

United Socialist Ticket Wins New Sponsors in N.Y.

By Herman Chauka

NEW YORK, June 4 — A large attendance is expected at the conference called to put a united independent-socialist ticket on the New York state ballot. The conference will be held June 13, 14 and 15 at the Great Northern Hotel in New York.

The original call for the conference was issued by a group of prominent individuals including independents and leaders and members of various organized socialist groups. It urged a campaign of socialist opposition to the bi-partisan policies of cold war, witch hunt and suppression of civil rights.

Mich. Socialists Pick Candidates For '58 Race

DETROIT, June 2 — The state committee of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting here over the weekend, nominated an auto worker and a clerical worker, both of Detroit, to head the Party ticket in the November general election.

Named to run for governor was Frank Lovell, 2470 Lothrop, a General Motors worker. Lovell said that he was asking GM to grant him a leave of absence in the fall so he can concentrate on his campaign.

Mrs. Evelyn Sell, 3310 Cortland, mother of two, was chosen to run for the U.S. Senate in her first bid for office.

The Socialist Workers platform, endorsed by the state committee, will stress four major issues this year — the fight for full employment, peace, civil rights and civil liberties.

Specific measures proposed include a bill amending the wages-hours law to provide a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, and to cut the arms budget so as to provide funds for a vast public works program.

Lovell said that the weakened position of the UAW in current negotiations with the auto corporations results from the failure of the union leadership to advance the basic demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. This demand would have gained the support of

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 3)

Socialist Fund Ends On Time with 103%

By Murry Weiss
National Fund Drive Director

MAY 31 — Today the spring \$20,000 Socialist Expansion Fund, conducted by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party for the last three months, came to a successful conclusion. Every single branch of the party came through 100% in full and on time — eight branches went over the top bringing the total collection to the figure of \$20,678 or 103%. (See Scoreboard page 2.)

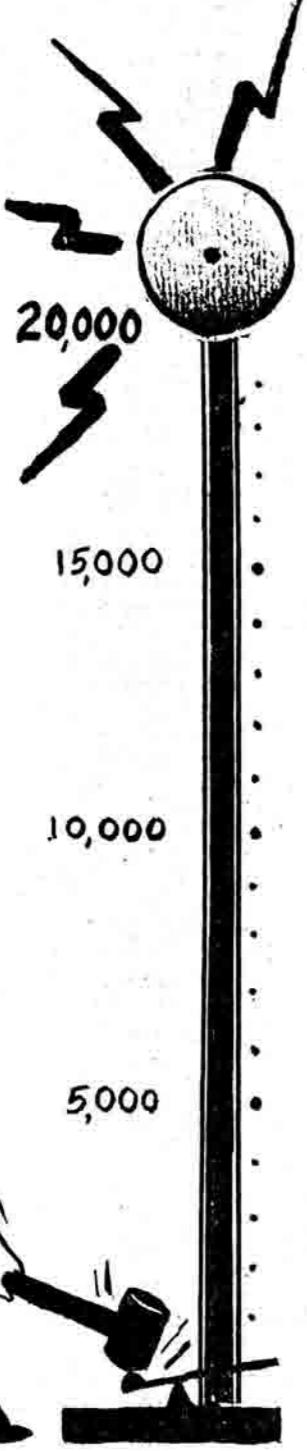
Those who followed the drive in the Militant from week to week know that it wasn't an easy task. From the beginning the Fund Drive ran into the grave problem of mass layoffs and short work-weeks cutting deeply into the incomes of the membership of a working class party.

The answer the party membership and all the friends of the SWP gave to this problem was to redouble their efforts to raise money on the principle that the last place to cut is on contributions to the socialist cause. Obviously our comrades and friends reasoned: if American capitalism is proving the basic truth of the socialist contention that the system of private profit is a breeder of poverty, war drives, racism and witch-hunting, socialists should become more determined than ever to get their vital message to the people.

This kind of response to the challenge of capitalist depression is, in our opinion, a sign of a new vitality and a spirit of optimism that is spreading in the ranks of the socialist movement.

We started this drive on March 1 with the idea that 1958 was a year of socialist opportunity; a year for socialists to close ranks and build a common electoral front against the Big Business Republican and Democratic parties; a year for socialists to make a turn towards rebuilding a movement that will command an increasingly influential place in the consciousness of the working people in the unions, in the Negro people's movement for full equality, and in the growing movement for peace.

The results of the drive have only helped to confirm our original estimate, and we think the events of the rest of the year will continue to add evidence that the long, hard winter of cold-war reaction and its devastating effects on the radical movement is giving way to the spring of socialist resurgence.



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De Gaulle Voted Dictator As Parliament Caves In

French Workers Must Act Now

An Editorial

The cave-in of the French Parliament and the imposition of de Gaulle as French premier under threat of extending the army's insurrection in Algeria to France poses a great peril for the French working class.

Beyond Parliament the insurgent generals in Algeria aim at the liberties and the organizations of the French working class.

An officer caste, infuriated by defeats handed it by the national independence movement in the colonies, wants to compel the French masses to work, sacrifice, die in its armies, and in general suffer obediently for its dreams of empire and glory. The generals, colonels and captains would not scruple to launch a bloodbath to accomplish their purpose.

The French capitalist class manipulates this fury to the end of intensifying its exploitation of the French working class and of the colonial peoples it still holds in bondage.

A Standing Threat

The threat of an invasion from Algeria will be kept constantly before the French working class and can be unleashed whenever the ruling class thinks it propitious.

In the meantime, reactionaries and fascists — flush with the triumph over Parliament — will endeavor, under de Gaulle's protection, to build up the repressive apparatus at home.

In its huge May 28 demonstration in Paris, in partial strikes and street clashes with the police, the French working class demonstrated its will to fight the fascist menace. It has heroic traditions of revolutionary struggle. Properly organized it would be more than a match for the rabble of frustrated army officers and their hangers-on.

