week

The article, "Chesty" Puller's Medals, published in last week's issue, was by Henry Gitano.

CLEVELAND RALLY

Hear

MYRA TANNER WEISS
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for Vice-President

Sat., Sept. 29 — 8:15 PM

10609 Superior Avenue

Auspices

Committee for Dobbs and Weiss

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

THE SUEZ CRISIS
An examination of the revolution in Egypt today
Fri., Sept. 14, 8:00 P.M.
3737 Woodward, 2nd Fl.

On Nov. 6

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

The Readers Take the Floor

Dear Editor,

I have met a man who subscribes to Weekly People. This man expressed interest in difference between SLP and SWP, and I thought it might be a good idea to give him a couple copies of the Militant, and therefore, an enclosing \$1.00 for as many copies of the July 30 and August 6 Militant of this year as this sum will cover. I thought the complete article about Spain by Trotsky would be particularly good for him to read, and I believe he probably knows others who might want to read it, too.

The Eisenhower "prosperity" of which we have heard so much, has been characterized here in Baltimore and probably elsewhere, by a steady rise in prices which has meant that the inadequate wages being paid buy less and less. There was practically no comment when the price of playing a "juke box" went up from 5c to 10c, and the doubling of the cost of phone calls from pay stations did not evoke too much comment.

However, in fairly rapid succession, the street car-bus fare was boosted from 18c to 20c, the price of cigarettes went up 1c and the breweries raised the price of bottle beer 20c per case of 24 bottles. Taverns promptly raised the price of locally brewed beer anywhere

from 2 to 5c, and the price of out-of-town beer 5c per bottle, even though cost of this latter beer, to taverns had not been increased.

One local brewery did not raise the price of beer, nevertheless taverns increased the price of its beer also. There was more protest regarding this than anything else so far. One labor leader protested that increasing prices would wipe out all advantages and gains workers had achieved from increases in wages.

In addition to this, various small items in other stores have increased in price. I noticed just last week, that "Jane Parker Donuts" sold by the A & P have gone up to 25c. Only a few months ago they were 19c, then went up to 23c and now have increased again in price.

People are starting to complain, and what is more, apparently are carrying out, to some extent, an unorganized "buyer's strike." After claiming that they must increase the price of beer because of increased costs, Gunther Brewery distributed tens of thousands of advertisements with coupons offering a special discount on beer, equivalent to five times the recent brewery increase!

Except for "captive riders" who must use the bus and street car service, increasing numbers

of persons are staying home watching TV instead of going out. A street car company has been offering special passes for only 50c which entitle holders to ride all they want on Sunday for only the initial cost. In short, dissatisfaction and tension are increasing.

A couple weeks ago, the Sun papers published some data regarding the public acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision about segregation, relating to public swimming pools. Last year pools in Druid Hill Park were segregated. This year, while they were interracial, so few Negroes used the pool which last year was "for them," and started using a former all-white pool instead, that the first pool was closed recently for lack of patronage. However, the Sun stated that while during a period last year, 23,000 white people went to the Druid Hill pool that this year, only 700 have been there under the interracial ruling. This came as a surprise to most people, as few people realized that this opposition to integration is so strong.

S. L. Baltimore

Los Angeles

Election Rally

FARRELL DOBBS
SWP Candidate for President

Will speak on:
"Labor in the 1956 Elections"
Fri., Sept. 14, 8:15 P.M.
Embassy Auditorium, 8th
North Hall
839 South Grand Ave.
QUESTIONS DISCUSSION

A Special Offer!

Should radical-minded workers support liberal Democrats and Republicans? Are they wasting their ballot by voting socialist? How do the different working-class parties answer these questions? What is the platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 campaign? For clear-cut answers to these questions take advantage of our special election-period offer to new readers. Get a three-month introductory subscription to the Militant for only 50 cents.



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