

Dobbs and Weiss to Carry SWP Fight For Socialism and Peace to America

For Vice-President



MYRA TANNER WEISS

New York Party Finishes Drive to Get Slate on Ballot

By Art Sharon

National Campaign Manager Socialist Workers Party candidates for the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have swung into their campaign activities and in some cases are battling for their right to appear on state ballots.

SWP candidates for the U.S. Senate are Joyce Cowley in New York and Herbert Lewin in Pennsylvania. Running for Congress are Daniel Roberts in the 12th Congressional District of New Jersey and Howard Mayhew in the 2nd Congressional District in Illinois. In Michigan Rita Shaw is the SWP candidate for Governor.

PETITIONING FINISHED

The principal development in the SWP's anti-war, anti-capitalist election campaign during the past week was the New York branches' completion of the arduous petition campaign required to qualify for the ballot.

New York laws require the obtaining of 12,000 signatures of residents in 62 counties. The New York SWP branches overfulfilled this formidable task in record time. More than 15,000 signatures were obtained. Teams of petition gatherers from New York City and environs and from Buffalo traveled throughout the state canvassing all the counties.

ALL PITCH IN

In addition to the grueling legwork, an enormous amount of paperwork must also be done. Each signer must be a registered voter and next to his name must appear the election district in which he resides. Since practically no one knows the number of his election district, and since the election districts are so gerrymandered by the capitalist politicians that people living next to each other may be in different districts, registration lists and maps must be consulted for each signature.

All the petition gathering and the painstaking paper work has been done by members of the SWP, sympathizers and friends. In many cases people devoted their whole vacations, and some even quit their jobs, to help in the important work of putting Farrell Dobbs, Myra Tanner Weiss and Joyce Cowley on the New York ballot.

Upper New York State is mainly rural and as Republican as Vermont. In some counties the few admitted Democrats are com-

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Party Convention Votes Anti-Capitalist Platform

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, Aug. 20 — The presidential slate of the Socialist Workers Party was formally nominated last night at a convention in this city. Chosen by acclamation as the SWP banner bearers in the 1956 elections were Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice-President. They had been recommended as candidates by the SWP National Committee last fall.

The SWP ticket was chosen at the party's Third National Nominating Convention which met at Adelphi Hall in this city. Delegations representing twelve states participated in the proceedings of the convention. After the voting and the acceptance speeches of the candidates, Joyce Cowley of New York spoke. She had been chosen at a separate meeting as the New York SWP candidate for U.S. Senator.

In addition to the nominations, the convention adopted the anti-war, anti-capitalist platform submitted to it by the platform committee. Reporting on the draft platform was Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Secretary.

ATTACKS COALITION

He contrasted this platform's forthright, unequivocal planks for labor, civil rights and peace with the evasive and reactionary platform of the recently held Democratic convention. He excoriated labor bureaucrats, social-democrats and Stalinists who are trying to dupe the working class into voting for Stevenson-Kefauver and the Democratic platform.

Citing their attempts to palm off the Democratic Party as a party of labor, Dobbs said: "For example, look at the main headline of today's (Aug. 19) Daily Worker. At the top of page one is the headline: 'Labor and Democratic Convention.' They mean by that the coalition of Reuther and Eastland, of the unions and the White Citizens Councils. This outright betrayal they are trying to pass off as some sort of labor party. It won't wash. The workingclass, the Negro people and the small farmers of this country need their own party — independent of Big Business, the Dixiecrats and the corrupt ward-healing machines. That will be a real labor party and that is one of the things we are working for."

The SWP presidential candidate also exposed the Daily Worker's attempt to paint up the Democratic Party as a vehicle for peace. "The Worker line is to pretend that the labor-liberal-Negro groups at the convention are the power in the Democratic Party and that through them pressure for peace can be trans-

mitted to Stevenson. But just consider AFL-CIO President George Meany's jingoistic speech to the platform committee. And look at the blustering foreign policy plank that was adopted. It even attacks Eisenhower for being 'soft' towards the USSR."

In placing the names of Dobbs and Weiss in nomination, Tom Kerry ridiculed the hoopla of nominating speeches at the capitalist party conventions and the fetish of describing the candidate's alleged virtues without naming him or her till the closing words of the closing sentence. Instead, he briefly cited the long records of Dobbs and Weiss in the service of the working people — Dobbs in the union movement of the mid-west and as a leader of the SWP and Mrs. Weiss in the organizing drives of the agricultural unions of the West Coast and as a veteran socialist campaigner. He concluded that their records and abilities made them the best possible candidates for the coming elections.

The delegates agreed for they unanimously voted their nominations.

In her acceptance speech the Vice-Presidential candidate thanked the convention for the "assignment" to represent the SWP in the campaign which she said, was an honor and a privilege. "I must confess that I find particular pleasure in the 'assignment' of visiting the cities

and towns of the U.S. speaking for the SWP. There is a real joy in meeting the political spokesmen of the two boss parties in forums and counterposing to their bankrupt programs the message of socialism."

EXPECTS GOOD RESPONSE

"I know from past experience, as well as from my recent speaking tour, that when we appear before unions, Negro organizations or student clubs we always get a warm response from the audience. These people no longer have any real faith or belief in the capitalist parties."

Mrs. Weiss emphasized the opportunities the campaign would afford for putting the SWP program before militants and class-conscious workers who hitherto had been hard to approach. She cited the ferment going on in the ranks of the Communist Party where the long decades of Stalinist thought-control have been ended by the partial revelations about the true nature of the Stalin regime in the USSR. "Large numbers of these rank-and-file CPers are now beginning to think and to ask questions. Many are already dissatisfied with the CP program. Many can't swallow Eastland and the pro-Dixiecrat civil rights plank along with Stevenson and Kefauver. We will be able to have fruitful discussions with many of them in the coming campaign."

For President



FARRELL DOBBS

SWP 1956 Platform Stresses Independent Labor Political Action

Mankind stands at the threshold of an era in which human culture can rise to unprecedented heights. Giant leaps in technology, ranging from the mechanization of agriculture to the control of atomic energy, have today made it possible to produce enough to meet all the needs of all the people. Now within reach are the means to eliminate human want in food, housing, health care, to satisfy all the necessities of life.

Across this brilliant prospect lies the dark shadow of a parallel leap in militarism. Nearly one-quarter of the national income is taken in taxes, mainly to create a vast war machine. Natural resources and manpower are diverted from useful production and wasted on instruments of destruction. Living standards and democratic rights stand in peril before the despotism of war. And in every mind lurks a terrible fear of the death-dealing horrors of the hydrogen bomb.

The role of militarism as the fundamental feature of American foreign policy is determined by the world conflict of rival social systems. The capitalist class wants to use America's power to prevent the birth of a world socialist order. The issue is posed: Shall capitalist exploitation of natural resources and productive labor remain dominant? Or shall mankind throw off the fetters of outlived capitalism and advance to a system of planned economy capable of eliminating human want?

A universal demand for industrialization has arisen throughout the world. People everywhere seek the benefit of technological progress to improve their living standards and raise their cultural level. The main obstacle to progress in the underdeveloped countries has been the direct or indirect domination of foreign capitalist powers. Revolutionary struggles for independence, stemming from this imperialist domination, have erupted in country after country.

They Fight for Progress

The indomitable determination of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples to win their independence is today typified by the heroic struggles of the people of Cyprus and Algeria. Egypt's fight for the right to nationalize the Suez Canal and to build the Aswan dam symbolizes the aspirations of the underdeveloped countries to lay new foundations for economic and social progress.

The colonial revolution can be successful only through

fusion with the working class struggle against capitalism. It must gravitate toward the socialist forms of nationalized property and planned economy which open the way to rapid development of the productive forces. This tendency of the colonial revolution to become transformed into a socialist revolution has reached its highest manifestation in the case of China. Starting as an independence struggle against imperialism, the third Chinese revolution has transformed the country into an anti-capitalist world power and its rise, together with the extension of Soviet property forms to Eastern Europe, has already abolished capitalism on one-third of the globe.