But the workers are unarmed. Their ranks are divided. Their leadership is not mobilizing for struggle but either backs de Gaulle (as in the case of many "Socialists") or pursues the goal of coalition government (as in the case of the CP leaders) with the same type of capitalist politicians that voted de Gaulle to power.

This situation is enormously tempting for the fascists. The workers must take immediate measures to correct it.

United action committees must be formed everywhere to organize workers' militias for defense against invasion of France.

A vigorous political campaign must be opened against the war in Algeria, designed to enlist the sympathies of war-weary draftees in the army in Algeria and to rally the considerable anti-war opposition at home.

Such a campaign, furthermore, would embolden the Algerian nationalists to intensify their revolutionary struggle and build a powerful second front against the fascist brass.

Finally, the working class must unfold a bold political offensive for socialist solutions which can rally the French people for workers' power as the alternative to fascism.

Their Threats Put Him In



Left: French Generals Salan and Massu review paratroopers in Algeria. Above: General de Gaulle, whom they imposed as dictator of France by means of threats to invade France.

Majority Of People Are Opposed

By George Lavan

JUNE 4 — Not with a bang but with a whimper, was the way capitalist democracy ended in France on June 1, when the National Assembly formally "accepted" Gen. de Gaulle as premier-dictator. Actually parliament had secretly surrendered three days before but continued to utter diminishing cries about "defending the Republic" out of fear that the workers might on their own undertake to stop de Gaulle before he could be "legally" given the power.

As Joseph C. Harsch, dean of American foreign correspondents, wrote from Paris (Christian Science Monitor, May 28): "First, there has at no time through this two weeks of crisis or in the months which preceded it been the slightest evidence that anything approaching a majority of the French people desire this change or believe in its asserted rationale that Gen. de Gaulle is the real or best answer to the problems of France. . . . It has been an imposition of the will of the armed forces upon a nation and a constitutional system. It was imposed by the threat of the bayonet."

The manner in which "the elected representatives of the people" overwhelmingly handed over their powers to an individual backed not by the people but by a small minority composed of militarists, racist settlers in Algeria, and small groups of semi-fascists and fascists, is chronicled as follows.

OPERATION FLIMFLAM

Rallying all except the extreme reactionaries of parliament behind his pledge not to give in to de Gaulle and the militarists, Premier Pflimlin won large votes of confidence (these included the votes of the Communist Party and Social-Democratic deputies.) Flimflam was lured to the imminence of the danger. Why should they act when their parties were rolling up such big votes in parliament against de Gaulle?

When Pflimlin, with CP and SP support, absolved the Algerian generals for their acts, extended their police-state powers against the Algerian people, sent them more money and troops, extended the draft period of those soldiers serving under them, formally voted the nation's gratitude to the armed forces and its leaders, suspended all civil liberties in France, and started pushing through parliament the preparatory measures of de Gaulle's program to amend the constitution, the French workers grudgingly accepted all this as necessary, perhaps clever, moves to stop de Gaulle. After all were not the CP and SP deputies supporting it?

CORRUPT 'SOCIALISTS'

But Pflimlin was paving the way for de Gaulle and secretly had met with him as had an untold number of other parliamentary "defenders of democracy." The deal was already worked out and after a 408-to-165 vote of confidence, Pflimlin announced his resignation in de Gaulle's favor. There rapidly followed a call from the President of France, who is supposed to be impartial and above partisan politics, to de Gaulle and a threat to the assembly that if it did not accept him France would have not only a resigned Premier but a resigned President at the same time.

The most disgraceful chapter (Continued on Page 2)

N.Y. Young Socialists Fight For Free Speech

NEW YORK, June 4 — The Young Socialist Alliance, which has been conducting meetings and leaflet distributions outside various high schools here, is now vigorously pressing a free speech fight in the face of attempts by some school officials and police to stifle the expression of socialist ideas.

Two members of the YSA were arrested yesterday, allegedly on the complaint of the principal of Bronx High School of Science, when they began a street corner meeting near the school. Police had been present at a YSA meeting at the same spot last week, but no arrests had taken place and a spirited discussion of socialism ensued. The speakers were warned then that "there might be trouble" if they returned.

WILL RETURN

Yesterday 60 students had gathered around the portable speaker stand when YSA chairman Richard DeHaan began the opening speech. "We are here today to show what happens to free speech in the city

of New York. We want to find out." At that point two policemen hauled DeHaan and another YSA member, Russell Jones, to a waiting police car. As he was taken away DeHaan yelled out: "We'll be back." Both were booked on "disorderly conduct" charges and released on bail.

The Workers Defense League is providing legal aid to the arrested youths on the basis of the defense of free speech.

News of the incident spread through the high school and became a popular topic of conversation today. The YSA has called for a united rally in defense of free speech at the same spot tomorrow. A YSA leaflet announcing the rally says in part:

ENFORCED SILENCE

"Our generation has been condemned as 'silent.' Last Tuesday this 'silence' was enforced by police terror and intimidation. Do not allow this precedent to stand! Regardless of your own political convictions, unite to defend our com-

mon political right — the right to speak . . . The school administration and the police have, in this case, abandoned all legality. Now we, speakers and audience alike, must unite peacefully to preserve it. Act now for your right to speak and hear whatever ideas you choose!"

The offices of the Young Socialist Alliance are at 144 Second Avenue in New York City.

FREE SPEECH VICTORY

NEW YORK, June 5 — Several hundred students attended a successful street corner meeting conducted by members of the Young Socialist Alliance this afternoon outside Bronx Science High School. About ten police were present but did not try to stop the meeting. YSA members and others spoke in defense of free speech and then a spirited discussion of socialism took place, with students — both pro and con — taking the soap box at the invitation of the YSA speakers.

Auto Ranks Show Will to Resist Companies

DETROIT, June 3 — Close to 5,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 600 attended a between-shifts meeting outside the Ford River Rouge plant in Dearborn yesterday. The demonstration, at historic Gate 4, scene of the "battle of the overpass" in the organizing days, backed union demands in the currently stalled negotiations between the UAW and the three major auto corporations, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler.

