

United Socialist Slate Will Build Fight for Peace

By Harry Ring

The call for a New York conference to put a United Independent-Socialist ticket on the state ballot has stimulated a vigorous discussion in the radical movement. So far the strongest statement of opposition to the project has come from the Communist Party in the form of two statements in the Worker by Ben Davis. (See excerpts page 2.)

The initiators of the movement for a united socialist ticket have put forward a clear-cut proposal. They want to see the maximum number of socialist groupings and independents campaign against the Republicans and Democrats on the great issues facing labor, the Negro people, the family farmer and small business man.

To secure peak firing power on a minimum socialist platform, they are recommending the nomination of a full slate of candidates for the major offices. These include U.S. senator, governor, lieutenant-governor,

**Calif. Independent
Polls 400,000**
(See Page 2)

ernor, comptroller and attorney general.

WANTS 'COALITION'

Davis opposes nominating a full slate of candidates and he opposes adoption of a socialist platform. He argues: "In equating a united socialist ticket with effective independent political action in the present situation, they're really withdrawing from the political mainstream into militant isolation." The Communist Party, he says, favors "a broad coalition policy which could attract workers

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Racist Mob Attacks Negro Picnic in Pa.

A mass meeting in Philadelphia, June 4, demanded justice for 370 Negro teenagers whose Memorial Day picnic was broken up by bloody attacks by over 1,000 white racists at Forrest Park in Chalfone, Pennsylvania. A committee was formed to press for action.

The picnic was sponsored by Delta Phi Tau, a high school sorority, which chartered a nine-car train to take its members, their guests and chaperons to the privately-operated picnic grounds outside Philadelphia. In the late afternoon bands of white racists, mostly male adults, began attacking Negroes in various parts of the park, using baseball bats, knives and broken bottles. Local police did not interfere and the attacks lasted about two hours until state troopers arrived.

During the attacks, most of the Negroes sought refuge inside the train, but many, including girls, were ambushed and severely injured. The windows in every car of the train were smashed by rocks and bottles hurled by the racists, who also beat several white persons who attempted to aid Negro youths. Twenty Negro teenagers were hospitalized with injuries ranging from skull fractures and stab wounds to bruises.

Robert Dillard, adult sponsor of the sorority, said he believed the attack was an "organized plot" by racists determined to keep the park "lily white." The Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has demanded an investigation.

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Democratic Party Flays GOP For Not Stepping Up Cold War

By Daniel Roberts
Socialist Workers Candidate
For U.S. Senator from N.J.

From time to time I hear it said that the Democratic Party is more pro-peace than the Republican Party. But a reading of the first pamphlet of a series of ten on "Foreign and Military Policy for Peace and Security" issued by the Advisory Council of the Democratic National Committee, shows once again that there is no truth to the claim.

The Council, which represents the liberal Democrats, flays the Republican Administration, all right, but not because it wages the cold war. It denounces Eisenhower, Dulles, Nixon and company as everything but traitors to America for not prosecuting the cold war vigorously enough. It seems that in pursuit of a balanced budget the Republicans have skimped on military outlays (they spent a paltry \$45 billion last year), and in general they have shown lack of leadership in meeting the Soviet "peril." The Democrats stand ready to correct all that.

Their leadership would provide the country with (1) more arms; (2) policies that "will call on all of us to forego things we would like to have" in order to arm the country to the teeth.

The Republicans, so runs the Democratic indictment, have been "asleep at the switch" and have allowed the Soviet Union to expand their economy stu-

pendously without doing anything about it. After piling up statistic on statistic of Soviet production growth designed to shock the reader into instant readiness to forego things he'd like to have, the Advisory Council unexpectedly declares "None of us begrudge the Russians their economic growth." Oh no? Then why all the com-

ment?

As a matter of plain fact,

the Democratic high command

— and the Republican, too —

— does begrudge the Russians

their economic growth. That's

what the cold war is all about.

Right from the start in 1917, these Big Business politicians fought the revolution of the Russian workers and peasants that abolished capitalism and landlordism and thus laid the basis for Soviet economic growth. The U.S. government (with the liberal Democrats in office) intervened militarily against the young Soviet Republic in conjunction with almost all other capitalist powers. That was grudge with a vengeance. The capitalists have kept it ever since.

They "begrudge" the Chinese people their socialist revolution — source of China's present economic growth — by giving the tyrant Chiang Kai-shek \$6 billion worth of arms and credits to fight it. And we pledge the peoples of the Soviet bloc our friendship against the cold-war policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Soviet economy is viable and highly progressive, whereas the retrograde character of capitalistism shows up in its depression tendencies and in the fact that it keeps underdeveloped areas of the world mired in backwardness.