At the same time the Soviet Union has rapidly risen to the status of a great industrial power, second only to the United States. Within it exists a working class almost 50 million strong, a mighty force now gaining in self-confidence and asserting its own rights against the usurping bureaucracy. The repudiation of the hated dictator Stalin and the crisis now shaking the world Stalinist movement mark the beginning of a political revolution to establish workers democracy in the Soviet sphere. With that political transformation the way will be opened for a new upsurge in the world socialist revolution.

U.S. Policy Leads to War

The anti-capitalist struggles, stemming from a fundamental drive for ever-higher living standards, for freedom and national independence, are the targets against which American foreign policy is aimed. The imperialists are arming to turn back the revolutionary tide and reconquer the world for capitalist exploitation. The bipartisan gang of Republicans and Democrats are forming military pacts with hated dictators and colonial despots. They are forging a chain of American military bases throughout the world. Never before has there been such a vast peacetime military expansion.

Every alliance formed by the American capitalist government is aimed directly at the revolutionary masses abroad. In Iran the government backed by the people was forcefully overthrown with imperialist aid in order to block nationalization of the oil reserves and perpetuate exploitation of these natural resources by the capitalist oil cartel. The dictatorial Armas regime in Guatemala received thinly-veiled American support to overthrow the

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Class Struggle Fighters

Farrell Dobbs

In sharp contrast to the countless union officials who abandoned early socialist beliefs for power and privilege, Farrell Dobbs stands as a working class leader who refused to lend his talents and energies to any other cause but the emancipation of the working class.

Born in Queens City, Mo., in 1907 and a resident from childhood of Minneapolis, Dobbs had studied to be a planning engineer. But in 1933 the depression compelled him to take a job as a coal yard worker to support his family.

In 1934 the great truckdrivers' strike made Minneapolis a union town and served as one of the main levers for the great upsurge of industrial unionism that established the CIO. During that strike Dobbs emerged from the ranks to become one of the principal union leaders. In 1938 he led the drive that organized a quarter of a million over-the-road drivers in the Northwest under a uniform 12-state agreement.

In 1941 Dobbs left a well-paid post with the Teamster's union to become National Labor Secretary of the SWP. He has since been editor of the Militant and is now the SWP's National Secretary. Dobbs and 17 other leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis drivers union in 1941 were the first to be convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act, for their socialist opposition to World War II.

When the 11 top Communist Party leaders were tried under the Smith Act in the 1949 Foley Square trial, Dobbs covered the trial daily for the Militant, and campaigned for labor defense of the Smith Act victims.

Last Spring he reported the trial of the leaders of the Montgomery, Ala. bus-protest movement, and while there utilized local press and radio interviews to support the fight against Jim Crow. He then toured key northern cities to rally labor support for the embattled civil rights movement.

Myra Tanner Weiss

Myra Tanner Weiss became a revolutionary socialist in 1935 at the age of 18, in Salt Lake City, Utah, where she was born. The victory of German fascism, the depression, and the approach of World War II on the one hand; the economic achievements of the Soviet Union and the first great strike battles of the American working class leading to the building of the CIO on the other — all these events won her to the socialist movement.

She dropped her studies in chemistry in which she had been passionately interested for an equally serious study of Marxism. This study led her to the conviction that the Trotskyist program was correct.

Through subsequent years of organizing work, Mrs. Weiss continued her Marxist studies, specializing in economics. This spring at a forum at Harvard University she lectured in defense of dialectical materialism, the logic of Marxism.

In the late 1930's Mrs. Weiss worked as a migratory worker,

helped organize Southern California farm workers, and was made honorary member of the Mexican Agricultural Workers Union for her courageous defense of the Mexican migratory workers.

In 1941, she spoke out in her union against persecution of Japanese-American workers. She again defended the rights of this minority in the course of her campaign for Mayor of Los Angeles in 1945.

In 1946, outraged by the burning to death of a Negro family in Fontana, Calif., by white supremacists, she launched a West Coast-wide protest action and wrote a pamphlet, "Vigilante Terror in Fontana." At the time she was Los Angeles organizer of the SWP.

In 1952, as SWP Vice-Presidential candidate Mrs. Weiss campaigned with Farrell Dobbs against the Korean War.

... Socialist Workers Party 1956 Platform

(Continued from page 1)

constitutional government by force when mass pressures began to threaten the superprofits of the United Fruit Company, an American corporation.

In country after country similarly discredited governments are imposed on the people and propped up as direct or indirect agencies of American imperialism. In return they are expected to guarantee special privileges for United States capital investments in these lands in violation of the interests of the masses. As a result the same old colonialism against which the peoples are in revolt is continued in open or concealed form. Where camouflaged forms of imperialist domination fail, resort must be had to naked force. A current example is the threat to overturn nationalization of the Suez Canal through armed intervention.

Truman's use of the United Nations as a cover in the Korean invasion revealed its true role as a front organization for imperialism and exploded the myth that the UN can serve as an instrument for peace. No less illusory is the hope that the hydrogen bomb by its very destructiveness will outlaw war.

The war drive has been slowed down primarily by the revolutionary gains abroad. World capitalism has been dealt a series of setbacks and defeats weakening its power in relation to the anti-capitalist forces. Revolutionary China has emerged as a factor of great weight in world politics. These reverses have compelled the imperialists to mask their war aims through hypocritical peace maneuvers but militarism remains the ultimate instrument of capitalist rule. In the attempt to achieve world domination American imperialism won't hesitate to risk atomic war at whatever cost to humanity.

For Basic Change in the U.S.

The Kremlin bureaucrats, although forced to repudiate Stalin, nevertheless continue his basic policy. They advocate "peaceful coexistence" as the answer to war. Their aim is to preserve the status quo. But the status quo is what the masses the world over are rebelling against. They are in revolt against capitalist exploitation and oppression, as well as against the authoritarian bureaucracy in the Soviet orbit. The struggle for socialism is a continuous, uninterrupted struggle against the status quo.

In the hope of making a diplomatic deal with imperialism the Soviet rulers undertake to derail revolutions in the capitalist sphere, substituting capitalist reform policies for revolutionary socialism. Stalin's heirs seek coexistence with imperialism in order to retain their bureaucratic privileges and the power to repress the struggle for workers democracy in the Soviet sphere. Using the Communist Parties to disarm the masses politically in the struggle against capitalism, they undermine the revolutionary process which stands as the only effective obstacle to imperialist war.

The Socialist Workers Party opposes the war program of American imperialism. It combats the Stalinist policy of curbing the anti-capitalist struggle in an effort to appease imperialism. The foreign policy of the SWP aims to align the United States with the world social transformations now in process, mobilizing our country's full power in support of the advance to a world system of planned economy.

Such a foreign policy requires in the first instance a basic change in the United States itself. Class-collaboration with the capitalist parties must give way to independent working class political action through labor's own party. The capitalist government must be replaced by a workers and farmers government. To serve these needs the vanguard of the working class must advance a principled socialist program flowing from the economic and political realities on the world arena and within this country.

Prosperity-Depression Cycle

The American economy is based primarily on arms expenditures. Boom conditions have prevailed consistently in industries central to war production but mere preparations for war have not been enough to sustain capitalist production as a whole. Despite the military build-up in the cold war a serious economic decline began in 1949. Overcome temporarily by American entry into the Korean war, the slump reappeared in 1953-54 after the fighting in Korea ended.