Local 600 president, Carl Stellato, explained the top UAW leadership's position on working without a contract. (UAW members employed by the "Big Three" began working this week without a union contract for the first time since a strike forced Ford to recognize the union in 1941.)

UNIONS ABOUT POLICY

Stellato told the workers to perform "a fair day's work" and not to provide the company with any excuse for locking out the workers. The workers showed a willingness to act in a disciplined fashion but they are unsure about what to do. The top leadership has so far failed to provide the workers with any alternative to accepting the corporation's idea of a "fair day's work," and that may prove humanly impossible.

Most of the workers took a

watchful attitude. "The fellows want a good contract," said one, "and whatever Reuther's got up his sleeve, we're all behind him."

But some thought the union should be preparing to meet provocations by the company. "All we need," said an old-timer, "is John L. Lewis. Anybody would be a fool to like working without a contract."

But you have to like it when the company's got a rope around your neck and has you over a barrel at the same time." That the rank and file, given the slightest indication of militant leadership is willing to fight — in whatever manner is practical — was shown by this demonstration and by another one which took place five days earlier in front of the general offices of the Ford Motor company. These offices are located in a large, park-like area that serves as the "visitors' entrance" to the Rouge plant. This area is the showplace of the Ford empire and its spotless buildings and manicured grass are miles away from the gritty approaches to the plant used daily by production workers.

Last Wednesday, this sacred soil felt the tramp of production workers' feet as over 3,000 unemployed Ford employees responded to the call of Local 600 to demonstrate for their demands. Many others could not participate because of a lack of parking space. As it was, cars lined both sides of the intersection of Michigan and Southfield in Dearborn for more than a mile in every direction — in some cases double-parked and triple-parked on the highways.

SIGNS BEAR DEMANDS

Men and women, Negro and white, adults and children formed the long line of march. They carried placards calling for extension of Supplementary Unemployment Benefits, plant-wide seniority and other demands affecting employed as well as unemployed workers. There can be little doubt that the corporation, which has been attempting to use the 50-day supply of unsold cars to drive a wedge between the workers and the union and between employed and unemployed, had second thoughts on the matter after that demonstration.

What was most gratifying about the response was that it took place despite the pell-mell retreat of the top leadership of the UAW. This retreat began when Reuther, without authorization of the rank and file, stated that the workers would be willing to cut their demands in the negotiations if the companies would cut the price of the automobiles. The retreat took on speed when Reuther unceremoniously dumped the

shorter work week demand which had been adopted unanimously by the last regular UAW convention as the number one bargaining demand for 1958.

The simple truth is that only such a demand (30 hours work for 40 hours pay) could help head off the depression which was threatening even at the time Reuther junked it. It was furthermore a demand which involved a historic working class objective, and which could serve as an inspiring and unifying call to action for all sections of the working class, employed and unemployed alike. As for the mealy and dangerous substitute for 30-for-40 — profit sharing — nobody took it seriously and even Reuther has stopped talking about it.

TOO MUCH TO HOPE?

Victory or defeat in any strike or set of negotiations depends on militancy and the unity of the working class. It is this major fact which the UAW bureaucracy chooses to ignore, or has lost sight of in its panicky retreat before "public opinion" — that is, the opinion of the bosses spread in headlines in their kept press. It seems too much to hope that the top UAW leadership will open at least one ear to the clear message of the Ford demonstrations which said in unmistakable language: "We do

not wish to retreat!" Imagine the response of the ranks if Reuther had held firm to the mandate of the 1957 convention and seriously organized a fight for 30-for-40.

Even now it is not too late to take the offensive from the corporations. If a stock pile of cars makes a simple strike ineffective, there are other means: mass demonstrations in front of all the "Big Three" offices, or in Cadillac Square, for example. At the very least, immediate, detailed and careful preparation for the most militant kind of action to counter a lockout is necessary in case the company makes good its threats in that direction. This is the only safe, sane and sensible course. The alternative is off-base retreat, or the risk of uncoordinated and isolated actions by workers pushed beyond endurance by speed-up and other company provocation.

It will be difficult for the top UAW leadership to save face on this issue by saying, as they have done in the recent past in answer to rank-and-file demands, that they are afraid the workers won't turn out. The workers have shown their willingness.

TRIPLE ATTACK

In the meantime, Ford, in a pattern identical to that of GM and Chrysler, continues its

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 2)

Struggle for Power Opens in France

By John Thayer

Far from ringing down the final curtain, de Gaulle's capture of the premiership has only opened France's turbulent drama of social and political crisis in France. This emerges as the most important fact in the French situation and runs directly counter to several widespread outlooks on France which can only serve to disorient the workers. These other views are (1) that fascism has already triumphed — which would mean that the French working class had suffered a definitive defeat from which it could not recover for an extended period; and (2) the Pollyanna optimism of those liberals who now think that de Gaulle isn't going to turn out as bad as expected and that after six months and some capitalist changes "normal" capitalist democracy will return to France.

The Marxist perspective of intensified class struggle in France finds independent confirmation in the thinking of its class enemies. Thus the Wall Street Journal which, leaving mass propaganda (high-toned) to papers like the N.Y. Times and (low-toned) to the gutter press like the Daily News, tries to give its business executive readership the sober facts, leads off its Paris story (June 2) as follows: "De Gaulle's victory has not ended the struggle for power in France, nor the struggle over policy." The article foresees de Gaulle's attempts to resolve the interconnected problems of the Algerian war and the financial crisis setting two hostile forces into motion — the reactionary French colons in North Africa and their army cohorts (inflamed over accumulated military defeats), on the one hand, and the French working class on the other. The expected economic program of "austerity" it warns would embitter the working class and furnish an opportunity for its making "a bid for power."

