

# Khrushchev's Report On Stalin's Crimes

By James P. Cannon

[Published below is the full text of the speech by James P. Cannon, delivered in Los Angeles, California, on June 15, 1956 at Channing Hall. Entitled: Khrushchev's Report on Stalin, the published text is a transcription from a tape recording.]

Comrade Chairman and Comrades: As the chairman has indicated, and as many of you know, a speech about the Soviet Union is not a new experience for me. In fact, I have been talking about it ever since 1917, and always from the same point of view.

I wish to begin my remarks tonight by restating the opinion I have held about the Soviet Union ever since it first arose out of the revolution 39 years ago, and by presenting my credentials to talk once again about the great new things that have been happening there — to an audience which, I take it, is friendly as I am, to the Soviet Union, and believes as I do, that the interests and the destiny of the international working class are indissolubly bound up with the interests and destiny of the Soviet Union.

We Trotskyists regard the Russian Revolution of 1917 as the great dividing line in human history. Ascending world capitalism came to a halt there, met with its first defeat, and entered into its decline. The Russian Revolution signaled the real beginning of humanity's march to the higher and better order of socialism. All social progress in modern times dates from November 7, 1917.

We Trotskyists are internationalists. We have always regarded the Russian Revolution not as an end in itself, but as the starting point of the worldwide socialist revolution. For that reason, from that socialist internationalist standpoint, we have been partisans and defenders of the Soviet Union and the Russian Revolution which brought it into existence, ever since 1917.

Everything that has happened in the 39-year evolution of the Soviet Union has always had a burning interest for us from that internationalist socialist point of view. Everything we have said and done, either in praise or in criticism, in all the intervening time, has been governed by the single criterion: What is good for the Revolution, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for the extension of the revolution throughout the world?

That was our criterion in defending the revolution in its first difficult years when the combined imperialist nations tried to strangle it in the cradle.

That was our criterion in 1928 when we first came out in support of the Left Opposition in the Russian Party, in the internal struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution under Stalin. The Left Opposition fought under the great slogans of Soviet Democracy, Industrialization and Revolutionary Internationalism. It stood for the defense of the Soviet Union by the policy of international class struggle.

We were governed by the same criterion — what is good for the Soviet Union and for its extension throughout the world — in

the 30's when we denounced the Moscow Trials as frame-ups and protested against the physical extermination of the Old Bolsheviks who were the victims of those trials.

We bring the same criterion, the same basic point of view about the Soviet Union, to the present consideration of the new revelations now coming out of Moscow about the monstrous crimes of Stalin and Stalinism. We discuss them as partisans and defenders of the Soviet Union. I state that by way of introduction to establish the theme of all I have to say tonight.

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The news coming from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union represents progress in all respects.

In the first place, the economic reports show the tremendous development of the productive forces of the Soviet Union, including its military potential. Thanks to the revolution, and the new social system of nationalized property and planned economy created and made possible by the revolution, the Soviet Union is no longer a backward country. In industrial development it stands second only to the United States, and its rate of productive development is greater than that of the United States.

In the second place, the 20th Congress occurred at a moment when the extension of the revolution and the abolition of capitalist property forms in Eastern Europe and in China, and the rising tide of the colonial revolution, coincide with innumerable weaknesses and dislocations in the world capitalist front. This combination of circumstances has greatly improved the position of the Soviet Union in relation to the imperialist powers. Thanks to this extension of the revolution, the Soviet Union is no longer isolated and surrounded in a capitalist world.

In international relations today the Soviet Union obviously leads not from weakness but from strength. It is the strength of the Soviet Union that compelled the imperialist powers headed by the United States to pause before the reckless gamble of a military attack, which has been the central feature of their world program for a long time.

And finally, the events of the 20th Congress represent progress because a part of the truth of what has been going on inside the Soviet Union for a long time, to undermine it and endanger it — a part of the truth that was revealed at the 20th Congress for the first time, and truth is always the ally of progress.

In the new revelations, and others that are yet to come, we

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## Trotskyist Leaders Challenge CP Heads to Public Debates

### Civil Liberties Gains Follow Kutcher Case

By George Lavan

June 26th was a red letter day on the civil liberties calendar for 1956. It was the day on which James Kutcher, the legless World War II veteran, returned to work in the Newark branch of the Veterans Administration. For eight years Kutcher's case has been one of the key civil liberties fights because he challenged the very basis of the witch hunt by openly admitting membership in an organization which had been arbitrarily placed on the Attorney General's list.

Kutcher's victory is the first of its kind. Other victims of the loyalty purge that have gotten their jobs back have done so in cases where they were able to establish that they were victims of mistaken identity or had not been "guilty" of the thoughts or associations alleged against them.

Kutcher, however, never once backed down on his socialist beliefs or membership in the Socialist Workers Party in the course of the long fight in which his job was taken away and his home and his pension threatened by the witch hunters.

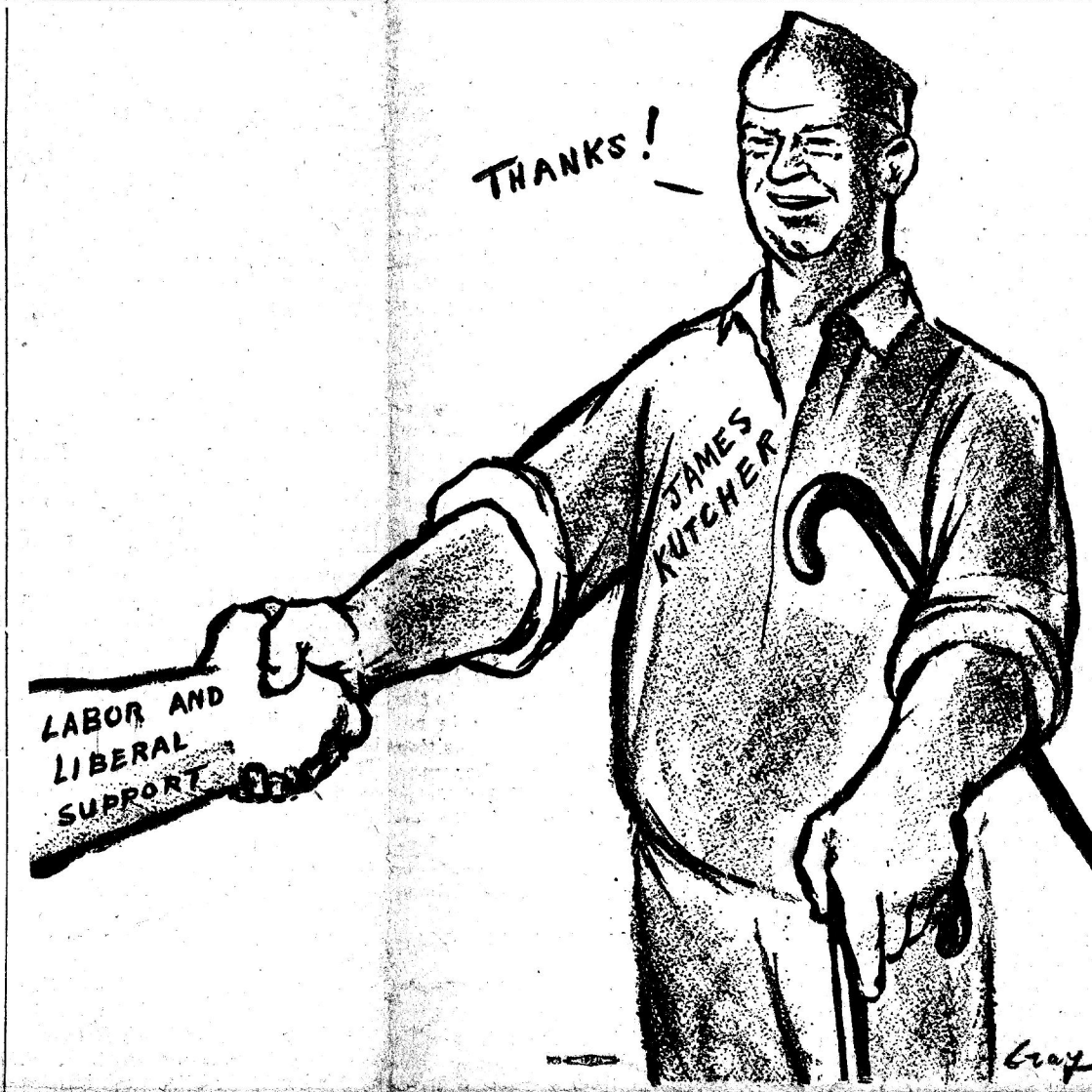
### SOCIAL SECURITY CASE

Another heartening victory on the civil liberties front was the ruling of the Social Security Administration that aged former employees of the Communist Party and their survivors and dependents had been illegally deprived of their pensions. The ruling came in the cases of William Z. Foster, 75-year old national chairman of the CP, 74-year old Jacob Mindel, 70-year old Mrs. Mindel and three others.

All of these had been deprived of their tiny social security pensions on the witch-hunt charge that they had been employed by a "foreign" government. All had been employees, or were widows of employees, of the CP nationally or locally. For 20 years the Social Security had deducted taxes from their wages for pensions. The pensions were stopped some months ago and the government ordered the victims to pay back what they had already received in pension benefits.

One of the crudest frame-ups in American history appears to have been ended by the Kentucky Court of Appeals decision in the

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### Legless Veteran Sends Letter to Supporters

[James Kutcher, the legless veteran, who was fired from his civil service job in 1948 for admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, has addressed the following letter to all who helped him carry on the fight which this month culminated in his being restored to his job. — Ed.]

June 26, 1956

Dear Friend:

Today I went back to work as a clerk in the Newark branch of the Veterans Administration. It is very difficult for me to express adequately my emotions. I am filled not only with personal happiness at being vindicated and having a job again, but with a feeling that through me something more important — American civil liberties — has

won a victory. I hope my case will now serve as an important legal precedent for others who have been victimized and smeared solely because of their political views.

### GRATEFUL FOR HELP

I would not have regained my job if it hadn't been for the help which you gave individually or through your organizations to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. I want to thank you for that help from the depths of my heart. Not only did your contributions make possible the eight years of legal struggle, which I could not otherwise have afforded, but it was the main thing that sustained my morale in periods of discouragement.