The "grudging" attitude of U.S. Big Business and its Democratic and Republican politicians to every Soviet technological success marks them as implacable foes of the Soviet working people. (Their readiness to impose belt-tightening sacrifices at home for war marks them as implacable enemies of the American working people, too.)

It is true that the Soviet workers want to get rid of the Stalinist bureaucrats that oppress them, mismanage the economy and gobble up so huge a portion of the national wealth. And the workers will do so — no question whatever about it. But they want no return to capitalism. They don't want "liberation" at the point of American bayonets. They are sold on the Soviet economic system. They want to create socialist democracy on its foundations.

Unlike the Democrats and the Republicans, we socialists don't begrudge the Soviet working people their economic system. We hail its progress. And we pledge the peoples of the Soviet bloc our friendship against the cold-war policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

J. Kutcher Wins Pay From Gov't

On June 4 the Court of Claims in Washington, D. C., ordered federal authorities to pay legless veteran James Kutcher his back pay. Kutcher, fired by the witch hunters in 1948 from the Veterans Administration for open and avowed membership in the Socialist Workers Party, was restored to his job by court order on June 6, 1958. Even so, the "loyalty" probes of the Justice Department dragged out their persecution of him for two more years by claiming that the government could not pay him back wages because of the SWP membership.

SENTIMENT EXISTS
In arguing against the proposal for genuine independence, Davis admits there is sentiment for a break from the capitalist machines in the labor and Negro movement. He states there is growing support for an end to nuclear tests and

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Chrysler Pushes Attack On UAW Inside Plants

BACK PAY
AT \$42 A WEEK

Kutcher's original back-pay suit was for over \$20,000, the actual amount of wages he lost by his eight years of enforced unemployment, since he would have received wage increases for seniority as well as the general wage raises given government employees during that period. Unfortunately, Court of Claim precedents are unequivocal in denying such true remuneration to claimants. The Court has long ruled that a successful claimant is entitled only to the wage he was receiving at time of discharge — in Kutcher's case \$42 a week...

The Court of Claims judgment completes Kutcher's string of victories against the witch hunt. His ten-year struggle not only redressed the injustices done him personally, but set legal precedents important in the struggle to reestablish civil liberties and helped mobilize

(Continued on Page 4)

As the UAW began operating without auto contracts this month, the chairman of a meeting of UAW Local 659 committee at the Chevrolet plants in Flint, Michigan — where the crucial 1937 sit-down strike occurred — said: "It is obvious that Management is taking this opportunity in an attempt to bust our Union. I say let 'em try it. The 'old timers' did it in '37 and by all that's holy, we will do it in '58."

The Alternative To Retreat

An Editorial

As the auto corporations take advantage of the recession to turn down the demands of the auto workers and launch an offensive against their working conditions, United Auto Worker President Walter Reuther is following a policy of retreat. This strategy, as clearly stated by Reuther during the special UAW convention last January, is based on the hope that the recession will be short-lived.

Implied in Reuther's course is the idea that the workers cannot expect to make gains, or even to hold their own in a period of recession such as this one. Some observers excuse Reuther's strategy saying that he is simply stalling until new model cars are introduced when a strike would be more effective than now.

But Reuther has already pared the union's demands to the bone and has indicated that in the fall, if a recession continues, he will be content to settle for a minimum contract and then await better times.

However, better times are a long way off according to most experts. As the June 9 Christian Science Monitor says: "The economic decline in America is one of the fastest on record... no one can say for sure when this rapid decline can be checked."

The staff of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee last week predicted unemployment would be at least as high next winter as it was during the last one,

and that under "less optimistic" assumptions, unemployment will rise to "as many as 7,000,000" by next spring.

Neither the auto union nor the rest of the labor movement can retreat much further without risking smash-up. What is necessary to prevent this is serious preparation for a real fight.

This means that the labor movement must adopt demands capable of rallying the entire working class — unemployed and employed, organized and unorganized — behind labor's banners, demands like 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. It means the development of a common front of labor against the offensive of the corporations, wide-spread material support for the auto workers at present, a coordinated and uniform strike strategy for all unions facing negotiations this year.

In short it means adoption of a policy of militant class struggle. Short of that, the retreat will continue and cost the workers dearly in increased speed-up and loss of purchasing power.

The key to a successful nationwide struggle against the offensive of the corporations is political action. But here too, the labor movement has been in retreat, forced to fight rear-guard actions for ten years, and each year it loses more ground to Taft-Hartley. The labor movement will regain the offensive, and enjoy an immediate increase in its political influence, when it organizes a nationwide labor party and fights for its interests unfettered by ties to big business politicians.