CRISIS OF EMPIRE

The French capitalist class agreed to de Gaulle's overthrow of parliamentary government because it was incapable of getting French imperialism out of its blind alley. This impasse has resulted from the worldwide wave of colonial revolutions. Since World War II French imperialism has lost political control of its Mideast protectorates (Syria and Lebanon), Indo-China (the northern half lost economically as well as politically); in South Viet Nam, French political domination replaced by U.S. influence), Tunisia and Morocco. Its joint counter-offensive with British imperialism by invading Egypt proved an unparalleled fiasco. For almost four years now it has sought vainly to put down the independence struggle in Algeria.

The decay of empire and consequent loss of super-profits has faced French capitalism with crisis. It has only been able to wage its wars against the colonial peoples because of U.S. subsidies. Forseeing no French victory in Algeria and disturbed by its repercussions

among the Arab people of the Mideast which it is trying to bring under its own control, U.S. imperialism has threatened to stop arming and subsidizing the French army unless immediate steps toward a compromise settlement are undertaken by Paris.

SEEK LOWER WAGES

The prospect of the loss of any of its economic and political privileges in Algeria infuriates the French interests there. At the same time the French capitalist class as a whole faces a future of sharply diminished profits. The only way their old level of profits could be maintained would be by reducing the share of the national income received by the French workers. But this is impossible while the French workers have strong unions, political parties, press, votes, etc.

Parliament, dependent on votes, dared not undertake the drastic solutions required by French capitalism. Blackmailed by the French interests in Algeria, it dared not make any moves to settle that hopeless war, which had become the bleeding sore of French politics. On the other hand the great size of the working class parties and unions, though their leaderships kept them from challenging French capitalism, made dangerous an all-out assault on them.

Paralyzed, the French parliament did nothing. Things continued by inertia. Cabinets rose and fell with the same old discredited politicians of the right, center and reformist left (Social-Democrats) playing musical chairs in new cabinet combinations. Finally Washington's pressure for an offer to buy off the Algerian nationalists with a few reforms rather than actual independence became irresistible. The Pflimlin cabinet prepared to take a hesitant step in that direction. This was the signal for the long-prepared riots by the organizations of the reactionary colons in Algeria in collusion with army officers there.

COMMON CAUSE

Though there are contradictions between the narrow interests of the section of French capitalism based in Algeria and the interests of the French capitalist class as a whole, both made common cause in an assault upon parliamentary government in France. This was shown by the choice of de Gaulle. De Gaulle represents not the Algerian colons, nor merely the army brass. He acts for and has the closest ties with the summits of French capitalism as a whole. That the plot was neither hasty nor hatched solely in North Africa is now being daily confirmed.

A remarkable article in the sensation-shunning London Times reveals that the plot had years of planning and involved to varying degrees the Minister of Defense in the Gaullist ministry, Robert Lacoste, the Social-Democratic governor of Algeria and other important French politicians. Four days before the Algiers coup d'état Lucien Neuvirth, a prominent figure in the present Algerian "Committee of Public

Nature of Bonapartism

In February 1934, events took place that were in many ways similar to the ones that have currently brought de Gaulle to power. Then several thousand fascists and royalists, armed with revolvers, clubs and razors, imposed upon the country the reactionary government of Doumergue, under whose protection the fascist bands continued to grow and arm themselves. We reprint below Leon Trotsky's analysis of the Doumergue government from his book, *Whither France*, as an aid in explaining the present character of the de Gaulle regime. — Ed.

In France the movement from democracy toward Fascism is only in its first stage. Parliament exists, but it no longer has the powers it once had and it will never retrieve them. The parliamentary majority, mortally frightened after February 6, called to power Doumergue, the savior, the arbiter. His government holds itself above Parliament. It bases itself not on the "democratically" elected majority but directly and immediately upon the bureaucratic apparatus, the police and the army. This is precisely why Doumergue can permit no liberty for the civil servants or in general for employees of the state. He needs a docile and disciplined bureaucratic apparatus on whose summit he can maintain himself without danger of falling. The parliamentary majority, scared of the Fascists and the "common front," is forced to bow before Doumergue.

At the present time much is being written about the forthcoming "reform" of the Constitution, on the right to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, etc. All these questions have only a juridical interest. In the political sense, the question is already solved. . . . The appearance on the arena of armed Fascist bands has enabled finance capital to raise itself above Parliament. In

this consists now the essence of the French Constitution. All else is illusion, phraseology or conscious dupery.

The present role of Doumergue (like that of his possible successors, of the type of Tardieu) is nothing new. It is a role analogous to that played, in different circumstances, by Napoleon I and Napoleon III. The essence of Bonapartism consists in this: basing itself on the struggle of two camps, it "saves" the "nation" with the help of a bureaucratic-military dictatorship. Napoleon I represented the Bonapartism of the bourgeoisie's impetuous youth. The Bonapartism of Napoleon III developed when the bourgeoisie was already slightly bald. In the person of Doumergue we meet the senile Bonapartism of capitalist decline.

The Doumergue Government represents the first step of the passage from parliamentarianism to Bonapartism. To keep his balance, Doumergue needs at his right hand the Fascist and other bands which brought him to power. To demand of him that he dissolve the Patriotic Youth, the Croix de Feu, the Camelots du Roi, etc. — not on paper but in reality — is to demand that he cut off the branch upon which he rests.

Temporary oscillations to one side or the other are, of course, possible. Thus, a premature Fascist offensive might provoke a certain shift to the "Left" at the top of the government. Doumergue would temporarily give way not to Tardieu but to Herriot. But in the first place, no one has ever said that the Fascists would attempt a premature coup d'état. Secondly, a temporary shift to the Left at the top would not change the general course of development. It would only postpone the showdown.

There is no longer any path back to a peaceful democracy. Events are leading inevitably and irresistibly to a conflict between the proletariat and Fascism. (From *Whither France*, page 9)

Safety," had a private conference with Gen. de Gaulle. The conclusion is inescapable: a plot of such duration and connections with prominent French politicians could only have been carried on with the knowledge and consent of the summits of French capitalism.