It was a wonderful thing in the course of the past eight years to receive repeated proof that the labor movement and

liberal defenders of civil liberties were behind me — that I wasn't waging a lonely crusade. This proof came in the form of personal letters, contributions, public statements, and resolutions, meetings, invitations to speak before union and other organizations and many a personal word of encouragement.

### WILL HELP OTHERS

I wish to thank all of you for what you have done to bring about today's victory; all the individuals, the labor movement and all other groups who helped. I also want to assure you that my interests in democratic rights will not end now that my own have been restored. I intend to take my place in your ranks, as a supporter and fighter for the liberties and rights of others.

Gratefully Yours,  
James Kutcher

### Brooklyn Symposium Stimulates Call for More Open Discussion

By John Thayer

"I invite a debate with Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the American Communist Party," declared Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, last night at a symposium in Brooklyn. "Furthermore my party hails such a free, give and take discussion as this held tonight and urges that in the

### Will Back Dobbs Says McAvoy At Brooklyn Meeting

NEW YORK, June 25 — "I shall cast my vote for the Socialist Workers Party in the 1956 presidential elections," declared Clifford T. McAvoy, 1953 candidate of the American Labor Party for Mayor of New York at a symposium last night in Brooklyn.

McAvoy, long prominent in the labor movement and subsequently a leader of the Progressive Party, made his dramatic and unexpected declaration of support of Farrell Dobbs and Myra T. Weiss, the SWP standard bearers, in the course of a speech on the symposium subject — Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections. (A full report on the symposium appears elsewhere in this issue.)

### MODEL FOR OTHERS

In coming out for the SWP ticket, McAvoy made it clear that he had disagreements with some of the party's positions. Specifically, he did not agree with the foreign policy plank. Nonetheless, he said, he would support the SWP in 1956 because it offered working people the only alternative to voting for the Big Business major parties.

Farrell Dobbs, the SWP candidate for president, who was one of the speakers at the symposium, thanked McAvoy for his statement of support as a significant political act which would aid in promoting an effective socialist campaign in 1956. He urged that others who also were not in full agreement with the SWP but could not stomach the Democratic or Republican parties, to follow McAvoy's example.

coming period they be held on the widest possible scale."

In Los Angeles a similar call was voiced a week earlier by James P. Cannon, SWP national chairman. Addressing a meeting on "Khrushchev's Report on Stalin," he said: "We are heartily in favor of a full and free discussion among all people and all tendencies friendly to the Soviet Union and professing devotion to the socialist ideal. We hope and believe that out of such a discussion, a full and free and unregulated discussion, can come a new understanding among honest, socialist-minded workers, a new solidarity, so long disrupted by Stalinism, and a regroupment in an honest party of American socialism."

### FOUR SPEAKERS

The symposium at which Dobbs spoke was on Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections and was sponsored by the Brooklyn Compass Club. Four speakers participated: David Goldway, executive secretary of the Jefferson School; Clifford T. McAvoy, former candidate of the American Labor Party (New York section of the Progressive Party); Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished historian and educator; and Farrell Dobbs, SWP presidential candidate. Following presentation by the speakers of their various viewpoints there was an hour-long question period, then each speaker made a brief summation.

The order of speakers, chosen by lot, put Dobbs first. (His presentation speech appears elsewhere in this issue.)

### ADVOCATES ROYCOTT

Second speaker was Dr. DuBois. "Admit, then, my friends," he argued "that for 1956 at least we are licked as far as presidential candidates are concerned. Big Business will nominate the candidates. Big Business will screen the news and write the editorials. Radio and television, owned by Big Business, will conduct the campaign. The FBI

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## John G. Wright -- Defender of Marxism

By Art Preis

World Trotskyism has suffered a grievous loss with the death on June 21 of John G. Wright, pen-name of Joseph Vanzler. For almost a quarter century he had been

one of the ablest and most devoted defenders of Marxism, the science of the emancipation of the working class. He taught revolutionary youth the meaning and value of the great liberating theories of scientific socialism.

His devoted wife Doris was with him at his sudden, tragic end. He had been ill for six months but hope was held for his recovery. He collapsed of heart failure in his home last Thursday. Emergency aid was quickly summoned. But the use of oxygen and a pulmotor were in vain. He leaves a four-year old son.

He was a close collaborator with the great Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky during the latter's last years. As the translator of a number of Trotsky's works, Comrade Wright made available to the English-speaking world some of the most invaluable writings of the Bolshevik genius.

### MARXIST SCHOLAR

Since 1933, when he officially entered the Trotskyist movement, Usick, as he was affec-



JOHN G. WRIGHT

his family to the United States when he was twelve years old.

By dint of great effort, he secured a formal education and graduated from Harvard University as a specialist in colloidal chemistry. He had a profound grasp of mathematics and throughout his adult life closely followed all important developments in natural science. Shortly after the explosion of the first two atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945, Wright delivered a series of brilliant lectures ex-

plaining the dialectical nature of atomic physics and the character of atomic energy.

During his Harvard days, he became deeply interested in the study of philosophy and was introduced by an old German professor to the writings of Hegel, who had uncovered the laws of the dialectic but had applied them chiefly in an idealistic sense. Dissatisfied with Hegel, Wright began to investigate the use of the dialectical method in the material world. This led him in the late Twenties to the study of Marx and Engels.

### BECOMES TROTSKYIST

In 1928, the late Dr. Antoinette Komikow was the leader of a circle of Boston communists who had broken with the increasingly Stalinized bureaucracy of the American Communist Party. Through increasing association and discussion with Dr. Komikow, Wright was drawn to the early Trotskyist movement, organized as the Communist League of America, forerunner of the present Socialist Workers Party. Wright was married for a number of years to Dr. Komikow's daughter, the late Edith Komikow and they are survived by a son in his twenties.

From the first, Wright immersed himself in the activities of the Trotskyist party. Although he was originally led to the revolutionary movement by his intellectual interests, he became an intense, loyal party activist. He plunged into the activity of the New York local, assumed his share of branch work and helped to carry on the work of local leadership. His special talents made him an inevitable choice for educational director of the local.

In later years, as his responsibilities grew in connection with his work as a member of the editorial boards of The Militant and the Fourth International, he recalled, with nostalgia, the period of his most active branch life and spoke with a special pride of his participation in the great New York hotel workers strike of 1934. He was elected to the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party at the April 1940 convention and had been reelected at all subsequent conventions.

### MAN OF PRINCIPLE

The life of the Trotskyist movement has always been marked by intense ideological discussions and struggles. Wright participated to the full in this

internal ideological activity. He was distinguished by his firm adherence to Marxist principles and in every test he took his stand firmly on the side of the proletarian wing in the party. He contributed many articles to the internal discussion bulletins and helped to draft many of the most important resolutions of the party. His last work was participation in drawing up the draft resolutions on China, the colonial revolutions, the latest turn of the Stalinist bureaucracy, etc.

In the late Thirties, while Leon Trotsky was in exile in Mexico, Wright entered into an extensive collaboration with him. Wright placed his experience as a research expert at Trotsky's disposal and gave the latter valuable aid in the preparation of a number of his important writings.

### TRANSLATED TROTSKY

Some of Trotsky's most significant works were translated for Pioneer Publishers by Wright, who brought to the task not only high literary competence but clear understanding of Trotsky's ideas and program. Trotsky himself had the highest praise for the quality of Wright's translations. Among the major books which Wright translated during

Trotsky's lifetime were The Third International After Lenin and The Stalin School of Palefication. He also translated scores of Trotsky's articles for The Militant, The New International and the Fourth International. As editor of Trotsky's works, following his death in 1940, Wright selected and translated the important materials contained in the two volumes of The First Five Years of the Comintern.

This work reveals the true role of Trotsky in the founding of the Soviet Union and the formation of the Third International, a role obscured by mountains of Stalinist slander. The Communist workers and youth who are being inspired to deluge back into the past as a result of Khrushchev's confessions, will have in these two volumes translated by Wright the documentary evidence of Trotsky's leading political role at the side of Lenin.

Wright wrote on almost every theme, from abstract theory to the most burning current events. He wrote many articles on the American economy and diagnosed the ills of American capitalism. He ranged all over the globe in his analysis of international events. He was the first journalist in the United States to detect the civil war in Yugoslavia and

to reveal its working class character. The Chinese revolution of 1949-50 was discussed with great acumen by him in a series of articles.

### EXPERT ON STALINISM

But in no field was he more expert than the Soviet Union. He read and analyzed the Soviet press and uncovered from the merest hints and obscure references many of the most momentous events. Time and again he was the first to reveal important Soviet economic trends and shifts of line of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

He was the first to uncover and make public Stalin's last purge, the frame-up of the Soviet Jewish doctors. Months after Stalin's death, his Kremlin successors admitted to the truth of the fact as they had first been revealed to the world by John G. Wright. He subsequently disclosed the "great agricultural crisis that rocked the Malenkov regime."

Our Usick was a warm, sensitive, generous person. His great intellectual capacities led him to the revolutionary socialist movement. But it was his deep human feelings that motivated his revolutionary struggles for 23 years. We will miss him as a comrade and friend and a loyal fighter for socialism.



# The Khrushchev Report on Crimes of Stalin

(Continued from page 1) see the distorted reflection in the top circles of the Soviet bureaucracy of a deep-going movement of the Soviet masses. We are witnessing a new stage in the development of the Russian Revolution, a progressive stage. The Soviet masses are beginning to stir. That's why the tops are shaking.

The wholesale denunciation and repudiation of Stalin, three years after he is safely dead, sensational and far-reaching as it is, marks only the beginning. The whole story of the monstrous crimes of Stalin and Stalinism has not yet been told. Far from it. But the heirs and accomplices of Stalin, by their preliminary revelations, have set in motion a process that they will never be able to control.

It will not stop until the full truth is known, and until every vestige of Stalinism in the Soviet Union has been swept away by the Soviet masses, and until this foul disease is eradicated from the international labor movement. The truth is on the march again and nothing can stop it. The truth is always progressive. The truth is revolutionary.

The subject of our discussion tonight is provided by the speech of Khrushchev at a closed session of the 20th Congress, February 24 and 25. The text of this speech was leaked to the diplomatic representatives of various foreign powers, and was freely referred to in the world press more than two months ago. On June 4 the text of the speech of 26,000 words was issued to the press by the U.S. State Department. It was published in full in the New York Times the next day, and has brought no denial or repudiation

## Foster's Question...

The Daily Worker sets a good theme for the discussion when it says in its editorial:

"The State Department is dead wrong when it suggests that the evils of the Stalin era are inherent in socialism. The fact is that the development of those evils created a peril for socialism. The repression, the injustice, the frame-up, the torture, are a gross perversion of socialist principles."