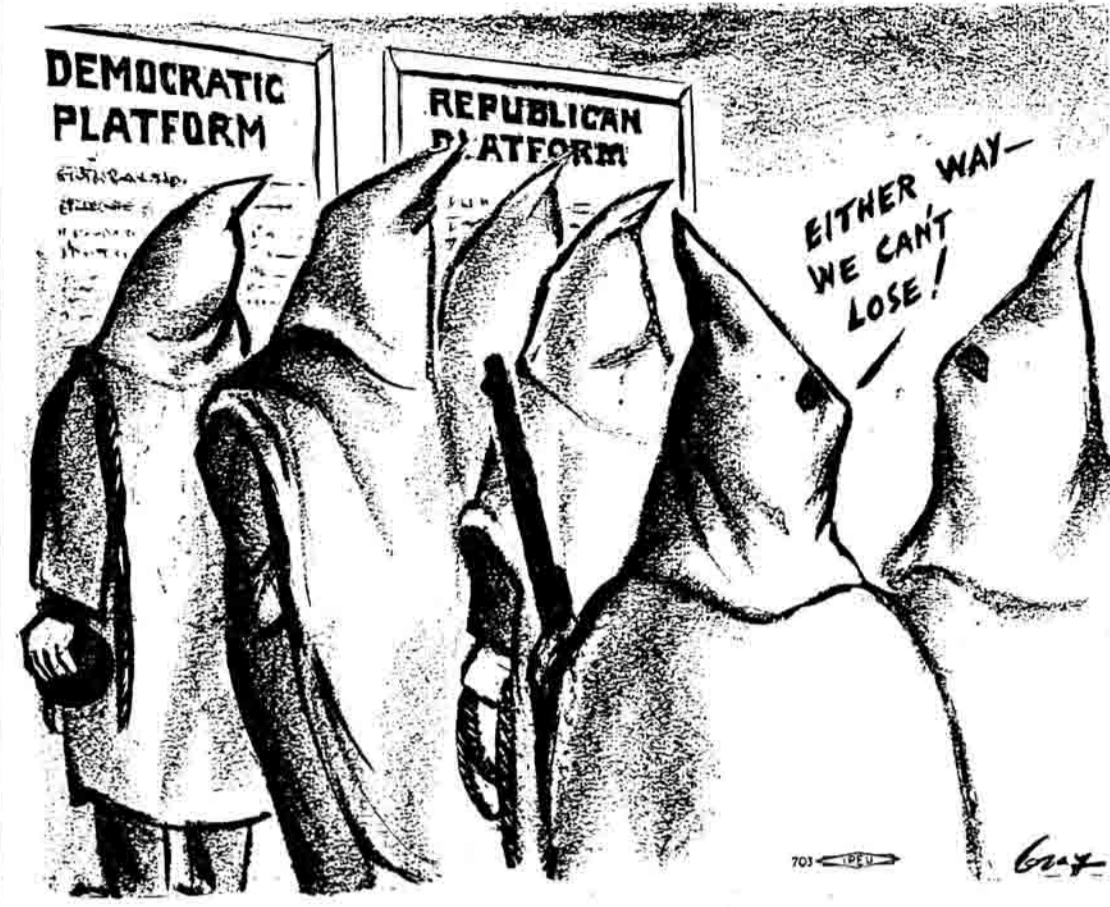
The country has for the time being been pulled out of the slump by creating record consumer debts through installment and mortgage buying. So great is the expansion that the overall consumer debt has climbed above total personal savings and the rate of continued increase is outstripping the rise in personal income. As the workers thus go deeper into debt, the monopoly corporations are coining record profits in what for them is genuine prosperity.

War spending and credit expansion tend to increase inflationary pressures. The consumers price index stands at the highest level on record and shows every sign of a continued climb. At the same time a chronic decline has hit industries like coal, textiles and shipbuilding. Periodic slumps impair employment in such industries as auto. A sag in the farm equipment field reflects the fundamental decline in agriculture. Inflationary pressures and the threat of unemployment thus appear side by side, spelling out the danger of economic crisis as the alternative to war under capitalism.

The Battle for Civil Rights

For the present, boom conditions still predominate. A high level of employment exists despite the serious trouble spots. Most workers accept capitalism and continue to rely on the capitalist politicians in government but with anxieties as to the future. The workers fear war, yet they also fear unemployment and feel the need of war production to assure them jobs. They see their economic security being destroyed by automation, decentralization of industries, corporation mergers, runaway plants and the periodic production slumps. On the job anger is generated by the speedup.

The subcurrents of discontent within the prevailing conservative mood come to the fore when the workers are forced on strike by the corporations. Unusual militancy is shown, especially among younger workers, Negroes and other minorities and women workers who are in the least secure position, who generally have the most grievances. Some of the most determined struggles have been waged by the Southern workers who want to win union protection and end the wage differential. Industrialization of the South is having a strong economic and political impact on white and Negro workers alike. Their common class interests, sharply revealed in struggle against the corporations, will tend to cut across color lines as happened in the rise of the CIO. Foreshadowed in this process is the stormy rise of unionism below the Mason-Dixie line.



Also from the South has come a sharp leap in the Negro struggle for equality. The Montgomery bus boycott has produced a powerful new weapon for mass action by the Negro people in support of their democratic demands. The Montgomery freedom fighters have shown unbreakable solidarity, a grim fighting mood and tremendous staying power. Their long battle has inspired the Negro masses nationally and is producing a more militant type of leadership. Inspired by the independence struggles of the colored peoples in the colonial countries, the Negro people of America are now fighting with determination to win economic, political and social equality.

The White Citizens Councils organized to combat the Negro movement are actually the tool of the bankers, industrialists and big planters. Their white supremacist program involves more than the anti-democratic denial of Negro equality. The WCC is deliberately intensifying racial antagonisms in order to split the white and Negro workers to block unionization of the South. Taking advantage of the AFL-CIO failure to get a union drive going, the WCC uses all forms of pressure to recruit white workers in the open shop plants and indoctrinate them against giving Negroes union rights. Where unions now exist the WCC campaigns for a separate all-white Southern Federation.

Labor-Negro Alliance

The white workers of the nation therefore have a direct stake in the fight of the Negro people to win their rights, just as the Negroes need labor's aid to achieve their aims. Unionization of the South, an open-shop haven for runaway plants, is vital to labor nationally but it cannot be accomplished without the support of the Negro workers who justly demand full equality. A need therefore arises to smash the Southern political system of white supremacy and the open shop not only to win Negro equality but also for the workers to advance economically and politically. This need leads directly toward a political alliance of labor and the Negro people.

Yet another labor ally is appearing on the land. Mechanization of agriculture is putting a squeeze on the small farmers. They are caught between a rise in capital investment for mechanization and a decline in farm commodity prices due to the capitalist crisis of overproduction. The small farmer is gradually going under, farm units are getting bigger and fewer, the monopolists are expanding their holdings.

In trying to survive mechanization the small farmers feel themselves much in the same position as the industrial workers trying to hold their jobs in the face of automation. To protect themselves they seek government assistance to assure the cost of production plus a fair rate of annual income. The government has offered little more than token aid to the small farmer, solving few of his problems. For the big capitalist farmer, however, the same program provides a neat profit since his unit costs are lower because he operates on a larger scale. Government policy has veered more and more in the direction of the big operator's needs with less and less regard for the plight of the little man.

Small Farmers Hard Hit

As a result the small farmers are beginning to modify their political outlook. They are breaking with the old-time farm organizations dominated by the big operators and forming new setups designed to press for a government policy meeting their own needs. They are also moving toward collaboration with organized labor and would constitute potential allies of an independent labor party.

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.

The capitalist politicians are fully aware that the industrial working class, the strongest social force in the nation, would be unbeatable in a political alliance with the Negro people, agricultural labor and small farmers. They also know that for labor to break with capitalist politics would mean the doom of capitalism. To ward off this danger and maintain the capitalist monopoly in politics and in government, they have launched a witch hunt against radicalism. A political blacklist of "subversives" has been maintained to weed out anti-capitalist tendencies in the mass movement. "Loyalty" purges have been conducted as a terror device to compel mass conformity with capitalist policies. Starting against federal employees, the attack has spread to all spheres of national life.