Thus the beginning of the period of showdown between the classes in France has been announced not by the workers, who had been brought to a state of political passivity by the false policies of their leading organizations, but by the capitalists. Their announcement was in the form of a surprise attack on political democracy. It caught the workers off guard and succeeded. There is no point in minimizing the defeat. An important battle has been lost. French capitalism now can govern by ukase rather than by passage of laws. The precedent of suspension of all civil liberties — by state of siege declaration — has been

set in France itself. The military has been tremendously emboldened and has shed all pretense of responsibility to the country at large. Along with the police, it now gives personal fealty to de Gaulle and aspires to the role of an independent political force.

Whether the parliament, which has been so contemptuously dismissed, returns at the end of six months or not is not the vital point. Even if de Gaulle, or his successor, permits it to return it will have ceased to be the governing body of France by fact as well as by changes of the constitution which will legalize the actuality of strong-man rule with the customary plebiscitary trimmings.

250,000 IN PROTEST

But the surprise attack did awaken the French proletariat. That was the significance of the 11th hour protest parade of some 250,000 French workers (this is the French police esti-

mate) in Paris on May 28. It restored some of the workers' lost confidence — the result of watching the militarists and French colons take over unimpeded by the huge, yet impotent, Communist Party, Socialist Party and the trade union federations.

This show of workers' strength also underlined the fact that de Gaulle was taking power against the wishes of the majority of the French people. It makes labor the center of attraction for all middle-class elements who do not wish to live under a bonapartist regime or under the fascism which lurks behind such a regime.

Rudely awakened, the working class must now prepare for the coming life-or-death struggle. It must first prepare an active defense. The police and the army will not defend it — on the contrary, they are now its unmasked enemies. It must defend itself. It must begin the selection, arming and training

mate) in Paris on May 28. It restored some of the workers' lost confidence — the result of watching the militarists and French colons take over unimpeded by the huge, yet impotent, Communist Party, Socialist Party and the trade union federations.

The bonapartist regimes of Bruening, Von Papen and Von Schleicher were the immediate predecessors of Hitler. That is the great danger in France today. Either de Gaulle himself may begin the building of a fascist mass movement or under his protecting wing, such movements with their storm troops will be built by others. Only a militant, unequivocal program of workers' power — not of mere return to the old discredited status quo ante — can unite the working class and attract to it the middle-class masses. Only this can cut the ground out from beneath any fascist movement and overthrow the bonapartist regime.

The attack launched by the French capitalist class of France has but two final outcomes — socialism or fascism.

... De Gaulle Becomes Dictator

(Continued from Page 1) in the whole sordid affair was the revelation of the depths of corruption in the Socialist Party. Though French socialists knew that their right-wing leaders like Mollet were reformists and not revolutionaries they had heretofore considered them at least solid supporters of democracy. Indeed, rank-and-file socialists had been encouraged recently because Mollet had dumped Lacoste, the "Socialist" appointed Governor General of Algeria in 1946 who went over to the racists. But Mollet and other top social-democratic leaders including former President Auriol were secretly involved in bargaining with de Gaulle. They put tremendous pressure on the reluctant socialist deputies to vote for de Gaulle and though not quite winning a majority (49-42) secured suspension of the bloc-voting procedure to permit the minority to vote for de Gaulle and Mollet to accept his 30 pieces of silver — a seat in the general's cabinet beside Pflimlin.

The "Socialist" leaders long ago betrayed the principles of socialism. Today in France they have betrayed the most elementary principles of democracy. This should cause tremendous repercussions among rank-and-file socialists and lead to revolt against their scab leadership or their regrouping with members of other parties who want to fight de Gaulle and the fascist danger in his wake.

DECREE POWERS

After voting de Gaulle in as premier on May 31, the assembly quickly voted him the dictatorial powers he demanded.

Donates to Socialist Fund

A garment worker in New York City contributed \$10 to the Socialist Expansion Fund with a get well message to James P. Cannon who is recovering from an eye operation in Los Angeles.

These include: power to rule by decree for six months in which period the members of parliament are to go lose themselves somewhere (with full pay, of course); and the power to draft a new constitution, without submitting it to parliament, and then presenting it for a national plebiscite to be conducted by himself.

The only hitch came on giving de Gaulle the right to draw up a new constitution without letting "the elected representatives of the people" even have a say on it. Attempts to wheelie a concession on this brought a quick, brutal response. Brandishing the threat of civil war at them, de Gaulle demanded they obey him immediately or he would resign. Parliament quickly caved in and to give him the three-fifths vote necessary for such a constitutional change the social-democrats, who had voted against his becoming premier, this time obligingly abstained from voting at all.

Parliament now has no control over de Gaulle or the French government. His cabinet is purely advisory. Its members can resign or be dismissed without any repercussion. France's new bonapartist ruler can consult it or ignore it. It's all up to him. Since de Gaulle plans to draw up his new constitution and submit it to a plebiscite in three months — a form of procedure made infamous in France by Napoleon III's use of it in the 1850's — the parliament which on June 3 voted it a compulsory six-month "vacation" in all likelihood voted itself into oblivion.

WORKERS' RESISTANCE

A survey of the workers' resistance against de Gaulle shows the following. Communist Party calls for action were half-hearted and so was the response, until the call for a one-day general strike on May 27 by the CGT, the trade union federation led by the CP. The strike, however, was disappointing though there were some good spots as among the coal

of its defense units in every union and political party. These will be the basis of the workers' militia which alone can protect the working class if the generals launch their paratroops and strikebreaking police. If the workers prepare and realize that the ultimate stakes are fascism or workers' rule — the active defense can in time pass over to the offensive.

De Gaulle is starting off as the classical type of bonapartist ruler, the self-proclaimed savior of society who, dispensing with democratic forms, rules by decree via the police, army and bureaucracy. A bonapartist ruler actually balances on the antagonistic classes and to maintain his balance and demonstrate his "impartiality" actually deals blows to both right and left. But being a capitalist ruler his blows to the left have much more force than those against the right. But such a regime today can be only transitional. De Gaulle has long legs but they cannot forever span the growing gap between the classes in France.