That's what the week-end Worker said. I fully agree with that statement. That has always been our opinion and we see less reason than ever to change it now.

What is new and important in the Khrushchev report, is that some of the crimes of Stalin against the Soviet Union, against the international working class, against socialism, are now admitted and confirmed by Stalin's most intimate collaborators, his hand-picked disciples, who were accomplices in those very crimes. Khrushchev's report is the testimony of an expert. Khrushchev is the man who knows. He was there!

The long history of Stalinism and the struggle against it encompasses all the problems of the international labor movement for the past 33 years. Many articles, pamphlets and books — classics of Marxism — have been written in the course of this long struggle. It is the most important question in the world because it directly affects the struggle for socialism at every point. Many lectures would be required to cover this vast field. Here tonight I wish to single out and quote Khrushchev's testimony about Stalin's method of dealing with honest, revolutionary critics and opponents; how Stalin wiped out the

## ... And Khrushchev's Answer

I am reading now direct quotations from Khrushchev's speech: "Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation, and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion."

"Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint, and the correctness of his position, was doomed to removal from the leading collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation."

So says Khrushchev. Again: "Stalin originated the concept 'enemy of the people.' This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men, engaged in a controversy, be proved; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression, violating all norms of revolutionary legality, against anyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin."

"This concept 'enemy of the people' actually eliminated the possibility of any kind of ideological fight, or the making of one's views known on this or that issue, even those of a practical character. In the main, and in actuality, the only proof of guilt used, against all norms

from the Kremlin. The current issue of The Militant, which went to press a week ago and is now in your hands, carries the full text of Khrushchev's speech in a four-page supplement. And now the New York Daily Worker, in its last week-end edition, also printed the entire text, as released by the U.S. State Department, without in any way challenging its authenticity. So when we discuss the speech as it was printed in the various publications that I have named, we can safely assume we are discussing the speech, or at least part of the speech, as it was actually given.

The Daily Worker says it is publishing the speech as a contribution to the effort "to explore ways of uniting socialist-minded Americans and of advancing socialist ideas." And then it adds: "We hope, too, that Communists, readers of our paper and other socialist-minded Americans will contribute their thinking on the problems confronting the Marxist movement in the discussion of this subject."

I agree with this sentiment expressed in the Daily Worker. I am assuming that the invitation to "other socialist-minded Americans" to join in the discussion also includes me, and I hope I am not mistaken about that. My remarks tonight can be taken as a response to the invitation of the Daily Worker, although to be perfectly frank with you, I freely admit that the preparations for this meeting had already been made before the week-end edition of the Daily Worker went to press, and I would very probably be making my speech anyway, even if the invitation to join the discussion had not been so kindly extended.

whole generation of the companions of Lenin. That is the question that goes to the heart of all the other questions. It is the most terrible story in all history, for the companions of Lenin, whom Stalin murdered, were truly the advance guard of humanity. They were the noblest and the best history has yet seen. We weep for the slaughtered saints of the great revolution.

Three months ago, when the first reports of the 20th Congress came out, William Z. Foster, the national chairman of the Communist Party, tried to sweep the whole business under the rug. In a Daily Worker article, this old hack of Stalin who has been applauding all Stalin's crimes for 30 years, came to Stalin's defense once again. That was three months ago. We haven't heard from him lately. But three months ago he told the young Communist Party members, who were alarmed about the reports, to take it easy and wait till we get the official word from Moscow. Stalin did a lot of good, he said; don't "tear him to political shreds."

There might have been a few small mistakes, but nothing to get excited about. Then he asked, with an air of innocence — as if he didn't know: "Were injustices committed in the purges?"

Well, we now have the official word Foster said he was waiting for. I am now going to quote, chapter and verse, from Khrushchev's answer to Foster's question: "Were injustices committed in the purges?"

Remember, as I quote, that this is not Trotsky talking. It is Khrushchev, repeating what Trotsky said 20 years ago, before he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin.

of current legal science, was the 'confession' of the accused himself; and, as subsequent probing proved, 'confessions' were acquired through physical pressures against the accused." "The formula 'enemy of the people' was specifically introduced for the purpose of annihilating such individuals. "It is a fact that many persons who were later annihilated, as enemies of the party and people, had worked with Lenin during his life." Khrushchev speaks of the purges, frame-up trials and false confessions again, as follows: "Government and economic activists who were branded in 1937-1938 as 'enemies' were actually never enemies, spies, wreckers, etc., but were always honest Communists. "They were only so stigmatized, and often, no longer able to bear barbaric tortures, they charged themselves (at the order of the investigative judges — falsifiers) with all kinds of grave and unlikely crimes. . . . And how were the false confessions obtained? Here again I quote directly from Khrushchev's report: "Now when the cases of some of these so-called 'spies' and

'saboteurs' were examined, it was found that all their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many, arrested and charged with enemy activity, were gained with the help of cruel and inhuman tortures."

Khrushchev doesn't rest with general statements. He gives a number of specific examples which you can read for yourself in the printed text of his speech.

"But they confessed, didn't they?" We heard that over and over again when we were fighting against the Moscow Trials in 1936 and 1937. Day after day the Daily Worker b o a s t e d triumphantly: "They confessed, didn't they? That proves they're guilty." And here's what their confessions were worth, according to Khrushchev:

"How is it possible that a person confesses to crimes

which he has not committed? Only in one way — because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner were 'confessions' acquired."

What I have just quoted from Khrushchev's speech is only a small part of Khrushchev's testimony, which you can read for yourself, and his whole testimony tells only a small part of the whole truth.

These terrifying revelations which have come out of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union raise questions which every honest communist is asking, and they're asking them today at every meeting of the Communist Party where they have a chance,

Three Pertinent Questions

1. How was such a monstrous regime of frame-up and murder possible in the Soviet Union, created by workers' revolution which was led by the most honest, the most truly democratic party in all history?

2. Who, if anybody, opposed this degeneration and spoke out against it, and what happened to them? And, 3. The \$64,000 question, which all those who have been duped by the official Communist Party press are asking: Why weren't we told this before?

Khrushchev's answer to this last question, "Why weren't we told before?" is not so much an answer as an excuse: It was dangerous to speak, he said; they were afraid of their lives. But since when do revolutionists tell the truth only when it is safe? What has become of the principle that a revolutionist must tell the truth to the people under all circumstances, as the Bolsheviks did under the Czar?

It is always dangerous to oppose a tyranny and tell the truth about it. It was dangerous for the Bolsheviks in Czarist times, but that didn't stop them. They told the truth just the same, at the cost of imprisonment and death for many of them — and they organized an underground movement that eventually led the greatest revolution in all history.

There were people in the Soviet Union who recognized the danger of Stalin and Stalinism from the very beginning. They told the truth about it too, and they led the fight against it from the beginning, in 1923, 33 years ago. The organizers of the fight against Stalinism were the very same people who organized and led the October Revolution in 1917. The first one to denounce Stalin in writing and to demand his removal, was Lenin. And the second was Trotsky. The same two men who led the great Revolution, led the fight against its bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin.

## Trotsky Spoke Out

It is not true, comrades, it is not true, as Khrushchev represents, that nobody dared to speak out against Stalin. Lenin and Trotsky spoke out. The Old Bolsheviks spoke out. It was dangerous, but they conducted the struggle just the same, as was their revolutionary duty, and they paid for it with their lives.

Trotsky was assassinated in 1940 because he had told the truth about Stalin, and for no other reason. And tens of thousands of the Old Bolsheviks were slaughtered in the Soviet Union because they spoke out against Stalinism, and for no other reason.

The revolutionary struggle against Stalinism has been the greatest political and ideological struggle in all history, and it has left the richest documentary record. The truth is in that literary record — in books and pamphlets and innumerable articles and mimeographed bulletins. It is a great treasury of Marxist thought, and all who want to know the truth must study it conscientiously.

If Khrushchev and Co. were opposed to the Stalinist regime, and could not speak out openly against it because of the terror, why didn't they organize an underground movement and leave a printed record of their opposition which could be referred to now? They never made such a record and they have nothing to refer to, because they were not revolutionists, they were not opponents of the regime which they now condemn. The truth is that they were the hand-picked accomplices of Stalin and they owe their careers and their privileges to him and his regime. They want to blame everything now on Stalin as an individual. There is nothing Marxist in such an explanation of any social regime.

The fact is that the Stalin regime, like every other, had a social basis. Stalin was the representative of the Soviet bu-

reaucracy. Many people, including Khrushchev and Co., enjoyed rich benefits and privileges under the rule of Stalin. They grew prosperous and sleek and fat under Stalin. They drove automobiles and lived in summer cottages and enjoyed all the fruits of the labor of the heroic Russian working class. They were the ones who supported Stalin, and they were well satisfied with his regime. And they supported it in all its crimes.

The privileged beneficiaries of the Stalin regime numbered millions in the Soviet Union. It was not one man alone; there were millions tied to that regime and prospering under it. They were a small minority of the Soviet population, but still they numbered millions. This privileged minority formed the social basis of the Stalin regime.

Khrushchev's explanation explains nothing about what really happened. The bureaucrats' method today is the same as their method yesterday, turned upside down. Yesterday Stalin was pictured as the inflexible, benevolent leader who could do no wrong, who was responsible for all progress and all victories in the Soviet Union in peace and in war. Today the same Stalin is presented as a paranoic criminal who was personally responsible for all mistakes, who brought the Soviet Union to the brink of ruin — all by himself.

The great man theory is revealed by the devil theory. The devil is dead, but the privileged bureaucrats still live. They remain in power in the Soviet Union, and don't you forget that. And their sole concern is to stay in power and hang on to their privileges at the expense of the working masses in the Soviet Union, who are our concern.

Why do these bureaucrats speak out now, three years after the death of Stalin, and begin to tell a part of the truth about that terrible regime? Is it because they have suddenly turned honest and are no longer afraid?