Mounting public opposition to the witch hunt and several limited legal victories against it have slowed down the attack to a certain degree. But the laws and executive orders on which the assault is based remain in effect. Persecution of organizations and individuals continues. A new law has been enacted to undermine the Fifth Amendment. Penalties under the thought-control Smith Act have been stiffened. Passage in 1954 of the Humphrey-Butler law was intended to do more than outlaw the Communist Party. This wholly anti-democratic law, proscribing a political party for the first time in American history, also set the stage for attacks on the unions themselves as "subversive." Such strikebreaking, union-busting smears have already been hurled at two unions, the United Electrical Workers and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Unions Face New Attacks

Basic to the war program are ultimate cuts in real wages and reductions in social benefits which are bound to provoke mass resistance. The capitalists are therefore moving in stages to weaken the unions through governmental attacks and direct corporation assaults. The Taft-Hartley Act restricts the economic power of the unions. Enactment of "Right to Work" laws in the states intensifies the government pressures against labor. Corporation-provoked strikes in industry, often lockouts in effect, result from rejection of moderate union demands and from corporation counter-demands intended to impair wages and conditions, weaken union job control and sharpen the speedup.

When this combined assault by the corporations and the capitalist government is intensified labor will no longer be able to defend itself through union action alone. Realizing they will have to fight on the political field, the union officials engineered the AFL-CIO merger primarily to strengthen labor politically. Then they showed their fatal weakness as working class leaders by keeping the union power tied to the Democratic Party, hoping thereby to secure a return to the New Deal days.

The union officials base their expectations on the prospects of a permanent war economy. They count on war production to prevent a deep unemployment crisis. In return for their support of the war program they expect capitalist concessions to appease the union membership. With this outlook, stemming from their social position as a privileged bureaucracy, the union officials spread capitalist ideology in labor's ranks. They retard the development of class consciousness among the workers and oppose class struggle policies in the unions.

Although most workers instinctively distrust the Republicans as the party of Big Business, general illusions remain that they can solve their problems through the Democratic Party. Alongside these illusions, doubts about the Democratic Party are appearing as shown by a trend toward class polarization in political action.

Workers Vote as Class

A growing tendency has arisen among the workers to choose between the capitalist politicians as a class and to intervene in capitalist politics as a labor faction. This trend reflects an awakening political consciousness of the greatest significance. The workers realize their economic security can be guaranteed and their social welfare advanced mainly by action at the government level. They are also coming to understand their own social power if they act together politically as a class and to understand

Message to CP Members

An Editorial

This is a special message to members and sympathizers of the Communist Party of the U. S.

In this issue of the Militant you will find the platform of the Socialist Workers Party for the 1956 elections. Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate and Myra Tanner Weiss, the Vice-Presidential candidate, are in the field speaking for this platform to hundreds of thousands of American workers on TV, radio, at union meetings, before the organizations of the Negro people, to student groups and at SWP rallies.

Thus the SWP, and the SWP alone, has raised the banner of revolutionary socialist opposition to the billionaire ruling class of the United States in the 1956 elections. The SWP candidates alone, of all the candidates in this election, will speak unequivocally of the socialist class struggle against capitalist war plans. The SWP will show that these plans are not abandoned by Wall Street when it covers itself with the Geneva "spirit" but rather held in abeyance until unfavorable world relation of forces can be overcome by them and permit the reopening of the war drive.

The SWP will conduct an implacable struggle in this campaign against the anti-labor witch hunt, for the complete freedom of all victims of the Smith Act and other thought-control laws and procedures.

The SWP will expose without the slightest ambiguity the rotten treachery of the liberals in the Democratic party who preach civil rights and then, in action, unite with the Southern racists.

The SWP will show how both capitalist parties favor unloading all the suffering for capitalist decay onto the workers. The plague of unemployment, the high cost of living, the colossal burden of taxation, the scourge of speed-up, the witch hunt and the prospect of H-bomb war — this is what capitalism and its two parties have to offer to the American people.

Which party will you, the rank and file militants of the Communist Party, support in the elections? The CP convention in September is supposed to make the decision. However, it is quite clear that the party leaders have already come out for the support of the Democratic Party. Will you — can you — go along with this policy?

We call upon you to support our anti-capitalist struggle in this election. We urge you to speak up in your party and fight for a principled class-struggle program in the 1956 elections. That can only mean, under these conditions, to come out for the support of Dobbs and Weiss.

The choice in the elections is a class choice. Fight for an independent working class political break with capitalism! Support the SWP election campaign!

the need for them to use their power to secure government action.

As against the workers needs and aspirations, the Democratic Party serves the basic interests of the capitalist class. Its New Deal reputation was forced upon it in the first place out of necessity to ward off the mass radicalization following the 1929 market crash. Since the New Deal became transformed into a War Deal during the latter part of the Thirties not one major social reform has been introduced. The Democrats have broken their repeated promises to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and pass civil rights legislation. The 1956 Democratic convention voted down a proposed pledge to enforce the Supreme Court decision against segregation. In fact the Democrats have shown real action only in their efforts to out-bid the Republicans on military appropriations for the bipartisan war program and in their support of the bipartisan witch hunt.

Labor Must Build Own Party

Already implicit in the Democratic Party policy are the conditions leading to a union break with capitalist politics. The assault on labor has been deepening ever since the beginning of the cold war. The workers' determination to defend their living standards was dramatically revealed by the strike actions during the Korean war, conducted in defiance of the Truman administration. The conflict between capital and labor has become more and more political in character. In every showdown both the Democrats and Republicans have stood on the side of capital, their policies differing only in degree, not in basic content. Under these conditions a class struggle program backed up by militant leadership could soon prepare the way for an advance to independent labor political action.

The Communist Party policy of playing Democratic Party politics cuts squarely across this objective process. It helps tie the workers politically to the class enemy and serves to hold the Negro people in a coalition with the white supremacists. Mass demands remain limited to a capitalist reform program and the monopoly capitalists are permitted to retain unchallenged control of the government. This policy has nothing whatever in common with Leninist principles of class struggle. It violates the basic interest of the workers, Negro people and small farmers in a transparent effort to serve the Kremlin's foreign policy of "co-existence."

To enter Democratic Party politics on the pretext of helping to organize a labor faction in a capitalist party only feeds mass illusions that capitalism can be reformed and retards the break with capitalist politics. The resulting miseducation delays the fusion of the socialist program with the mass power of organized labor in an independent political party fighting for socialism.

A Class-Struggle Program

It is the duty of socialists to tell the class truth. The workers can defend their interests only outside the framework of the capitalist political parties and in class struggle against them. The toilers of America have nothing in

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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 more information about the Socialist Workers Party.

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Which Party Fights for Socialism?

Radical workers who want to vote socialist in this election have an apparent choice of three different tickets — the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. How should they decide which of the three to support?

American capitalism is today the center of world reaction. It aims to smash the colonial revolution and to reopen the Soviet Union, East Europe and China for imperialist exploitation. It is willing to use atomic war to realize this counter-revolutionary goal. The acid test for any party calling itself socialist is: Where does it line up in the unfolding struggle?

The stand of the SWP is to be found clearly stated in its election platform, printed in this issue, as well as in its entire record. The SWP is for the colonial revolution, for the defense of the Soviet nationalized economy born of the October 1917 Revolution, and for the extension of that revolution throughout the rest of the world. The SWP's struggle against the reactionary Soviet bureaucracy is waged within that context.

The SLP declares itself against both the Soviet Union and U.S. imperialism. It is against the Soviet Union for the same reason that it opposes the union movement in this country. In neither case can the SLP distinguish between a reactionary formation temporarily in control of a labor organization and the organization's viable base.

Refusal to support the nationalized economy against imperialism is objective betrayal of socialist principle, just as

refusal to support the unions is reactionary withdrawal from the living class struggle.

The program of the Socialist Party is best described as "State Department socialism." The SP lines up for "democracy" against "totalitarian Communism," thus adopting the State Department's demagoguery as to the issues of the cold war. (The SP backed the Korean "police action.")

Within that framework, the SP pleads for an end to imperialism. The sincerity of even that plea may be judged by a statement in the 1956 SP platform which says, "American Socialists find their allies... in the Socialist International." One of these allies is the French SP, whose leader, Premier Mollet, is waging war to crush the Algerian struggle for national independence. Indeed, the American SP in the August Socialist Call reprints without comment a resolution of its "Socialist" ally defending the bloody Algerian war.

A corollary of Wall Street's war drive is the witch hunt at home. The SP backs a crucial part of the police-state program, declaring in its platform: "Where employment of persons might endanger the security of the nation, screening is a natural part of the qualifications for the position..."