ITALY, GERMANY, SPAIN

A bonapartist regime in modern society will either be overthrown by the workers or it will be succeeded by a regime that resolves the situation by naked force — by physical destruction of all organizations of the working class. The name for such a regime is fascism. To accomplish its ends it must mobilize masses of the population to assault the working class. In Italy and Germany this was done by misdirecting the social fury of the ruined middle classes. In Spain it was done by launching a military attack and mobilizing the middle classes in the course of the civil war.

The bonapartist regimes of Bruening, Von Papen and Von Schleicher were the immediate predecessors of Hitler. That is the great danger in France today. Either de Gaulle himself may begin the building of a fascist mass movement or under his protecting wing, such movements with their storm troops will be built by others.

This show of workers' strength also underlined the fact that de Gaulle was taking power against the wishes of the majority of the French people. It makes labor the center of attraction for all middle-class elements who do not wish to live under a bonapartist regime or under the fascism which lurks behind such a regime.

Rudely awakened, the working class must now prepare for the coming life-or-death struggle. It must first prepare an active defense. The police and the army will not defend it — on the contrary, they are now its unmasked enemies. It must defend itself. It must begin the selection, arming and training

Model for Insurgent Generals



Parading on the 19th anniversary of the triumph of Spanish fascism are Dictator Franco (left) and Army Minister Gen. Barroso. The controlled Spanish press rooted for de Gaulle throughout the French crisis. Le Pen, Biaggi, and Demerquet, leaders of small but vicious French fascist bands, have been received in Madrid by Franco.

United Front And Popular Front

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The working class of France today faces a struggle with fascism. The collapse of the National Assembly, its abject submission to the insurrection of the generals, the vote of dictatorial powers to de Gaulle, is the climax of a long parliamentary crisis. Under the protection of de Gaulle's "strong-man" rule, the fascist forces will find it easier to mobilize for assault on the workers' organizations, and for their drive to impose a totalitarian dictatorship.

Of urgent importance therefore is the question of program: how can the working class prepare a victory against the fascist menace? History has provided us with costly lessons in defeat — Italy, Germany and Spain. The false policies must not be repeated.

The mistakes of the German Communist Party have been generally recognized. But that does not mean that the correct conclusions have been drawn. The German Communist Party proclaimed the Social Democratic party to be the main enemy of the working class and specifically repudiated any unit action with the Social Democratic party against the Nazi overlords. The CP pointed to the Social Democratic leaders' class-collaborationist alliances with capitalist politicians which helped prop the capitalist order. The SD bureaucrats were unquestionably guilty as charged of betraying working class interests. In addition, they too rejected united action of the two parties against the fascists, banking on supposed capitalist allies to stem the fascist tide. That was further betrayal on their part. But the Nazis were still the main enemy, and united working class action was imperative.

A revolution party has to fight for such unity. Naturally class-collaborationist leaders such as those that headed the Social Democratic Party will oppose. But the SD workers can understand the demand for unity and overcome their leaders' opposition.

PEOPLE'S FRONT

Many viewed the policy followed by the Communist Party in Spain in 1936 as a correction of the mistakes in Germany. Didn't the Spanish Communists seek unity? Yes. But from ultra-leftism and sectarianism the CP swung wildly to the right, uniting with Social Democratic and Anarchist leaders in an alliance with a wing of the capitalist class on a program of upholding capitalist democracy. The policy of the "people's front" restricted the workers to the struggle for parliamentary democracy and deprived them of a social program that could win the anti-fascist war.

French liberals, who to cover up their sell-out are now claiming de Gaulle will be a liberal dictator, were dismayed by his rapid retreat on the key question of Algeria's future. His speech avoided any formulation of some sort of "dominion status" for Algeria, the only kind of compromise any of the nationalists might even consider. Instead his words sounded like the program of Sosuette-Massu, which would in turn continue the war in Algeria.

BLUE CROSS

The Blue Cross Hospital Plan in New York has applied for a 40% premium increase. Last year the salary of the chairman of the board was hiked from \$47,000 a year to \$60,000. In addition to its role in promoting the May 28 demonstration, the FEN called a general strike of its members for May 30. The union claims that 80% of the teachers walked out. In any case, the strike must be credited as a powerful nation-

wide demonstration. Further strike calls by the CGT again brought very disappointing results. The lesson is clear: French workers want to act together, to overcome in action the split of their unions into Communist, Socialist and Catholic federations.

But the Communist Party rejects this alternative. It refuses to see that millions of middle class elements will be won to reactionary solutions if the working class doesn't offer socialist ones. The CP continues along the same path.

As the old regime crumbles, the Communist Party shouts, "Long live the old regime!" In this direction lies more frustration and ultimate defeat.

Is it wrong then to fight for rights won under capitalist democracy? Not at all. Political freedom and the rights of the labor movement must be defended against every attack. But this fight must be waged in political independence from the capitalist class. The workers must be free to advance a program that can truly resolve the crisis of France. For instance, the workers must be free to solve the Algerian "problem" by giving the Algerian people their national independence.

Not subordination to the liberal capitalists who collapse before the insurrection of fascist generals, but the united front of workers' organizations to defeat all immediate threats — this is the first task. In the course of this struggle, the revolutionary leadership and organizations will be forged that can take the power and end the crisis with a workers' government and a socialist France.

RECORD DIVIDENDS

Despite the recession, in the first three months of 1958, dividends reached a record annual rate of more than \$12 billion and personal interest payments soared to a peak rate of almost \$20 billion.