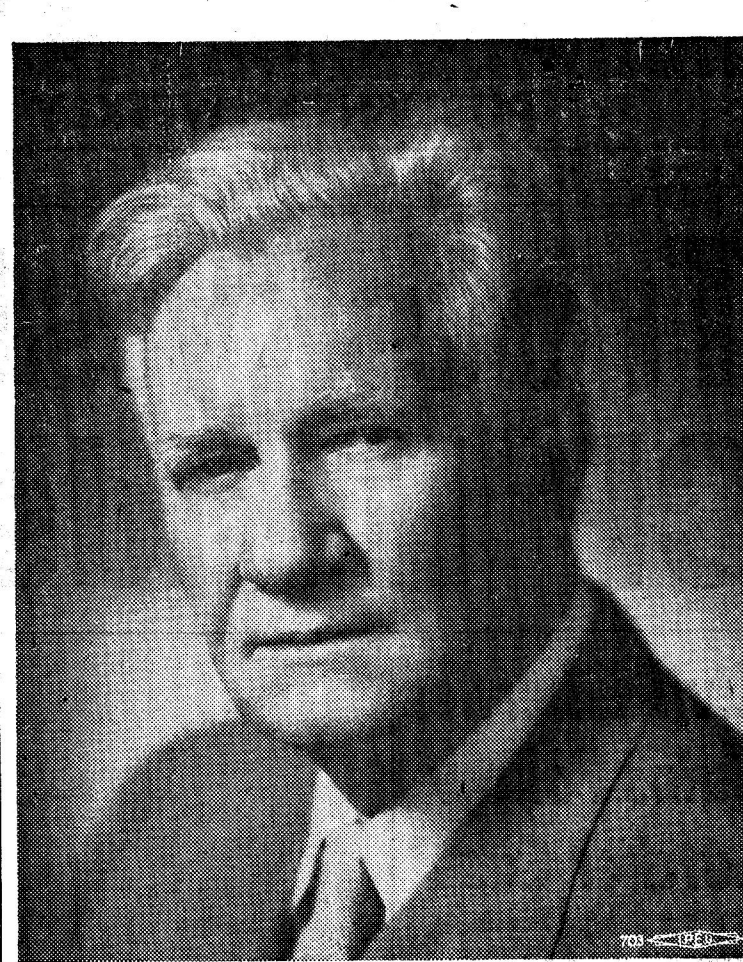
On his sick bed, December 25, 1922, Lenin wrote his Testament to the party. In this Testament of Lenin, he said: "Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution."

That was the first warning of Lenin, dated December 25, 1922. While Lenin lay helpless in his last illness, Stalin was moving to consolidate his power, and Lenin became alarmed. Then on January 4, 1923, a couple of weeks later, he added a postscript to his Testament. And here is what he wrote:

and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority — namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc."

So wrote Lenin in his Testament to the party. Lenin, struggling with death, appealed to Trotsky at that time and offered to make a bloc with him to fight the growing bureaucratism in the party and the state machine. Trotsky agreed. In the last months of Lenin's life they made a bloc to fight the bureaucratic degeneration. Lenin died in January, 1924, without ever having been able to return to his duties throughout the preceding year. Trotsky carried on the fight.

That's the true explanation of how the struggle against Stalinism was started in the Soviet Union. It is all coming out now. It is all documented from the beginning, from the very beginning up to the latest events, and cannot be suppressed any longer.



JAMES P. CANNON

Some people are asking you to believe that, but they are liars and deceivers. There have been some concessions and some reforms — no question about that — but there has been no basic change in the bureaucratic regime of special privileges for a minority and hard times for the majority established under Stalin. The bureaucracy still has all the privileges. The workers have no rights and no freedom, and anybody who says they do, lies. There is no such thing as a free worker in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev any more than there was under Stalin. That is why to come. The workers have to get that freedom for themselves.

I think many of you who are present in this hall know the name of I. F. Stone, the distinguished journalist who used to write for the New York Compass and the New York Post. I. F. Stone has a great reputation for integrity as a journalist, justly earned. He went over to Russia after the 20th Congress to take a look for himself. And because he has always been known as an honest liberal and a friend of the Soviet Union, many people were expecting and hoping that he would send back a favorable and perhaps a whitewash report that everything is lovely now.

He looked around and summed up his impressions in one sentence. For the benefit of people who want to deceive themselves that everything has been changed in the Soviet Union, I. F. Stone simply said: "This is not a good regime, and it is not run by honest men."

No, Khrushchev and Co. are the same bureaucrats, the same cynical careerists, they were when they served Stalin and climbed into high office over a mound of corpses, the corpses of better men than they are. They have not turned honest and they are still afraid. But they are afraid now, not of the dead Stalin, but of the living wrath of the Soviet masses, who have been so long oppressed and who have begun to rise against their oppression.

## The Theory of Self-Reform

We put all our faith in this revolutionary movement of the Soviet workers, and no faith whatever in the good intentions of the bureaucratic heirs of Stalin. I think the best way to muddle up the discussion of the new events, and the worst crime against the truth in the discussion opening up now, is to say that the Soviet bureaucrats have already reformed themselves, or are in the process of doing so, and that they have "mellowed," and that all they need is to be left alone to bring about a gradual elimination of all the hated features of Stalinism and the restoration of a democratic workers' regime.

If they are trusted and left alone everything will remain basically the same. These bureaucrats are the privileged upper crust. They will never give up their privileges voluntarily. They have to be overthrown like every other privileged group in history had to be overthrown. Trotsky said on this subject 20 years ago, in his great book, The Revolution Betrayed, "No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his own claws."

We can be confident that the Russian masses will not let them alone to reform themselves, and that the changes now taking place in the Soviet Union represent not the end, but the beginning of a revolutionary transformation which will sweep

The irresistible pressure of the Soviet workers was the power behind the 20th Congress. That, comrades, is the key to an understanding of what is taking place. The bureaucrats assembled at that congress had had warning signals of a coming storm, and they began to respond to these signals. The uprising of the East German workers in June, 1953, that was followed a month later by a general strike of the Vorkuta slave labor camps — those tremendous actions under the guns of police state terror, when workers took their lives in their hands to strike, gave notice of a coming revolutionary storm, just as the general strike movement of the Russian workers in 1905 gave notice of the first revolution against the Czar.

Khrushchev and Co. want to exculpate themselves. They want to throw off the blame and escape the consequences of the peoples' hatred and the peoples' wrath. I do not say this to minimize the importance of what was said and done at the 20th Congress, or to pass it off as if nothing had happened. No, great things indeed are happening in the Soviet Union these days. And their importance becomes magnified if we see them in their true light, as a reflection, a distorted reflection in the top circles of the privileged bureaucracy of a profound movement of the oppressed Soviet workers; a revolutionary movement for the overthrow of the privileged bureaucracy and the restoration of Soviet democracy.

That's what the Soviet workers mean when they say: "Back to Lenin." That was the slogan of the Left Opposition in the 20's and 30's. That was the slogan of the Vorkuta strike in 1953, and that's the slogan of the Soviet workers today. No wonder the bureaucrats assembled at the 20th Congress gave three cheers for the slogan: "Back to Lenin." "Back to Lenin" is nothing less than what the Soviet workers really demand, but they demand the form, and not merely the form.

We are heartily in favor of a full and free discussion among all people and all tendencies friendly to the Soviet Union and professing devotion to the socialist ideal. We hope and believe that out of such a discussion, a full and free and unregulated discussion, can come a new understanding among honest, socialist-minded workers, a new solidarity, so long disrupted by Stalinism, and a regroupment in an honest party of American socialism.

We Trotskyists are ready and willing to contribute our part to bring about this new understanding and this new solidarity in a common struggle for a common cause. We don't demand that anybody take our word for it. We don't demand that anybody accept what we say out of hand. We are ready to listen as well as to speak, to learn as well as to teach. But, after all the years of wholesale lying, misrepresentation and bureaucratic violence brought into the movement by Stalinism, let us have now, for the first time in 30 years, a really free and honest discussion! Let us have old-fashioned open forums and fair debates where all points of view are fairly heard. Let us put all questions on the table and hear all points of view. Let the articles, pamphlets and books of all sides be studied conscientiously. Let us agree to search together for the truth that will make us free — the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Now, if we give Khrushchev no credit for his claim that he and his associates did not tell the truth before because they were afraid for their lives, what shall we say about the leaders of the American Communist Party, who hid the truth about the Stalin regime from their own party members and from the readers of their press, and defended all its monstrous crimes at the top of their voices all these many years? What were they afraid of? The most they stood to lose was their positions, and their false importance as little Stalins.

To be sure, if they had told the truth they would have been slandered, they would have been expelled. They would have been denounced as fascist spies and counter-revolutionists. But it's possible to survive all that if you have some integrity and some courage. We have proved that — for 28 years.

The skins of the American Stalinist leaders, whatever they may be worth, were never in very great danger. The only thing they were afraid of was the truth, because the truth would have demolished all their claims to leadership. What I. F. Stone said about the Khrushchev regime can be said of the so-called Communist Party leadership in this country: This is not a good regime, and it is not run by honest men. That's a growing conviction in the rank and file of the C.P., growing so strong that you even see it printed in the Daily Worker letters column. They get so many letters stating this opinion that they have to print some of them.

I want to make it very clear that I am talking now about the official leaders of the Communist

## "How Do You Correct Murder?"

At more than one meeting of the Communist Party in recent days, C.P. members and sympathizers who have been duped and deceived so long, have asked the question: "How can we now trust anything you say?" My opinion is that you can, but you shouldn't. When these careerist leaders of the Communist Party try to make a virtue of their claim that "they are now correcting their mistakes," merely by admitting some of them, they ought to be asked the simple question which was asked of a Stalinist speaker at a trade union conference in England. The trade unionist asked the Stalinist speaker, who had been explaining that they had made mistakes but were now correcting them: "How do you correct such a mistake as the frame-up and murder of innocent people?"

The account I read didn't give the answer of the Stalinist speaker. I don't know what he said, but I imagine it would be very hard to answer. You can be sure that in every discussion, looking toward the regroupment and reconstruction of an honest movement of revolutionary socialists in this country, we will be on hand to ask just such questions as that. And many more questions, equally inconvenient for people who want to wipe a sponge over all the crimes of the past and pretend that the slate is now clean, that there is no more blood on it.