The SWP is against imperialism and for the world socialist revolution. The SLP is "neutral." The SP is on the side of imperialism. It is on this basis that socialist-minded workers should choose among them on Nov. 6.

Witch Hunt in West Germany

In an action influenced by the witch hunt in the U.S., the government of Konrad Adenauer, of the West German Republic, has prevailed on the Federal Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe to ban the West German Communist Party and all so-called front organizations and to order the seizure of its assets.

On August 17, immediately after the court ruled, police detachments swooped down on local headquarters of the CPG, closed party newspapers and confiscated tons of literature. That same day forty party functionaries in all parts of the country were arrested, hundreds of homes were searched, and bank accounts of the party were seized.

Independent West German newspapers received the Adenauer action with general criticism. The regime responded by widening the raids and arresting some 120 members of the CPG in Hamburg where the party has over 3,000 members.

The largest political party in West Germany that stands in opposition to the Adenauer Government is the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democrats are hostile to the Communist Party but are opposed to the banning of the CP. Its spokesman in the Federal parliament, Dr. Walter Menzel, a deputy from the Ruhr region, declared: "Anyone whose political work is in the Ruhr region knows well enough that a party like the Communist Party can never

be conquered by means of bayonets or police truncheons. You are under illusions if you believe that blast furnaces or miners who daily face death below ground will hand over one of their comrades to the police for expressing Communist views."

The Adenauer measure is designed as a stumbling block in the path of German reunification. The U.S. military planners in the Pentagon have assigned to West Germany the role of proving ground for the planned atomic saturation war against the Soviet Union. In addition the Adenauer regime wants to whip up hysteria in order to break down the growing opposition of West German youth to his conscription laws.

Historical experience shows that Adenauer is aiming at bigger game when he bans the CP at this time. He aims at the entire German union movement which in the last two years has displayed great militancy in the ranks. The Adenauer regime rests on the support of industrialists and the Catholic clergy. Once before in 1933 a Big Business drive to smash the labor movement was started with the banning of the Communist Party.

Hitler came to power on a wave of anti-Communist hysteria whipped up by the regime of von Papen who represented the same circles as are now served by Konrad Adenauer.

The CP Election Policy As It Looks in Action

By Murry Weiss

Members of the Communist Party are now getting a concrete lesson in precisely what the character of their party's policy is in the 1956 elections. In the discussions that took place during the past year, this policy was presented by party leaders in its "sophisticated" form, buried in a lot of radical phrasology with a sprinkling of quotations from Lenin on the evils of left sectarianism.

In these early explanations the stress was always placed on the need to "be with the workers" who were still in the grip of illusions about the Democratic party. The real character of the Democratic party, as a second party of Big Business, was not denied. Yes, it is a party of Big Business. But, the explanation went, we must help the workers learn this through their own experience.

THE REAL POLICY

Leaving aside the thoroughly unprincipled and opportunist character of the above "explanations," we have only to look at the manner in which the Daily Worker is reporting and editorializing on the recent Democratic Party convention to see the real policy stripped of its verbiage and radical rationalizations. CP members who take the trouble to compare yesterday's explanations with the policy in action will get a rich lesson in the logic of politics that is based on class collaboration instead of class struggle.

The nomination of Stevenson and Kefauver by the Democratic convention was greeted by a Daily Worker editorial Aug. 20 with the claim that this was a great victory for the labor movement. "It was the Michigan labor delegation which gave the strategic push that became the flood tide carrying Stevenson to vic-

tory," the editorial asserted. And it added, that this proves "once again the axiom that the Democratic party performs best when it listens to its labor and liberal wing."

How, may we ask, does this Hip, Hip, Hooray! for the Stevenson ticket help the workers overcome their illusions about the class interests served by the Democratic party? And how does it help the workers grasp the special role of the labor bureaucracy as an agency of capitalism in the ranks of the working class that binds the workers to capitalism and systematically serves the interests of capitalism?

EVEN LIBERALS ASHAMED

What is astonishing and revolting to every class conscious worker, is this unabashed cheering for Stevenson and the "liberal victory" when even the liberals themselves were burying their heads in shame at the cynical deal on the civil rights plank made at the Democratic convention. The liberal New York Post, for example, editorially referred to the night when the civil rights debate took place as "a night that decent Democrats will want to forget." As for Stevenson's role in the malodorous affair the Post was forced to say: "Neither Stevenson nor Averell Harriman nor others whose words might have mattered spoke out in the decisive hour." (Stevenson was asleep in his hotel room at the "decisive hour.")

But the Daily Worker editors can explain all that. It seems that Alan Max and John Gates have a pipe-line to Stevenson's innermost consciousness and conscience. Stevenson, we learn from them, probably does not agree with the convention platform on either the civil rights plank or the foreign policy plank. They

pick out two phrases from his acceptance speech to buttress this assumption. Stevenson said he is for "a New America where poverty is abolished... where freedom is made real for all without regard to race or belief." And the DW editors also find that Stevenson said that he is for "a New America (which) everlastingly attacks the ancient idea that men can solve their differences by killing each other." By tacking on to these two phrases Stevenson's statement, "These are the terms on which I accept your nomination," the Daily Worker extends the hope that Stevenson is really going to follow a different program than the real program of the Democratic party.

NO WAY TO FIGHT

That's all they needed. A meaningless phrase about "without regard to race" and a pious admonition against "killing each other" and the DW editors flop down on all fours and start braying for Stevenson. Have we ever seen a more disgusting political spectacle?

There are many members of the Communist Party who are extremely uneasy about the election policy of the party tops. After all, workers who join the CP do so because they are opposed to capitalism and are looking for a way to fight the capitalist system politically. This 1956 experience is bound to bring about some new thinking in the party rank and file, particularly at a time when all questions have come up for review and discussion. For our part we welcome such new thinking and promise to do our very best to help it along and find common terms for discussion with those comrades who are seeking a way out of the opportunist swamp.

What's Good for the South...

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



Florida and the South
NEED
a Man of Moderation
—a man friendly to the South...

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

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PULL THE
Stevenson Lever!

(Whisper this plan to your Social Security Number)

This ad from a Jacksonville, Fla., paper was first reprinted by the Los Angeles Tribune, a Negro newspaper in Los Angeles, during the Democratic primaries last June.

British and Arabian Labor Block Imperialist Suez Plan

By William Bundy

The governments of the United States, Britain and France have been forced to retreat on their course of launching a Korean-type police action against Egypt to re-establish direct imperialist control over the Suez canal.

Originally a formula for such control was to have been worked out at the 22-nation conference held in London beginning August 16. Egypt was to have been confronted with the alternative of agreeing to the proposals of the conference or facing military invasion by the imperialist powers. Instead of an ultimatum, the conference resulted in a proposal for negotiations with Egypt.

"What settled the matter," says the August 19 New York Times, "was British public opinion." Above all, this means British working class opinion. The turning point in the imperialist war plans was the demand of the British Labor party for Government assurances that the extensive troop movements to the Middle East were "purely precautionary... no preparations for armed intervention."

The right-wing Labor Party leaders were loudly cheering Prime Minister Eden's violent

threats against Egypt until a week before this statement. It is clear that they were forced to back down from their support of imperialist war policy by mass opposition in the ranks of the Labor party.

The serious preparations and mobilization of the Arab masses have made it crystal clear that Egypt's act of defiance of imperialism enjoys overwhelming popular support throughout the Middle East. So far general strikes and demonstrations have occurred in the Arab capitals of Beirut, Casablanca, Amman, Tunis, Karachi, Tripoli, and Baghdad; also in Jakarta (Indonesia), throughout Syria and Egypt and in oil installations in Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Throughout the rest of Asia there is also mass backing for Egypt's fight.

It is these mass actions that have aroused the British workers' sentiment of international solidarity and inspired them to active opposition.

Why I Support Dobbs

By Clifford T. McAvoy

[We reprint herewith a letter from Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, as it appeared in the Aug. 6 issue of the National Guardian.—Ed.]