FUND SCOREBOARD

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Monday, June 9, 1958

A Discredited Method

The moral credit of the leadership of the Communist Party will not be enhanced by the attack leveled by Ben Davis against the sponsors of the movement for a united socialist ticket in New York. Davis sought to smear this committee of respected radical figures as dupes of the Socialist Workers Party

The SWP and the Soviet Union—A Court Record

(One dramatic refutation of the charge that the Socialist Workers Party is "anti-Soviet" (See editorial) is provided by the court record of the 1941 Smith Act prosecution of SWP leaders. In the face of heavy witch-hunt pressure, the defendants utilized the trial to expound their pro-Soviet views. Following are excerpts from the examination of SWP National Chairman James P. Cannon by his attorney, Albert Goldman. —Ed.)

Q: What is the position of the Party on the Soviet Union at present?

PROSECUTOR: I object to that, Your Honor.

THE COURT: He may answer that.

A: The characterization we make of the Soviet Union as it is today, is of a workers' state, created by the revolution of November 1917, distorted by the bad present regime, and even degenerated, but nevertheless retaining its basic character as a workers' state, because it is based on nationalized industry, and not on private property.

Q: Now, what is the position of the Party towards the defense of the Soviet Union, and why?

A: We are in favor of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist powers for the reason I just gave, because we consider it a progressive development, as a workers' state, that has nationalized industry and has eliminated private capitalism and landlordism. That is the reason we defend it.

Q: That is, you consider the Russian or the Soviet State, a state based on the expropriation of private industry from the capitalists?

A: Yes, the operation of industry as a nationalized industry.

Q: And you are defending that kind of a state?

A: Yes.

Q: Isn't it a fact that Stalin has killed most all of the so-called Trotskyists in Russia?

A: Yes. We are against Stalin, but not against the Soviet form of industrial production.

which he slanderously brands as a "viciously anti-Soviet" group that has wormed its way into "the inner circle" of the committee.

The committee, we trust, will answer for itself this unwarranted attack against it and set forward the readily available facts refuting these assertions.

Conference Call To Inaugurate a United Independent-Socialist Electoral Ticket in 1958

June 13, 14, 15

"The people of our country are beginning to search for pathways to a better future. They have rallied in increasing numbers against repression. They have begun to roll back the evil known as McCarthyism and have scored signal victories in the courts for civil liberty. The Negro people have embarked on a great effort for full equality. Citizens of all walks of life have joined in protest against the development and testing of nuclear weapons. Throughout the house of labor is heard the repeated demand for an independent political course. The forces for social change in our country are seeking a common meeting ground to present to the people of our country alternatives to a course of greed, brutalization and repression."

The above is from the original call sponsored by: Henry Abrams John T. McManus Joyce Cowley Otto Nathan Richard DeHaan Russ Nixon W. E. B. DuBois Annette Rubenstein Corliss Lamont Howard Selsam Muriel McAvoy George Stryker

Registration Form

To N. Y. State Independent Political Conference: Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St., New York 19, N.Y.

Please register me as a delegate. Enclosed is \$1 registration fee.

I am contributing dollars to the success of the conference.

I am willing to campaign actively for UNITED INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST TICKET!

Name
Address

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK

Debate: "What Road Out for France—De Gaulism or Socialism?" For De Gaulism: William Rusher, Publisher of National Review. For Socialism: Tim Wohlforth, Editor Young Socialist. Chairman: Saul K. Padover, Prof. of Political Science, New School for Social Research. Thursday, June 19, 8 P.M., Hotel Great Northern, 118 W. 57th St.

PHILADELPHIA

June Festival—Smorgasbord. Sat., June 21, 7:30 P.M. Entertainment, Good Food. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum, 1303 Girard Ave.

SEATTLE

Socialist Workers Party Spring Forum Series No. 10. "Murder on Guam—Legal Lynching in the Army." Speaker: Jay G. Sykes, Seattle Civil Liberties Attorney. Sat., June 14, 8:15 P.M. 655 Main Street. Public Invited.

LOS ANGELES

"The Crisis in France." Speaker: Milton Alvin. Friday, June 13, 8:15 P.M. at Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St. Auspices: International Socialist Review. Questions, discussion, refreshments.

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THEODORE WELD: CRUSADER FOR FREEDOM

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Significance of Adam C. Powell's Campaign

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The state bosses of the Democratic and Republican parties are finding out that the Negro people of Harlem are in no mood to be pushed around. Efforts by top leaders of both machines to dump Adam Clayton Powell in his bid for reelection to Congress from Harlem's 16th District have run into a grass-roots revolt.

Immediately after Powell was read out of the Democratic party by Carmine De Sapi, boss of the Tammany Hall machine, De Sapi's Republican counterpart, Thomas J. Curran, rushed into print to declare he wanted "no part" of Powell. But an unprecedented act of defiance by Republican district leaders in Harlem forced through Republican nomination of Powell over Curran's bitter opposition.

REAL REASON

Democratic chieftains are having an even rougher time. With Powell under a Republican-rigged income tax evasion indictment, they had decided this was a good time to get rid of him. The pretext they gave was his 1956 endorsement of Eisenhower, but the people of Harlem almost instinctively put their finger on the real reason—the fact that Powell has insisted on introducing civil rights measures in Congress that have been "embarrassing" to the Democratic party bosses.

Anti-Tammany sentiment in Harlem is now so strong that the Democrats had difficulty just in finding someone willing to run against Powell. Even Governor Harriman had to pitch in to find someone to make the race—a chore finally

active in the Till case too. During the Montgomery bus boycott, we got together with some union people and sent a delegation to put pressure on the Chicago bus company, of which the Montgomery outfit is a subsidiary.

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QUESTION DEMOCRATS

"In all these fights we got no help from the Democrats and Republicans on civil rights or economic issues except what we forced out of them by independent action. Our strength is the support that people in the community give us. These very people are beginning to seriously question the Democratic party—not to mention the Republicans. We decided we had nothing to gain from telling them they could get something out of capitalist politics. For one thing, they won't believe it. For another, that's not

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The New Richard

By E. F. Loftus

When evaluating Nixon's recent South American fiasco, it should be kept in mind that during the past year, almost as much newsprint has been wasted in selling the U.S. public on the new, clean Nixon as on the "clean" bomb.