The new program the American Stalinists are offering, as far as I can make out — I have been reading it in the Daily Worker and to a certain extent in the People's World — is nothing but Stalinism without Stalin, and Browderism without Browder. That's no good. And they make it worse when they drag in the name of Lenin. You can't say "Back to Lenin," and "Forward to the Democratic Party." Or rather, you can say both, but you can't do both, at the same time. These two slogans run in opposite directions.

We, for our part, can't join the Democratic Party because we are revolutionary socialists, not bourgeois democrats. This Democratic Party is a capitalist party. I knew that much when I was 16 years old. I heard it explained by Eugene V. Debs 50 years ago. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party representing the interests of the bankers, the monopolists and the Dixiecrats. Isn't that true? Well, let the bankers and the monopolists and the Dixiecrats have it. That's what we say. Let them have it, and let the workers organize a class party of their own. That was Lenin's idea. Anyone who wants to go back to Lenin can't escape the fact that Lenin insisted first of all and above all on a class party of the workers. He didn't ask them to join Milukov's party of "Constitutional Democrats" in Russia, which was just as good as the Democratic Party of banker Hariman, Stevenson and Eastland in the United States. He said: Organize a workers party to overthrow this Milukov gang. And even before Lenin, Karl Marx over 100 years ago said the workers must have a class party of their own.

## Lenin's Method of Discussion

ago, in November, 1928. Lenin's advice still holds good today, and it reads as follows, as we printed it on the masthead of the first issue of our Militant: "It is necessary that every member of the party should study calmly, and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."

So said Lenin. Take nobody's word for it! Think for yourself. Study all points of view calmly and with the greatest objectivity! So said Lenin. Let that advice of Lenin be the motto for the new discussion in the ranks of radical workers in this country. And by that method of Lenin let us strive for a new understanding, and a new solidarity, and a new regroupment of all honest socialist-minded workers in a common struggle for a socialist America.

And finally, let us search for the truth with free and independent minds, as befits revolutionists, each one thinking for himself, and nobody taking anybody's word for it. That was the advice of Lenin, long ago. That was the way he trained his Bolsheviks to think independently, to know all sides of the subject, to make up their minds on the basis of independent inquiry. That was the advice of Lenin put in specific words which we printed in the first issue of The Militant when we began our struggle against Stalinism 28 years

Party, and not about the honest communist workers whom they duped and deceived and betrayed. The American Stalinist leaders are now apparently proceeding on the theory that confession is not only good for the soul, but also that it wipes out all responsibility for the crimes confessed. You merely have to say that you made a "mistake" and then everything is cleared up. They now admit that they were wrong all the time, and pat themselves on the back for their "self-criticism" — as if that rights all the wrong. "We were wrong," they say. "We defended all the crimes and all the lies of Stalin and Stalinism. We cheered for all the frame-ups and all the murders of honest revolutionists. We denounced all who protested against the frame-ups and murders as counter-revolutionists and fascist spies. Our careers were built on lies. We are sorry. Now let's all get together and trust each other." That's the sum and substance of the propaganda of the leaders of the Communist Party since the 20th Congress in Moscow.

in the People's World — is nothing but Stalinism without Stalin, and Browderism without Browder. That's no good. And they make it worse when they drag in the name of Lenin. You can't say "Back to Lenin," and "Forward to the Democratic Party." Or rather, you can say both, but you can't do both, at the same time. These two slogans run in opposite directions. We, for our part, can't join the Democratic Party because we are revolutionary socialists, not bourgeois democrats. This Democratic Party is a capitalist party. I knew that much when I was 16 years old. I heard it explained by Eugene V. Debs 50 years ago. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party representing the interests of the bankers, the monopolists and the Dixiecrats. Isn't that true? Well, let the bankers and the monopolists and the Dixiecrats have it. That's what we say. Let them have it, and let the workers organize a class party of their own. That was Lenin's idea. Anyone who wants to go back to Lenin can't escape the fact that Lenin insisted first of all and above all on a class party of the workers. He didn't ask them to join Milukov's party of "Constitutional Democrats" in Russia, which was just as good as the Democratic Party of banker Hariman, Stevenson and Eastland in the United States. He said: Organize a workers party to overthrow this Milukov gang. And even before Lenin, Karl Marx over 100 years ago said the workers must have a class party of their own.

**Revolt in Poland!**

**HEAR**

A Trotskyist analysis of the revolutionary events in Poland and their connection to Khrushchev's shocking revelations about Stalin.

Watch for announcement of speakers.

Fri., July 6, 8:30 P. M.

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**New York**



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**Liberal Corner on Hypocrisy**

Is there any basic difference between the political morality of out-and-out reactionary politicians and liberal politicians? Arguments can be made both ways, but one argument is unassailable. The liberals have the edge when it comes to hypocrisy. Reactionaries don't have to practice hypocrisy as much because everyone knows they are anti-labor, anti-Negro and anti-civil liberties. But hypocrisy is a prime requisite for success by a liberal politician. He has to be able to talk in honeyed terms to union men and women at rallies and yet serve Big Business. He has to make brave speeches against discrimination and yet belong to the same party and make deals with the worst white supremacists in America. He has to praise civil liberties in the abstract and then be expediently silent when civil liberties are under specific attacks, or even deprive others of civil liberties when it is to his advantage to do so.

**A LIBERAL HYPOCRITE**

A good example of the successful hypocritical liberal today is Mennen G. Williams, Governor of Michigan, considered by many the extreme "left" wing of the Democratic Party. This millionaire soap heir owes his political success solely to his money and the votes of the union members of Michigan. Since the latter are a militant segment of the population and include a large Negro minority, Williams has to peddle a liberal line to get their votes. In talk he is pro-labor, pro-Negro and pro-civil liberties. He denounces the lack of a free ballot in the South. Yet for a petty political advantage he has his lieutenants deprive minorities in Michigan of the right to vote for candidates of their own choice. This nasty piece of business has just been perpetrated by his Secretary of State, James M. Hare.

Arbitrarily and deceitfully, Hare has recently informed the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party that they will not be permitted on the 1956 ballot in Michigan. The SWP has been on the ballot in every election in that state since 1948. It secured its place by gathering well over the necessary number of signatures on petitions in the stipulated period preceding elections. The SLP has

been on the ballot in Michigan in almost every election since 1902.

**A POLITICAL SHELL-GAME**

Why are they being deprived of their democratic right to participate in the 1956 election? Did they do something wrong, fail to comply with the necessary procedures? Of course not. This year the SWP filed 14,000 signatures though only 11,000 are needed. All the legal procedures were carefully followed, as in previous years. The SLP similarly filed 14,000 signatures in the prescribed manner. But Gov. Williams' stooge, fearing a close election and doubtlessly after conferences with his chief, "the greatest liberal in the Democratic Party," decided to ban minority parties from the ballot. He arbitrarily changed the petition-processing rules without notifying the SWP or SLP until it was too late for new petitions to be collected. Then he disqualified them for not complying with his new procedures.

Thus the SWP and SLP are cheated of their legal rights. Thus 24,000 Michigan citizens who signed the petitions are disfranchised from voting for either minority party and are restricted to a ballot choice of Democrats or Republicans.

**THE DEMOCRATIC TWISTERS**

Slimy tricks like this are not new. In what was expected to be a close race in 1946, the New York Democratic machine had the SWP, the SLP and the Socialist Party all kicked off the ballot. In Illinois' Second Congressional District both in 1952 and 1954 Rep. Barratt O'Hara, liberal Democrat, similarly disposed of his SWP opponent.

The SWP will fight, as it did successfully in 1952 against the police-state Trucks Law, — which Mennen Williams signed — to regain its lawful place on the ballot. This will be difficult and expensive. However Michigan lawyers are showing a reluctance to buck the powerful Democratic machine unless a big fee is available. Nonetheless the SWP will fight to the best of its ability for a free ballot in Michigan.

It remains to be seen what the powerful labor movement there will do to aid the two minority parties secure their rights. Will the labor leaders' oft-repeated sentiments in favor of free elections prevail over their ties with Democratic Governor Williams?

**The Gap Between Word and Deed**

For over 30 years, the leaders of the U.S. Communist Party have sought to quarantine the revolutionary Marxist tendency. They have tried at all times to prevent their own members from having access to the ideas of Trotskyism.

In the past they have employed ostracism, then goon squad violence against the Trotskyists. They have forbidden their members to read Trotskyist literature or discuss with members of the Socialist Workers Party on pain of expulsion from the Communist Party.

In the Minneapolis Smith Act case involving 18 members and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in 1941, the U.S. Stalinist chiefs sided with the prosecution. Their strike-breaking behavior was based on the lies of the Moscow Frame-Up Trials. Again, the Stalinist tops slandered James Kutcher and sought to sabotage his civil liberties campaign.

**STALINIST LIES EXPLODED**

The 20th Congress revelations have blown up all the lies the CP leaders hurled at the Trotskyists. The CP leaders dare no longer repeat them. Violence is out of the question against the SWP. Their strike-breaking record in Trotskyist civil liberties cases has given the CP tops such an odious name with genuine civil liberties defenders that they have had to openly admit that their past conduct in this respect was in error.

The quarantine against the revolutionary Marxist tendency continues, however. The Stalinist leaders still seek to isolate their members from the ideas of Trotskyism. The quarantine is now imposed through an attempted boycott of Trotskyist ideas and activities.

In words, Dennis and Co. proclaim that the Khrushchev revelations have made mandatory a complete re-examination of the history of the past thirty years in order to uncover the reasons for Stalin's crimes. In deeds, they seek to bar from the discussion the one tendency in the radical movement — the Trotskyist — that has consistently explained and exposed these crimes from the very beginning.

Contrast, for instance, the huge spread

the Daily Worker gave to last month's symposium in Carnegie Hall to the silence it accorded last Sunday's symposium in Brooklyn. The Worker printed all the speeches given in the Carnegie Hall affair, where Dennis shared the platform with Norman Thomas, the State Department "Socialist," and A. J. Muste, the religious pacifist. They printed not one line about the Brooklyn symposium.

Yet at the latter meeting, David Goldway, executive secretary of the Jefferson School, defended the position of the Communist Party. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, noted scholar and participant in the Carnegie Hall symposium, was a speaker. And Clifford T. McAvoy — a prominent leader of the American Labor Party — also shared the platform. The topic was "Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections" — a burning issue, on which the CP leaders have invited discussion.