The Senate Armed Services subcommittee hearings on the Air Force threw a glaring light on perhaps the most vital issue which will come before the American people in the November elections: war or peace. It is contended by many, including the Communist Party and many trade unions, that the "Cadillac Cabinet" must be defeated. This negative slogan is intended to rally all radicals, progressives, union members, the Negro people and other elements of the "peoples' coalition" behind the Democratic candidates for Congress, whoever they may be.

Regardless of the lack of merit of the Cadillac Cabinet, this policy constitutes a blank check for the most militaristic and warmongering of the two parties.

It is abundantly clear that the Democratic Party's foreign policy plank will support Congress in giving a reluctant Eisenhower Administration \$900 million more for increasing the Air Force. This will come out of the pockets

of those who constitute the bulk of the liberal coalition.

Today's situation is made to order for an independent Third Party with a program of peace, civil rights and civil liberties. I shall continue to fight to build such a party. We can thank the policy of "coalition" for the fact that we have no such party in the elections of 1956, but there is still an alternative.

There are three socialist candidates for President, at least one of whom will be on the ballot in New York and several other states in November. It is time for those who profess devotion to socialism to vote for a socialist. None of the three is perfect. However, all oppose war, favor labor, civil rights and civil liberties.

Because he and his party defend the achievements of the Soviet Union (although criticizing the brutalities of the Stalinist bureaucracy), and because he has fought valiantly for civil liberties for all, including the Communists, for civil rights and for labor's rights, I shall vote for Farrell Dobbs, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, in November.

The Guardian has the opportunity this year to play the most valuable role of its eight years of existence. The Guardian's independent status makes it possible for it to organize public forums on the issues of the '56 elections in which all political points of view could be debated. Such debates could clarify the issues and lead to a regroupment of the American Left after the elections. Will the Guardian meet this challenge and become the 1956 version of Gene Debs' Appeal to Reason, which was read by nearly a million readers?

America's Road to Socialism
 by **JAMES P. CANNON**
 80 pages 35 cents

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

...SWP 1956 Election Platform

(Continued from page 2)

common with the capitalist class but they have everything in common with the revolutionary masses of the world against whom capitalism is preparing a war of conquest.

To be combatted are the union bureaucracy, the conservative Negro leaders and all other elements within the mass movement who support the foreign policy of the capitalist government. To be combatted are the policies of the Communist Party seeking to preserve the status quo, thus giving outlived capitalism a new lease on life. Only those political tendencies aligning themselves against capitalism through a policy of independent working class political action are progressive and deserving of support.

In the 1956 elections only the Socialist Workers Party presents a principled, realistic vehicle for anti-capitalist political action through support of its national ticket — Farrell Dobbs for president and Myra Tanner Weiss for vice-president — and through support of its local candidates. In line with the fundamental objectives toward which the labor and socialist movement must strive the SWP candidates are running on this platform:

1. Foreign Policy

Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Congress and the President. Let the people vote through a nation-wide referendum on the question of war or peace. Withdraw all troops from foreign soil. Halt all nuclear weapons tests.

No secret diplomacy. Abolish all military alliances. Recognize the government of revolutionary China. End all trade restrictions against anti-imperialist countries. Hands off Egypt.

Support the right of all peoples to a government of

their own choice, including the right to abolish capitalism and replace it with a system of planned economy.

Solidarity with all colonial and socialist revolutions against imperialism and with the struggles of the workers in the Soviet sphere for the establishment of workers democracy.

2. Economic Security and Social Welfare

For the 30 hour week. Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay. Jobless benefits at full union rates for the entire period of unemployment. Government operation under workers control of all production facilities made idle by mergers, decentralization, run-arounds and production cutbacks. Abolish the speedup through union control of production speeds by majority vote of the workers involved.

Guarantee women workers equal pay for equal work; the right to a job and full seniority rights in upgrading; maternity care and federally-financed day nurseries and summer camps for children.

Adequate old-age pensions. Free medical care and hospitalization. Full disability benefits. A government-guaranteed college education for all youth.

An escalator clause on all wages, unemployment compensation, pensions and other benefits, with taxes to be included in computing living costs.

3. Democratic Rights

Repeat the Taft-Hartley and Humphrey-Butler Acts, the "Right to Work" laws and all other federal, state and city anti-labor laws. No restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket. No government interference in the unions.

Abolish the "subversive" list. Repeat the McCarran Internal Security and Immigration laws. Halt all deportations. Repeat the Smith Act and grant amnesty to all

victims of this thought-control law. Abolish the "loyalty" oaths and "loyalty" purges. 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.

Liberalize the election laws.

4. Rights of Minorities

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.

Enact and enforce legislation to abolish lynching, the poll tax and all forms of segregation. Create an FEPC with full powers of enforcement. Put a stop to police brutality.

Combat all forms of anti-Semitism.

5. Farm Policy

Establish a federal farm program to guarantee the cost of production on all farm commodities to working farmers to be operated under the control of their own representatives. Limit government price supports to small farmers only. Set up a federal all-risk crop insurance program with the premiums to be figured in the cost-of-production program. No limitation on crops so long as a single person remains hungry. Government food subsidies for families living on sub-standard diets.

Low cost, long term government credits to small farmers for modernization of production facilities. A moratorium on repayment of distress loans until the farm problem is solved. Expand rural electrification. A federal program for soil conservation and flood control. No taxes on savings of cooperatives. A federal ban on all speculation in farm commodities.

Abolish sharecropping and landlordism; the land to those who work it.

6. Housing and Public Works

Declare a national housing emergency and initiate a program to erect 20 million low-rent housing units. Rigid rent controls under the supervision of tenants committees. Build schools, hospitals and other public needs in adequate supply. Finance all public works from funds now allocated for arms expenditures.

7. Taxation

Tax the rich, not the poor. Repeal all payroll and sales taxes. Abolish all forms of hidden taxes. No tax on incomes under \$7,500 a year. A 100% tax on all incomes over \$25,000 a year. A 100% tax on all profits on war goods.

8. Military Policy

Stop the draft. Abolish the officers caste. Full democratic rights to the ranks, including election of their own officers and collective bargaining in defense of their interests. Union wages for all servicemen.

9. Government Ownership of Industry

Nationalize the banks, basic industries, food trusts and all natural resources, including nuclear power. Operate all these facilities in the interests of the producers and consumers through democratically-elected committees of workers and technicians. Institute a system of planned economy.

10. Independent Political Action

Break all ties with capitalist politics. Form an independent labor party based on the unions and embracing the Negro people and working farmers. Create a Workers and Farmers government to reorganize America on a socialist basis.

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 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

By Jean Blake

The Democrats' Civil Rights Plank

Civil rights in general and segregation in particular proved to be the most controversial issue at the Democratic Party convention last week, as everyone knew it would be. And again the futility of trying to use a capitalist party as the political vehicle for the fight against Jim Crow was demonstrated.

The tail of the Democratic Party — the liberals, the Americans for Democratic Action, the Reutherites, the Communist Party, the ex-socialists of various denominations — the tail tried to wag the donkey, and failed.

The northern liberals, with the aid of TV and radio, put on a big show for the benefit of the folks back home. Real militant-like, they "carried the fight to the floor."

The fight for what? For two little amendments to the civil rights plank of the Democratic National Committee: (1) to pledge to carry out the Supreme Court decision in relation to segregation in public schools, and (2) to simply state that they favor federal civil rights legislation.

In the interest of "party unity," the "king-makers" let the liberals stage their show, but let the Southern lawyers dictate the platform plank. They knew that the gutless Northern liberals — with their retinue of labor fakers and Uncle Toms — would sacrifice principle rather than walk out.

The actual language of the plank that was adopted is meaningless. But the position of the Democratic Party was made

clear — not only by what was omitted, but by what was specifically rejected: a pledge to uphold the ruling in favor of public school integration, and a statement favoring federal civil rights legislation.

It is understandable that naive people might have expected something different from the Democratic convention. But by now it should be clear that the "compromise civil rights plank acceptable to both North and South" is acceptable only to white supremacists of both North and South.