It was the new, statesmanlike, scrubbed-up Nixon who was dispatched to rekindle a good neighbor policy by a government that has for the past several years ignored the economic troubles of all South America. In place of policy, they got Dick and Pat.

Nixon's presidential race was to be accelerated by stories of a resolute Richard (with the gallant and photogenic Pat at his side) selling democracy in the face of a few Communist-led demonstrations. Dope stories of CIA "warnings" began the build-up. The "new" Richard was to be a certified red-white-and-blue hero. But the master planners forgot one thing — the people of South America who have suffered under dictators supported by the U.S.A.

South America was to provide the veneer of statesman to his white-washing. Nixon's trip had no other purpose; he had no staff, and no authority to negotiate loans or tariff agreements. He was to smile, place wreaths, make well-rehearsed, impromptu talks, and to so dazzle the Latin Americans they would forget their

economic difficulties. With his simulated friendliness, that special sincerity his own countrymen have come to know so well, plus Pat, what could go wrong?

Well, everything went wrong. The small "Communist" opposition turned out to be popular demonstrations against U.S. pretenses and policies. The "planners" goofed and they tried to drown out that fact by beating the welcome-drums when the Nixons returned. But the spectacular staged in Washington with school children and government employees released from their confining duties could do little to overcome the spontaneous manifestation of South American anger at U.S. "good neighbor" policies.

That it was Nixon and the policies he stands for that drew South American ire was shown by the fact that the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Leonard Bernstein, played before cheering crowds in Lima, Peru, where Nixon was stoned. In Caracas, where "mobs" smashed the VP's car, Bernstein, a few days earlier, was mobbed too — but by enthusiastic symphony aficionados.

Perhaps, next time the Nixons go abroad they should take their dog Checkers along. This little dog seemed to be an effective prop in this country in 1952 when Nixon had to explain his financial affairs to the American people.

"The Young Lions"

By Ruth Norton

For the first time since World War II, an American movie presents a soldier in the Nazi army as a human being instead of a beast. This is a notable feature of the Young Lions currently showing throughout the country. Because it depicts how Christian, a Nazi officer in World War II, becomes a pacifist, this movie belongs solidly in the ranks of current anti-war films emanating from Hollywood.

The sections of the film portraying an enemy soldier who winds up as a spokesman for peace are what must have bothered Bosley Crowther of the Times when he wrote, "The Young Lions is strangely impositive about totalitarian aggression and all-out war."

There should be no puzzle as to why Hollywood did not make a rabid, patriotic film out of the Young Lions. Hollywood's markets abroad are of ever greater importance because of the pronounced decline of movie-going domestically. No theme has more appeal to people in formerly war-devastated areas of the world than one that taps their anti-war sentiments. In this case the film is pointed directly at the West German market.

There were very few Nazi sympathizers left in Germany when the war ended. The brutality of the dictatorship at home, the enormous toll of casualties, the privations, the military reverses and the utter bankruptcy of German imperialism — all produced a mass revulsion against war that continues in Germany today.

A German worker drafted into Hitler's armies, would, of course have provided the best representative of the revolt against Nazism. But inasmuch as disillusionment with the Fascists was

nigh universal in Germany, a representative of the middle class, too, can serve to express these feelings. In this case, it is a former ski instructor, now of the officer caste, through whom the logic of a step by step rejection of the Nazi war aims is portrayed.

Pride in identifying himself with a reconstituted Germany — Hitler's Third Reich — carries Christian through at points when despair would have killed him. Thus when fleeing on a motorcycle from chaos and death, with gunsmoke blowing in his face, Christian mutters, "If you don't keep a goal in front of you, you will go insane."

But identification with military objectives which demand a strict code of discipline lead also to passive and active participation in a series of incidents incompatible with his human feeling.

The way he handles the conflict in the beginning is sharply illustrated in one incident. When fraternization with some French patriots and a German photographer ducking combat threatens to soften his hard-won sense of discipline, he turns them all in to the Nazi occupation police. But it is a shattering experience, and the succession of sequences showing the results of war — from profiteering at home to the suicide of his superior officer who had been a self-styled model of imperviousness — culminate in Christian's final break.

The other two young lions of the title are Americans whose most significant struggle is against prejudice and narrowness in their own army barracks.

The movie is based on Irwin Shaw's novel of the same title, with the character of Christian entirely recast.

... Auto Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

three-pronged attack against the solidarity of the workers. It appeals to the unemployed, asking for an extension of the old contract so that "conditions can be settled and men brought back to work." To those still working, the company writes individual letters about the benefits that it supposedly granted of its own free will and that it is willing to continue for two more years. Its third approach is to drive back toward pre-union conditions under the no-contract situation.

So far, it has only stopped the dues check-off, eliminated the umpire in grievances and cut down pay for union committeemen. But it has already warned that it would shut down plants where management says there is a "slowdown," sabotage or other "labor dispute."

DELIBERATE SPEED

Washington D. C. School Board President Walter N. Tobi

briner stated that if Washington had adopted a gradual approach to desegregation there would have been heated arguments at each step of the way. But because the schools were desegregated promptly, "opposition didn't have time to develop." From Southern School News, May 1958.

... Michigan Socialists

(Continued from Page 1)

every unemployed worker and placed the UAW in the foreground of the fight to end unemployment. One of the reasons Reuther failed to advance this demand is because of his close ties with the Democratic Party, according to Lovell.

In addition to the demand to cut arms spending, the Social

ist Workers platform calls for an immediate end to atom-bomb tests and elimination of the trade barriers erected by this country against the Soviet

Union, the Peoples' Republic of China and the countries of East

ern Europe. Resumption of peaceful trade relations with the peoples in this vast section of the world would provide work for many of the presently unemployed in this country, Lovell said.

ATTACKS JIM CROW

The Socialist Workers plat-

form endorses full civil rights for the Negro people. "The

scandal of Little Rock follows

the scandal of Little Rock follows