The Stalinist leaders knew about the Brooklyn meeting: The Daily Worker printed paid ads for it in two consecutive issues. The reasons for the silence was, first, the participation of Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Dobbs defended revolutionary Marxism. He attacked the CP line of support for the Democratic party and upheld the principle of independent working class politics.

**FOR FULL DISCUSSION**

Then, coming as the high point of the Brooklyn symposium McAvoy announced his endorsement of the SWP ticket in the 1956 elections, despite differences on the question of "peaceful coexistence." None of this did the Stalinist tops want their own members to know.

We don't believe the CP leaders will get away with their bureaucratic anti-Trotskyist boycott. The CP members are in dead earnest about wanting full and free discussion of all programs and points of view as a prelude to a regroupment of the socialist movement. They will demand that their leadership match deeds to words in its call for discussion and abandon forever the quarantine against the socialist views and ideas of the revolutionary Marxist tendency.

**Michigan Democrats Deny Ballot to Minority Parties**

By Rita Shaw

SWP Candidate for Governor of Michigan

DETROIT, June 24 — The Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party have been ruled off the Michigan ballot by Gov. Williams' lieutenant, Secretary of State James M. Hare. Hare's edict marks the climax in a four year long drive by the capitalist politicians of this state to deprive the people, by hook or by crook, of their right to vote freely at the polls for parties and candidates of their choice.

**LIBERAL WITCH HUNT**

This attack on free elections was started by conservative Republicans at the height of the witch hunt in 1952; now, when the witch hunt is easing up a little, it has been completed by the Democratic Williams' administration, which is sometimes called "the most liberal in the country."

You really need a scorecard to be able to tell the capitalist liberals from the reactionaries.

Between now and November the union leaders and the Communist Party leaders will be out beating the bushes to drum up support for Gov. Williams. Will they tell the voters about the role this "great liberal" has played in the bipartisan drive to purge the ballot of all anti-capitalist parties?

**SIGNS TRUCKS ACT**

In 1952 the Republican legislature passed the Trucks Act, one of the worst repressive laws in the land. Among other things, it set up machinery for suppressing the Communist Party and banning from the ballot the Socialist Workers Party (and



RITA SHAW

any other anti-capitalist party). Liberals and labor leaders were shocked by the Trucks Act. But when it was sent to Williams' desk to be signed or vetoed, he signed it without a peep.

**CITE THE RECORD**

We got back on the ballot that year, despite Williams, by conducting a difficult and expensive court fight.

Will the leaders of the unions and the Communist Party include this part of the record in their pro-Williams election propaganda this year?

In 1956, the details are a little different, but the aim is, the same.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Labor Party each filed more than 14,000 signatures to be qualified for the ballot, although less than 11,000 were needed. With the same number and same kind of petitions, both these parties have always been certified in the past — the SWP in every election since 1948, the SLP in almost every election since 1902. But without notifying us in

advance so that we could meet different requirements, the Secretary of State's office changed the customary procedure for handling petitions, arbitrarily disqualified 5,000 of our petitions; then Hare notified us, in the most oily liberal manner, that he "regrets" to state that we won't be on the ballot this year.

Will Walter Reuther and Carl Winter remember, between now and November, to tell their followers how the Williams administration has disfranchised 28,000 voters who think something besides capitalist parties should be on the ballot?

If not, we'll do it for them.

**CARDS STACKED**

We are now trying to find a lawyer who will go to court for us to challenge Hare's ruling and demand that we be restored on the ballot. But here, as in so many other ways under capitalist democracy, the cards are stacked against working class parties.

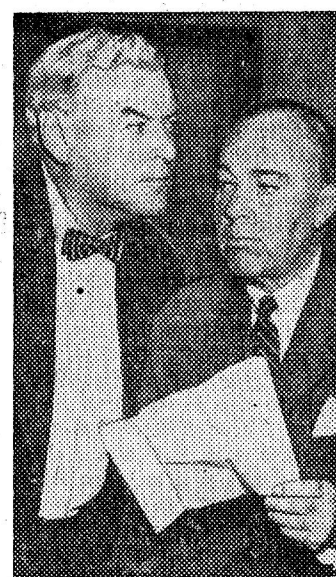
There are few or no lawyers around willing to stick out their necks in a case involving conflict with the big political machines. And those who might be willing to handle such a case for purely commercial reasons demand exorbitant fees that are beyond our resources.

But if Williams & Co. think they have suppressed the voice of revolutionary socialism in this campaign, they ought another think coming. If court action isn't possible or effective, we are going to conduct an active and aggressive write-in campaign.

**WILL TELL TRUTH**

In this campaign we will tell the voters the truth about capitalist rule — the whole truth — and its growing fear and hostility toward free speech and free elections.

**Contract Talk**



United Steelworkers president David J. McDonald (left) is shown in New York with U.S. Steel vice-president, John A. Stephens, after contract talks broke down following a corporation ultimatum calling for a 5-year pact.

**Algerian Leader Analyzes Revolt**

The Algerian Revolution. By Messali Hadj. London, 1956. Pamphlet. U.S. Distributor: Pioneer Publishers, price — 10 cents.

Readers of the American daily press and the big-circulation magazines have been reading about the events in Algeria but they have been getting a one-sided picture. And that is the propaganda side of French imperialism. A reading of this pamphlet will convince anyone who believes that people have the right to govern themselves that the Algerian people have justice on their side and deserve support.

The author begins by destroying the French government's falsification of geography and history which maintains (with U.S. State Department sanction) that Algeria is not a colony but an integral part of France. Messali Hadj briefly sketches the long history of Algerian opposition to French rule and the terrible tyranny and poverty imposed on his country by it. He explains how closely bound the Algerian struggle is to the revolutions in Asia and elsewhere in Africa and to the European working class struggle.

No review would be complete without a word about the author's career. Because of his uncompromising devotion to the cause of Algerian independence he has been an almost perennial prisoner. Imprisoned by Deladier of the Popular Front in 1939, by Vichy in 1941, by DeGaulle in 1943 and Mendes-France in 1954, he is at present jailed on Belle Isle off the French Coast. He is surely a heroic fighter for freedom.

**... Kutcher Case**

(Continued from page 1)

Braden case. Basing itself on the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision voiding the state sedition laws, the Kentucky high court threw out Braden's conviction and 15-year sentence.

The Braden case grew out of Carl and Anne Braden's helping a Negro friend purchase a home outside the Negro ghetto of Louisville. The house was attacked by white supremacists and, despite efforts of the Bradens and other fighters against Jim Crow to guard the house, was finally dynamited.

Instead of arresting the dynamiters a local McCarthyite prosecutor conducted witch-hunt raids on the homes of Braden and his friends and concocted a frame-up trial of those who had tried to defend the Negro family's home. Braden, first to be tried, was held in \$40,000 bail, the highest bail ever set in Kentucky. Until the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was able to raise the huge sum, Braden served time in the penitentiary.

The Kentucky decision should mean an end to the cases pending against Anne Braden and five others. However, an ominous note was raised by the prosecuting attorney who threatened to continue the cases not, as formerly, on charges of sedition against the U.S. but of sedition against the state of Kentucky. Neither the U.S. Supreme Court decision nor that of the Kentucky Appeals Court precludes such a prosecution.

**SOBELL APPEAL DENIED**

In New York the appeal of Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year sentence on Alcatraz, for a new trial was turned down by the judge who originally convicted him. Judge Irving R. Kaufman, at the original trial met out, for the first time in American history, peace-time death sentences to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on espionage charges.

In a self-serving decision, Kaufman defended the conduct of the first trial, which took place at the height of the McCarthy hysteria and rejected the appeal. Much of the decision appeared to be an attempt to answer statements of belief in Sobell's innocence made by Bertrand Russell and Jean Paul Sartre, famous English and French philosophers and men of letters. In this country a number of scientists, such as Nobel prize winner Harold Urey, have declared their belief that Sobell was unjustly convicted.

Sobell can now appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals. More and more doubts are beginning to be expressed about the Rosenberg-Sobell trial and there is no question that public demands for a new trial or investigation will

continue to grow. Especially embarrassing for the U.S. State Department is the fact that in Europe, where memories of the famous Dreyfus espionage frame-up still linger, the Rosenberg-Sobell trial is widely considered a cold-war frame-up.

**BLACKLIST EXPOSED**

The odious subversive list, used for profit-making purposes, in the entertainment world recently received two blows. In the first, John Henry Faulk, radio humorist and recently-elected official of AFTRA, radio and television union, brought suit for \$500,000 against Aware, Inc., and two prominent figures in the entertainment witch hunt.

The other blow was a two-volume report by the Fund for the Republic on blacklisting in radio, TV and the movie industry. This documentation of the almost unbelievable grip that the witch-hunters-for-profit have on these industries is the result of a year's research by an investigating team under John Cogley, former executive director of Commonweal, a liberal Catholic magazine.

The whole system of blacklisting in the entertainment industries was a private-enterprise replica of the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Without trial or hearing, on secret "evidence," organizations were declared "subversive" and people belonging to them, their relatives, friends or acquaintances, were kicked out of government jobs as "loyalty" or "security" cases. A horde of witch hunters, ex-FBI men and types out to make a fast buck privately instituted the same system in entertainment field.

**FIRST HEARING**

Eight years after the Attorney General's list was proclaimed as the cornerstone of the witch hunt, the first hearing of an organization on it is taking place. The Independent Socialist League after tearing the Department of Justice's "evidence" to shreds and showing its "experts" to be ignoramuses, has now begun to present its case.

**American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism**

By James P. Cannon  
 48 pages 15c.  
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Chicago	1,560.00	579.00	37
San Francisco	650.00	233.50	36
Newark	200.00	63.00	32
Allentown	85.00	25.00	29
St. Louis	85.00	25.00	29
Buffalo	1,780.00	500.00	28
Seattle	300.00	85.00	28
Los Angeles	3,300.00	791.00	24
New York	4,000.00	892.40	21
Youngstown	250.00	50.00	20
Boston	500.00	75.00	15
Philadelphia	400.00	13.00	3
Akron	140.00	0	0
Milwaukee	250.00	0	0
Oakland	200.00	0	0
General	0	20.00	0
Total through June 26	\$16,195.00	\$4,508.90	28%

**Publication Fund Drive Is Off to a Good Start**

The Socialist Publications Campaign fund was launched on May 15 in the midst of the tremendous events following the revelations coming out of Moscow

on the demolition of the "Stalin cult," the heroic mass action of the Montgomery bus protest movement and the launching of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign.