How could it be otherwise? The Negroes of the South, who want their full rights as American citizens, were not represented at the Democratic convention. And the workers of the North, colored and white, who want an end to segregation, have no say in determining the policies of the party; they can only vote "yes" or "no" to the very limited choice placed before them by the capitalist politicians.

As one of the Democratic delegation leaders frankly admitted in a TV interview last week, "The election platform is not something we stand on; it's something we run on."

It's time the Negro masses and their real friends made the cynical capitalist politicians walk their civil rights plank by forsaking the Democrats and the Republican twins and voting for the party of radical change: the Socialist Workers Party.

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...N. Y. and Other State Campaigns of SWP

(Continued from page 1) monly considered "subversives." Despite this, the SWP petition gatherers got well over 100 signatures in every single county.

Moreover, the petition teams encountered no antagonism — even from those refusing to sign. Many people signing declared that to have free elections the SWP and minority parties should be on the ballot. Some expressed their sympathy for socialism. Many declared their disgust with "the politicians," adding "I am not for the Democrats or Repub-



RITA SHAW, SWP candidate for Governor of Mich.

licans." Throughout the state individual workers were met who remembered the SWP from previous petition campaigns and elections. In such cases no persuasion was needed to get their signatures.

CPERS SIGN

Canvassing was done on street corners, at factory gates, and door-to-door. In one housing project in a northern county about 90% of the residents signed. In an upstate sawmill about half of the workers signed. About one-third, or 5,000 signatures, were collected upstate; the remaining 10,000 in New York City. Here the conscious sympathy for socialism among the Negro and Puerto Rican workers was particularly noticeable.

An interesting sidelight in the campaign revealed that a number of people in or around the Communist Party apparently disagree with the official line of supporting the Democratic Party. A SWP petition-gatherer stationed outside the Jefferson school for a brief period one night got the signatures of 18 out of 100 people attending a lecture there. In Chicago, Howard Mayhew, SWP candidate for Congress from the 2nd Congressional District, has opened a court battle to force

the state authorities to grant him his rightful place on the ballot. The case is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union. In two previous elections SWP candidates complied with the Illinois ballot laws, collecting the required signatures, etc., but still were denied a place on the ballot.

In 1954 Mayhew brought suit but the court refused to act on the grounds that the ballots were already printed. This year no such grounds can be used.

ACLU Attorney Howard N. Gilbert has asked the Illinois Circuit Court to declare unconstitutional that section of the election law used to disqualify SWP candidates. The section involved is a sweeping, vaguely-worded, witch-hunting paragraph.

Significantly enough the previous disqualification of Mayhew's candidacy was brought about by the machine of Congressman Barratt O'Hara,



HOWARD MAYHEW, SWP candidate Second Congressional District, Ill.

against whom Mayhew is running. O'Hara is a liberal Democrat, who pretends to be for civil liberties when speaking to labor and Negro organizations.

FREE SPEECH VIOLATED

In the brief filed by the ACLU, Attorney Gilbert declared that the section of the law used against the SWP violates the 1st and 14th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution as well as Article II of the Illinois Constitution. Gilbert states: "This provision can be used by election officials to arbitrarily deny to any group a place on the ballot, if the officials feel it falls under the very vague standards. No recourse is provided a group if such a determination is made."

"Not only is this contrary to the due process guarantees of our Constitutions, but the section broadly violates the rights of free speech and assembly. The right to dissent has always been an important part of American political life and this right must be maintained for a healthy democracy."

In Michigan the SWP is battling a similar attempt by the liberal Democrats to keep it off the ballot. There the administration of Gov. Mennen Williams has ruled both the SWP and the Socialist Labor Party off the ballot. This was accomplished by a slick changing of the petition-processing rules by Williams' Secretary of State. The SWP and SLP, which had collected well over the required number of signatures in the manner always accepted in previous elections, were not informed of the change until it was too late to comply with the new procedures. The SWP has been on the Michigan ballot in every election since 1948. The SLP has been on the Michigan ballot since 1902.

While endeavoring to get a

court challenge of Gov. William's unscrupulous maneuver, which appears dictated by fear of a close election, the SWP has declared that in any event it will conduct a vigorous write-in campaign in Michigan for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss



JOYCE COWLEY, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, N.Y.

for President and Vice-President and Rita Shaw for Governor. Mrs. Shaw has already begun campaigning. On Aug. 12 she addressed the General Council of Ford Local 600. Ten thousand folders containing the text of the speech (which was also printed in last week's Militant) will be given out during the campaign.

In New York Joyce Cowley, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, made the opening speech of her campaign at the party's Third National Nominating Convention. (For story on campaign of Herbert Lewin in Pennsylvania see article elsewhere on this page.)

Story of the 299-Day Strike at Lester

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 15 — The longest major strike in the history of the Delaware Valley ended Aug. 7. For 299 days the 6,000 members of Local 107-UE (Independent) fought a lock-out, imposed by the Wall Street-controlled Westinghouse Electric Corporation, at its huge Lester, Pa., turbine plant on the outskirts of Philadelphia. With the national IUE and UE settlements in March, they grimly continued the battle alone for another four months.

Local 107 was singled out by Westinghouse for a crippling attack because it had won through its militancy the highest level of wages and conditions in the chain. It was the only location where the company revoked the local supplement (in which wages, hours, and conditions are spelled out). The company demanded such drastic changes that acceptance of them would have meant the wrecking of the achievements of 20 years of union struggles. In the last weeks of negotiations before the strike, the company made a take-it-or-leave-it demand for a wage-cut, averaging 50 cents per hour!

COMPANY STRATEGY
The wage-cutting ultimatum united the workers, forcing them to walk out. This, evidently, was the immediate goal of company strategy, with a long-range aim of starving the strikers into submission. In addition, the company resorted to court injunctions and firing of union leaders. It had the cops invade the homes

of militants, dragging them out in the middle of the night. It succeeded in getting 26 union leaders jailed. Heavy details of police were mobilized at the gates. Cameras were kept trained on all the pickets. Special mail campaigns were pushed hitting at the morale of strikers' families.

To cap it all, a new high in bribery was attempted. Trying to split the strikers, the company rigged a new wage offer aimed at the incentive workers, who compose half the working force. It dangled lump sum payments ranging from \$400 to \$650 before their eyes, to be paid 30 days after a settlement, plus an equal sum in December — if they would go for the whole plan. An analysis disclosed that even with those payments a 25-cent per hour cut would result — in the eighth month of the strike!

With the workers holding firm under all these pressures and not one scab recruited in ten months, the company finally had to yield. The local won a return to work without any wage cuts and also won the annual increases and fringe improvements gained nationally. It had fought off measured day work. An escalator clause boosts rates 1 cent per hour for every half-point rise in the Labor Department cost-of-living index.

COMPROMISE
The union forced the lifting of the discharges of 14 leaders, compromising on a suspension for 75 days. While this compromise roused great opposition among the workers, these terms are better than those settled for by the IUE where arbitration resulted in discharges and long term suspensions.

"107" was stuck with a five-year agreement. But that had been predetermined, first by IUE President Carey's establishment of the precedent in the General Electric contract, then with the IUE and UE settlements with Westinghouse. However, local re-opening clauses on wages, with the right to strike and on non-economic matters, without the right to strike, diminish the freezing effect of the five-year provision, somewhat. Because of the strike's length and character as a lone battle for four months after the rest of Westinghouse settled; because of its ability to rally the sup-

port of all labor in the Delaware Valley — AFL, CIO and independent — despite the local's UE affiliation; because the defensive objectives were accomplished and past gains preserved — for these reasons the settlement, although a compromise, can be considered a victory for "107."

Yet the ratification meeting ended with the militants in roaring opposition, voting 539 against acceptance to 2,167 for. Voting to continue the strike after ten months! It is also known in labor circles that Local 107's Executive Board split, with nine against 14 for acceptance. Why?

VIEWES OF MILITANTS

The hard core of picket-line fighters felt that this first attempt by the company to negotiate seriously meant that they were cracking under the need to reopen the plant. Therefore, it was felt, continuance of a firm stand would force Westinghouse to completely clear the 14 whom the militants wanted to see back in the plant with them. Such a firm stand after ten months, the militants felt, would make it crystal clear to the company that it had better drop all plans aimed at cutting the contract or victimizing anyone. Past experience and information indicated that Westinghouse had such ideas in mind.