In this issue we publish our first Fund Scoreboard. With approximately two more months to go almost one-third of the fund quota has been met. This is a good beginning.

**BIG CIRCULATION RISE**

Friends and supporters of Socialist Workers Party and The Militant realize the great importance of stepping up our campaign activities. Many thousands of copies of The Militant have been circulated to Stalinist and other radical circles. The special 8-page issue of the paper with the full text of the secret Khrushchev report ran over 10,000 copies. We are still getting bundle orders for this issue from all parts of the world.

**KEEP IT ROLLING!**

The coast-to-coast tour of vice-presidential candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss, has carried the message of socialism throughout the country together with an analysis of the Khrushchev revelations on the crimes of Stalinism. And this is only the beginning. The demand for our propaganda material is increasing, many new opportunities are opening for us, how far and how fast we go depends upon the response we get from our friends and supporters to our appeal for funds. Let's keep it rolling!

**SWP Candidate Gives View Of Important Election Issues**

CLEVELAND, June 24 — Ridiculing the "Cult of Eisenhower" and the public debate over his illnesses which has been substituted for discussion of the real issues in



MYRA TANNER

the national election, Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, told a local audience last night: "The basic question is whether we will have a socialist world or a capitalist world."

**ANTICIPATING BREAK**

American workers are not yet radical, Mrs. Weiss said, but on the international field, American capitalism is on the defensive. Its spokesmen, like Dulles, the daily newspapers, the periodicals of Big Business, are constantly engaged in polemics against socialism.

They are anticipating the arguments of the organized labor movement, the Negroes and other minorities in this country when they finally break with the Democrats and Republicans and form an independent labor party, she said.

The speech received an enthusiastic response from the audience at the meeting to launch the Socialist Workers Party write-in campaign in Ohio.

**WRITE-IN CAMPAIGN**

The opening of the write-in campaign, necessitated by the undemocratic Ohio election law restrictions on minority parties, was reported in the Cleveland News, the Plain Dealer and the weekly Cleveland Call and Post. The interview in the News reported that the candidate "condemned American Communists as complacent champions of bureaucracy and both Democrats and Republicans as 'big business' parties."

"Major (SWP) platform plans, according to Mrs. Weiss, call for the establishment of a labor party and a break of the AFL-CIO from the Democrats; for the complete elimination of all forms of segregation, and for the withdrawal of all Amer-

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# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## Hillsboro Boycott Ends in Victory

The pioneers of the growing national movement to boycott Jim Crow, the children and parents who refused to use segregated school facilities in Hillsboro, Ohio, have won a complete victory.

Despite a two-year struggle by the school board and other local authorities, neither legal stalling nor other forms of pressure and intimidation were able to end the boycott and compel the Negro parents to send their children back to the Jim Crow Lincoln school.

### BOYCOTT ACTION EFFECTIVE

On April 16 the children were finally admitted to the formerly "white" Webster school. With the conclusion of the school term in May, the rest of Hillsboro's Negro children attended their last segregated classes in the Lincoln school. In addition, two other Ohio cities, Chillicothe and Middletown, announced they will end segregation for colored school children with the opening of the fall term.

The local Hillsboro newspaper and the spokesmen of the school board tried to deny that the militant parents and children who persisted in demanding immediate integration for two years had won a victory. They tried to discredit the effectiveness of the principled stand and struggle.

But here is the record that cannot be denied:

1. Segregation of Negro school children existed in Hillsboro. Statements to the contrary by local officials were deliberate lies. The all-Negro Lincoln school was the proof.

### PARENTS LEAD STRUGGLE

2. The position taken by the school board that the Lincoln school would be abandoned when two new elementary school buildings were completed was simply a device for continuing segregation as was the excuse that the children who refused to attend Lincoln school could not be integrated because the other schools were overcrowded.

Segregation could have been ended at any time, regardless of the condition of existing school facilities, by simply assigning all Hillsboro children to the schools nearest their homes, without regard to race.

Admission of the colored children to the Webster school on April 16, 1956, proves conclusively that the so-called obstacles to integration did not exist. Denial of equal educational opportunities to these children for two years was an inexcusable injustice.

3. The statement of the Hillsboro Press-Gazette editorial of April 20th that "there never was a problem until outside interests moved in and created one" was completely false. The struggle to end segregation in Hillsboro schools was initiated, organized and carried out by a local group of parents headed by Mrs. Imogene Curtis, former president of the Parent-Teachers Association at the Lincoln school.

### MILITANT STANDS WINS

4. The Press-Gazette smugly asserted that nothing was accomplished by the two-year struggle that would not have been accomplished "in a natural, orderly manner if just a few people had had a little faith in their neighbors and friends."

This, too, is false. The bad faith of the local authorities and some "neighbors" was demonstrated over and over again. First by their denial that the Supreme Court decision of May, 1954, applied to them. Second, by their refusal to admit the colored children to the Webster and Washington schools in September, 1954 and to the Webster school in September, 1955. Third, when they deliberately tried to evade the court rulings through the crooked device of a new school zoning ordinance designed to establish zones along racial, rather than geographic lines. Fourth, when a threatening cross was burned near a Negro home.

5. Finally, if the school board had not realized its maintenance of segregation was untenable legally, it would have taken steps to end the boycott of the Jim Crow Lincoln school by enforcing the state's compulsory education laws.

But resorting to force would have gained them nothing, and they knew it. Because the boycott had begun with the assertion of the Negro leaders that they would "go to jail rather than send our children to a segregated school." This principled stand is what won the victory in Hillsboro.

# Railway Labor Legislation

By I. Nelson

**EXPERIENCES UNDER RAILWAY LEGISLATION:** By Leonard A. Lecht. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956, 254 pp., \$4.25.

To a person who has spent nearly his entire adult life as a railroad employee and has, more or less, followed the developments within this industry from the union member's point of view for the last forty years or so, the reading of this book will, first of all, bring increasing amazement at the immense amount of work necessary for presenting this study in the form the author has developed it.

### WELL WRITTEN

As the title of the book implies this is a description of

Experiences under Railway Labor Legislation — well written and readable, and no one can question the correctness of the "experiences" discussed.

However, the author's Introduction (pages 8-13, inclusive) is the most interesting, as it contains some of his ideas on what brought about certain legislation in this field. Also, some recommendations on additional legislation. He states (page 4): "The political weight of strong unions made it possible for railway labor to utilize legislation as a method for improving its legal position and achieving gains which were difficult or impossible to obtain through collective bargaining."

That statement will, no doubt,

by questioned by many members of railroad unions. When we consider that in an industry employing around one million persons, divided into twenty-two different craft unions with very little political organization, it is hard to understand how such a division could have enough political weight to compel enactment of favorable laws.

### COMMITTEE REPORT

During the wage and rules movement of the Brotherhoods in the late 40's and early 50's, a supposedly neutral body, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate, reported that in the period 1939-1949, wages of railroad workers "deteriorated" from 37th to 64th place in American industry. If that was correct, it did not indicate unions strong enough to compel favorable legislation.

I believe that whatever favorable legislation for rail labor has been adopted has been because of two factors: (1) The government's position that national railroad strikes cannot be tolerated and, therefore, certain concessions to workers must be made, and (2) The advent of the CIO and the building of powerful industrial unions in other industries, whereby contracts were negotiated with corporations, including benefits later received by rail labor through legislation.

### FAVORS SEIZURES

As for the author's recommendation on additional legal provisions: After discussing past government resorts to federal seizure and injunctions, he favors such seizure to be permissible by law, with continued activities by Mediation and Emergency Boards during such seizure. He advocates that whichever side rejects an Emergency Board award should bear the burden of accompanying it. If unions reject the award, they would lose their right to strike and must accept the award. If management rejects, the government would control the carrier's income and pay rental on the basis of "just compensation." This is a rather peculiar sort of neutrality: The workers compelled to accept whatever the award may be, while the carriers would be guaranteed "just compensation."

As a whole, it is an interesting book and recommended to students and those interested in this subject.

I. Nelson  
Minneapolis

# THE MILITANT

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## Text of Dobbs Speech on Election Policy

[We publish below the transcript of the speech by SWP presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, at the Brooklyn Compass Club symposium, Sunday, June 24. The symposium topic was: Working Class Policy in the 1956 Election. Other speakers were: W. E. B. Du Bois, David Goldway and Clifford McAvoy.]

### By Farrell Dobbs

I take it for granted that all the speakers tonight are opposed to capitalism and that all are agreed on the need to establish a socialist society in America and throughout the world.

My remarks will therefore hinge on the key issue facing socialists in this country: the need for the working class to break with capitalist politics and form an independent labor party based on the unions.

### THE ACID TEST

The Socialist Workers Party holds that the acid test of working class policy in the 1956 elections lies in the answers to these questions: What policy promotes independent labor political action? What policy retards labor's political break with the class enemy?

In its recent policy declarations the Communist Party — whose position I assume Mr. Goldway will express tonight — has called for a "new and broader mass party of socialism." If such a new movement is founded on a principled socialist program, the broader basis thereby attained for united socialist action would clearly be a great gain. The Socialist Workers Party welcomes a give and take discussion leading in that direction. All points of view should be examined with an open mind in an effort to arrive at a mutually acceptable class struggle program for socialist unity in action.

### CP COALITION LINE

The Communist Party also advocates the building of election coalitions and political alliances to work within the Democratic Party. These formations are advised to "take a strong and positive stand" at the Democratic convention and to "urge a bold policy" upon the liberal wing of the Democrats.

An attempt is made to justify this policy on the ground that the workers are in the Democratic Party, but labor support of that party does not alter its class character. The Democratic Party is a political instrument of the capitalist class, dedicated to the preservation of capitalism and hostile to the fundamental interests of the working class.

Although the Democratic Party masquerades as a party of social reform, it actually lives today on the concessions made during the Roosevelt New Deal of the Thirties. Even the Roosevelt concessions were not made voluntarily. They were forced on the capitalist government, headed by Roosevelt, through the pressures of the mass radicalization brought about by the depression.

### THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Today the Democratic Party bases its domestic policy on a war economy. It stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the Republicans in the witch-hunt against the radicals. In the Democratic-controlled Congress most of the key committee posts have been given to anti-labor, white-supremacist Dixiecrats.

The Democratic Party takes a bi-partisan stand with the Republicans on all basic issues of foreign policy. Its fundamental role is to tie the masses politically to the war program of American imperialism.

Union support of the liberal politicians does not change their loyalty to the capitalist class any more than labor support of the Democratic Party alters its class character. In the last analysis the liberals are political agents of monopoly capitalism. They defend private property in the means of production and must therefore adapt themselves to capitalist principles in government. When the chips are down they always side with reaction.

### CLASSIC EXAMPLES

Henry Wallace gave a classical example of liberal treachery in a showdown. He had been made the presidential candidate and rallying center for the Progressive Party in 1948. Through his good offices "peaceful co-existence" was to be attained, along with large social reforms. But when the showdown came in Korea, Wallace betrayed every promise he had made and demonstrated his fundamental loyalty to capitalism by coming out in support of the imperialist military assault on the Chinese and Korean revolutions.

Yet another example of liberalism in action is the conduct of



FARRELL DOBBS

Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. Humphrey is today highly touted as a great liberal by the Americans for Democratic Action, the principal liberal formation working in alliance with the Democratic Party. In 1954 this same Humphrey introduced an amendment to the anti-union Butler bill for the purpose of outlawing the Communist Party. This great liberal, covering before McCarthy, became the author of a measure outlawing a political party for the first time in American history.

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, claims to see in the union support of these liberal capitalist politicians what he calls "labor's independent political activity." In his report to the recent plenum of the Communist Party's National Committee he based this claim mainly on the fact of union intervention in the capitalist party primaries.

### POLITICAL TRENDS

It is true that the workers do manifest a trend toward class polarization on the political field. The trend is manifested in a tendency to choose between capitalist candidates as a class and to intervene in capitalist politics as a labor faction.

This trend shows promise of

future independent labor political action. But political independence for labor can become a reality only in direct opposition to capitalism, only outside the framework of the capitalist parties and in class struggle against them.

For radicals to enter capitalist politics on the ground that the workers are there — and to palm off this policy as independent labor political action — only feeds the existing mass illusions about capitalist reform movements and retards the working class break with capitalist politics.

### THE BROWDER LINE

In practice this line leads to support of whatever candidate the Democrats may nominate. Such a course is already implicit in the Communist Party's stress on the need to defeat the "Cadillac Cabinet." It parallels Browder's device of supporting Roosevelt by campaigning against Landon in 1936, against Willkie in 1940 and against Dewey in 1944. I predict that under its present policy the Communist Party will support whoever the Democrats nominate, if not openly, then by the indirect method of campaigning against the Republicans.

The Communist Party's policy

has its origin in the class collaborationist concepts of "co-existence." It is drawn from Khrushchev's policy as set forth at the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist Party. Khrushchev in turn continues Stalin's fundamental line of class collaboration, with the result that the Communist Party in this country today continues to perpetuate the basic policy of the Browder era.

### DOBBS ASKS DEBATE

Here is found the fountainhead of the whole policy of the Communist Party. Fundamental questions with the deepest going political and theoretical implications are involved. Time and the circumstances of our discussion tonight do not make it possible to go into the subject here but it must by all means be openly discussed. Toward this end, I will welcome a public debate with Eugene Dennis on the decisions and revelations of the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

The class collaborationist tactics flowing from the "co-existence" line cut squarely across the objective political needs of the day. These tactics keep the workers tied politically to the class enemy. The Negro people are held in a political coalition with the white supremacists. Mass demands remain limited to a capitalist reform program. The monopoly capitalists are enabled to maintain their control of the government. And in the last analysis the "co-existence" line actually serves the imperialists in their preparations for war.

### DUTY OF SOCIALISTS

It is the duty of socialists to expose every illusion of class collaboration and to explain why the class struggle is irreconcilable under capitalism. The socialists must call for a complete mass break with capitalist politics, beginning with the formation of an independent labor party, based on the unions in an alliance with the Negro people and the working farmers.

Among those who have indicated opposition to support of the Democratic Party are Dr. Du Bois and Mr. McAvoy, both of whom are with us here tonight. I understand that Mr. McAvoy has stated his intention to support an independent election ticket, although so far as I know he has not yet indicated what ticket he intends to support.

From Dr. Du Bois' recent writings I gather that he proposes to abstain in the elections. A policy of boycotting the polls is permissible in principle and under certain conditions, where a principled vote cannot be cast, it is justified in practice. But abstention from voting is not necessary in the 1956 elections. There is a vehicle at hand for casting a principled socialist vote — the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party.

### SWP POLICY

We do not pose the SWP ticket as the only possible vehicle under all circumstances. The SWP

would support a labor party ticket, even though it might run on a reformist program, provided it was based on solid union support. We would follow that policy on the premise that the first great step toward independent labor political action is the direct class break with capitalist politics. Once the actual break is made, program would of course become vital and within the labor party we would fight for a socialist program. But today's facts are that there is no prospect of a labor party ticket in 1956.

The SWP would consider support of another radical ticket speaking for the socialist movement, provided it ran on a principled, class struggle program. There are, in fact, two other tickets in the field proposing to speak for socialism — the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party which has belatedly decided to conduct what appears to be a token campaign.

### THE ALTERNATIVES?

The SLP is out of touch with political reality. It is blind to the progressive features of the Soviet economy and does not defend the system of planned economy against imperialist attack. The SLP is no less blind to the inner dynamics of the union movement, condemning as it does the proposals for an AFL-CIO organizing drive as a mere strengthening of the union bulwark of capitalism. It offers no realistic vehicle for a socialist election campaign.

The Socialist Party completely disqualifies itself by supporting the foreign policy of American imperialism. I understand that Norman Thomas, at the recent Carnegie Hall symposium, set as a condition for the recognition of revolutionary China its own recognition of Chiang Kai-shek who was driven off the Chinese mainland when he tried to play the role of hangman of the Chinese revolution.

Only the Socialist Workers Party offers a principled socialist program in the 1956 elections. It has a consistent record of intransigent opposition to imperialist war and defense of the system of planned economy in the Soviet Union and China, despite the bureaucratic deformations of all the colonial peoples against imperialism.

The SWP advocates a class struggle policy in the unions and backs the Negro people in their fight for social, economic and political equality. It defends all victims of the capitalist witch-hunt. The SWP calls for the formation of an independent labor party and it works day-in and day-out for the abolition of capitalism and the creation of a socialist society.

For all who want to break definitively with capitalist politics, for all who desire a class struggle program in the fight for socialism, support of the Socialist Workers Party candidates will take them in the direction they want to go.

## ... Trotskyists Challenge CP

(Continued from page 1)

will scare voters. Millions of dollars in slush funds will pay expenses. How much of this is flat bribery we will never know. . . . So our democracy will fall flat so far as choice of presidential candidates is concerned. . . . Forget the presidential election of 1956. It is already lost and your vote is absolutely worthless."

While urging a boycott of the presidential election, he urged a careful scrutiny of Congressional candidates and that wherever "honest and open-minded men" could be found that they be voted for. In this way, he said, the American people might be able to "clear the halls of Congress of its present rubbish."

### C. P. VIEWPOINT

Third speaker was David Goldway, who gave the viewpoint of the Communist Party. He began by commending the Compass Club for sponsoring a program at which various socialist tendencies could be heard. "It is to be regretted that such meetings took place so infrequently in the past and a wholesome sign of the times that they are beginning to take place now," he said.

"I want to start off in agreement with Mr. Dobbs," Goldway continued, "on the need for socialism in America and the fact that the two big parties are dominated by Big Business." But the big question is, he added, "What can be done now? — utopian fantasies, etc., cannot help us now." What could be done in his opinion was "to force

the Democratic Party to take a stand on the issues." That is the only way the Democrats can defeat the Cadillac cabinet. Therefore the main effort should be to influence the Democratic Party in a progressive direction.

### FOR LABOR PARTY

Final speaker was Clifford T. McAvoy, who began by stating: "Just four years ago we did have an alternative in the elections — that was the Progressive Party ticket of Hallinan and Bass, on the ballot in 18 states. . . . It is my conviction now, as in 1936, when I was a founding member of the American Labor Party, that labor must have its own party. I say this not as a theoretician, but as somewhat of a pragmatist. For ten years I had experience in the union movement as secretary of a PAC committee, going from state to state and city to city talking to politicians in the interests of labor. From that experience I am convinced labor must have its own party."

"Mr. Dobbs spoke for a labor party from the theoretical end. . . . and I agree with what he said but I speak on it from the practical end." However, with no possibility for a labor party ticket in 1956, "I shall cast my vote for the SWP ticket," said Mr. McAvoy, "even though I disagree with the foreign policy outlook of the SWP."

McAvoy voiced his disagreement with those who had decided to liquidate the ALP and mentioned that on the coming Wednesday the final meeting to dissolve the ALP was taking place.

"We would not have to start from scratch, as we do now, if those people had had the courage to carry on. What can we do then between now and Nov. 1956? Organize more discussions like this here tonight."

In the animated question period that followed, the lion's share of the questions were directed at Goldway. Most of these expressed doubt of the correctness, or the possibility of, influencing the Democratic Party. One questioner asked what Goldway would do if the Democratic platform was so reactionary that he couldn't support it. Would he then consider voting the SWP ticket. To this Goldway replied: "Would I support a candidate of the SWP? (long pause) Just at the moment. . . . I could not say," and then added, "an affirmative answer is not excluded."

### SUPPORT NOT EXCLUDED

Dr. DuBois was asked what he would do if he went to the polls to vote for a congressional candidate who met his specifications, would he still boycott the presidential contest or would he consider a vote for the SWP? In reply he asked, with some surprise whether the SWP would be on the ballot in New York. The audience replied it would. He then said he did not sufficiently know what the minor party platforms were. He emphasized that he did not know a great deal about election politics, "having lived some 20-odd years in Atlanta, Georgia, where I was not allowed to vote."

hour was late, the speakers expressed their satisfaction that a meeting affording such a free exchange of political views had been held. Dobbs, the last speaker, called for support of the SWP ticket as the only vehicle for carrying forward the fight for socialism on election day. He urged that further meetings, debates, and forums be held everywhere possible.

In the audience of about 150 were members and sympathizers of various political groups, as well as many independent socialists. Identifiable by their questions and statements were people from the Communist Party, Labor Youth League, Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Party.

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