Further, a few strikers who had seen the contract were warning of dangerous provisions in it and resented the rush to put it over without the membership having had the chance to study it. ("107" continuation calls for the contract to be given to the membership 48 hours before a ratification meeting.) Most of the strikers received the contract as they entered the meeting.

The militants were particularly angry with UE Organization Director Mattes, whom they credited with the idea of compromising the issue of the 14 suspended strike leaders. They had understood the Local's stand to be complete exonerated and that is what they wanted.

BATTLE AHEAD

Facing the Local in December is the rewriting of all job descriptions and the establishment of new classifications and rates. This could be an opening for the company unless the membership is on its toes and ready to resist any hostile moves. The company may be counting on the long strike to have sapped the morale of the workers.

The next few months may well indicate what the company has in mind. With the 14 leaders outside the plant during this period, some of whom are chief stewards of important sections, the company may attempt to attack the weaker elements and departments. That might be one reason why the company insisted on keeping the 14 outside, at least during this period.

In the field of politics, the strike taught "107" quite a bit about labor's "friends," especially regarding the administration of Pennsylvania's Gov. George M. Leader. "107" was clearly the victim of a lockout. Its members were unquestionably entitled to unemployment compensation under state laws. Yet the local

had to force the State to grant the workers their rights every step of the way. And it is doubtful whether it would have succeeded if this was not an election year. Collecting checks still looks a long way off.

The union again learned the old principle of the labor movement that "labor's friend is labor itself." This was proven during the ten-month ordeal by the great

wave of union solidarity that supported "107" — in every way it needed it.

When the American workers come to understand the need to abandon company-union politics and unite in a Labor Party, then a corporation like Westinghouse will hesitate a hundred times before it will tackle labor to try to cut its conditions and steal its gains.

Pennsylvania Unionist SWP Choice for Senate

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator in Pennsylvania is Herbert Lewin, a well-known union figure. Lewin is a member of the United Electrical

Workers Local 107, in Lester, Pa., which has just returned to work after 299 days on the picket line. Herb Lewin played an active role in the long, bitter battle.

Lewin was formerly a member of the United Auto Workers in Syracuse, N. Y. He was the first to join the union in the General Motors plant where he was working and still cherishes his UAW card No. 1.

He distinguished himself in Local 107 in the 1946 strike. An able and courageous picket, he was a celebrated victim of police brutality. A news picture printed throughout the world, showed a Westinghouse picket on the ground with five or more club-wielding cops working him over. The embattled picket of the photo is, as all the Lester strikers knew, Herb Lewin. (The photo won a prize for the cameraman and is still reprinted in the labor press from time to time.)

WINS WITCH HUNT CASE

In 1948 Westinghouse posted a notice that Herb Lewin and another worker were fired as "poor security risks." The excuse in Lewin's case was his well-known socialist beliefs. Immediately a storm of protest broke out in the plant and a mass meeting was called. The 4,500 assembled workers voted to strike immediately. Next morning the plant was shut tight. This militant response of the local to the witch-hunters resulted in the reinstatement of the two.

Born in Rockaway, N. Y., Lewin apparently never visualized a life in a factory, piling up profits for a corporation. His



HERBERT LEWIN

original bent was towards science and the great outdoors. He studied forestry at the New York State Forestry College, of Syracuse University. As an extracurricular activity he studied socialism. While his forestry learning comes in handy on vacations and teaching his young son about nature, his socialist understanding has, along with his personal qualities, made him the outstanding union builder his fellow workers know him to be.

In 1950 Lewin was the Pennsylvania SWP's candidate for governor. This November workers in Pennsylvania can vote for him for Senator on the ticket of the Militant Workers Party (SWP ballot designation in Pa.)

Republicans Retain Nixon; Rights Plank Offers Little

By John Thayer

A cut-and-dried Republican Party Convention unanimously renominated President Eisenhower and then steamrollered through the renomination of Vice-President Nixon. What little popular in-

terest there was in the proceedings in San Francisco centered on the possibility of a fight to "dump" Nixon. This interest in the hitherto unimportant office of Vice-President is due to Eisenhower's age and health. Not only the public, but the two major factions in this Big Business Party are keenly aware that, if re-elected, Eisenhower may well not live out his term.

The faction formerly led by Sen. Taft is known for its "isolationist" foreign policy and unconcealed hostility to labor and social legislation. Strong throughout the party, its chief support is among Midwest industrialists, now reinforced by Texas oil millionaires.

WALL STREET FACTION

The "liberal, internationalist" wing is dominated by Eastern capitalists, who are more sophisticated politically and socially. Their foreign investments and connections make them "internationalist" in the imperialist sense of the word. In domestic policy they are no whit less anti-labor than the "right-wingers," but they realize an all-out assault on unions and existing social legislation might well bring about an awakening of the labor movement and a counter-attack rather than the desired smashing. This wing of the Republican Party bears resemblance to Big Business' alternate party, the Democrats.

It is this Wall Street led section of the party which is dominant. It groomed and then put over Eisenhower in the 1952 convention in the bitter battle with Sen. Taft. When it had used McCarthy to the extent desired and saw that his fascist ambitions were not compatible with the methods of rule it favors at this time, the Wall Street led faction cut him down to size. When it realized the unfavorable military and political stalemate U.S. imperialism had reached in the cold war, it decided — despite the raging of Sen. Knowland (R-Cal.) — to postpone its global war plans and to play the diplomatic game against the Soviet Union and the colonial revolution.

For Wall Street, Eisenhower was the ideal instrument of rule. The only cloud on the horizon was his failing health. This put the financiers on the horns of a dilemma. Vice-President Nixon

has his roots and origins in the party's right wing. He rose to the Vice-Presidency solely on the Alger Hiss case — in other words, in the style of McCarthy. Should he succeed Eisenhower, could he be trusted or would the narrow, inflexible right wing of the party control him?

On the other hand, the Democrats' sole campaign issue is Eisenhower's health. To "dump" Nixon would not only embitter the situation inside the Republican Party but would play directly into the Democrats' campaign strategy.

The "liberal internationalist" wing of the Republican Party has decided to take a gamble and to keep Nixon. Arguments for this calculated risk were that Nixon had broken his ties with the right wing. Hadn't he done everything the President had ordered him to? Hadn't he double crossed McCarthy in the censure fight? Hadn't he gone along with the "internationalists" the "Geneva spirit" designed to cool off the cold war, thus defying Knowland?

Still, some elements of Eastern capital consider Nixon too great a gamble. The rallying of all the right wing around his candidacy raised suspicions of secret com-

mitments by the wily Vice-President to the right wing. Stassen's ill-fated attempt to re-open the question of Nixon just prior to the convention shows that disquiet reigns in some of the Eastern counting houses. Significantly, that sober watchdog of Wall Street's interests, the New York Times, has been carrying editorials which indicate doubt about supporting the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket. Were there no danger of Nixon becoming President in the next four years, there would not be a moment's hesitation.

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE

Predictions that the Republicans would make a strong bid for the Negro vote with a civil rights plank much stronger than that with which the Democrats appeased the Dixiecrats, did not come true. While the Republican resolution goes beyond the Democratic in that it "accepts" the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, it "accepts" it without enthusiasm or plans for implementing it.

This shows, hungry as the Republicans are for votes, they are not willing even to promise enforcement of school desegregation. Like labor, the Negro people cannot utilize either the Democratic or Republican Party to make gains. Together they could build a labor party and march forward.

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
San Francisco	650	650	100
Seattle	300	300	100
Twin Cities	1,320	1,320	100
Youngstown	250	250	100
Newark	200	177	89
Milwaukee	250	220	88
Philadelphia	400	338	85
New York	4,000	3,006	75
Oakland	200	150	75
St. Louis	85	45	53
Akron	140	50	36
General		167	
Totals	\$16,175	\$15,055	93%

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