(Continued on Page 3)

Algeria Militarists Put Heat on De Gaulle

By George Lavan

JUNE 11 — The first week and a half of de Gaulle's regime has been marked by two features: (1) increased aggressiveness by the militarists and racist colons [French settlers] of Algeria and the extension of their semi-fascist Committees of Public Safety to France itself; and (2) further deterioration of opposition to the new dictatorship on the part of the center and the reformist parties — only because of the fear of the civil war. To eliminate that threat would eliminate the reason-for-being of the de Gaulle dictatorship.

On his quick trip to Algeria to tame the "ultras" [extremists] there, it was not France's new "strong man" but ultra leaders Soustelle and Massu who carried the day. Their

demonstrated control of the organized racists and the troops proved far stronger than de Gaulle's much-touted "mystique" and "spiritual mission." So the "strong man" was compelled to emulate those politicians of parliament whom he so disdains and talk out of both sides of his mouth. Master-

pieces of vagueness, his speeches were calculated to let all sides hope that the hidden meaning was acceptance of their demands.

PROP FOR DE GAULLE

De Gaulle's tactic towards the militarists and colons of Algeria is to keep them as one of the essential supports of his regime — but to restrain and control them. He does not want to destroy them or their power for this would be tantamount to destroying his own dictatorship. He was able to gain the other essential base for his dictatorship — the support of the center and the reformist parties — only because of the fear of the civil war. To eliminate that threat would eliminate the reason-for-being of the de Gaulle dictatorship.

On the other hand, de Gaulle must prevent the leaders of the Algerian coup d'état from dominating him. This explains his insistence on gaining parliamentary sanction for his dic-

tatorship and the prominence of leaders of the traditional parties in his window-dressing cabinet. In this "legality" and these parties and their followers in the French population he finds a counterbalance to the militarists and colons. This counterbalance is necessary to de Gaulle's efforts to control the Algerian ultras.

TIGHT-ROPE ARTIST

In this lies the whole art of a bonapartist ruler — using the contending classes and forces in society, playing them off one against the other while still maintaining the threat of civil war so that his presence and power as "savior" continues to be required.

Thus on his visit to Algeria de Gaulle did not, as the liberals and reformists in Paris had hoped, order the dissolution of the Committees of Public Safety, nor even the resignation of army officers from them. He praised the committees' patriotism and merely

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...United Slate Builds Peace Fight

(Continued from Page 1) grants there is dissatisfaction over the failure of either party to take effective anti-recession action. He acknowledges that the widespread support in Harlem for Adam Clayton Powell against the Democratic and Liberal machines is an important manifestation of opposition to the Jim Crow politics of the Democratic bosses. His conclusion? We should tail-end the Liberal Party on a state-wide basis!

Davis sees those who propose a socialist campaign on the issues as "moving in a narrow, sectarian direction." Why? Because the movement they hope to initiate doesn't have the scope of a mass breakaway from the capitalist parties.

Some merit might be found in this argument if the proponents of a united socialist ticket contended they represented a significant section of the labor and Negro movement. But they have not made that contention.

They are fully aware that the socialist movement is weaker and more isolated today than it has been in decades. In fact this is one of the most compelling reasons for launching a united socialist ticket. Socialists will not end their isolation unless they act as socialists. True, the present isolation of the movement was brought about in good measure by the long period of relative prosperity and witch hunt. But in equal measure, the socialist movement lost thousands of active supporters because of the "coalition" policy of supporting capitalist politicians — a policy pursued both by the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

When socialists stop acting like socialists, what reason remains for its supporters to work and sacrifice for the cause? They don't have to be a part of the socialist movement to campaign for the Democratic Party. They can do that better in the Democratic Party itself. But a socialist movement that, in the inspiring tradition of Debs, fights the capitalist system all year around — including on election day — can win back literally thousands of those who walked out in disgust.

The objective situation today is better than it has been in a long time for launching a united socialist electoral ef-

fort. The mounting peace sentiment, the wide fears of a deepening recession, the militant mood of the civil rights movement and the stirrings among the youth — all combine to give socialists greater opportunities to get a hearing than they have had in many years.

At the same time the easing of the witch hunt means that it will be easier to reach a wide audience and to get the petitions necessary for a place on the ballot. It also means that a greater number of socialist-minded individuals will feel free to actively campaign for a socialist ticket.

A further new and hopeful ingredient for success in a socialist campaign is the present atmosphere in the radical exchange of views and united action on issues of common agreement.

ISOLATION FROM LABOR OFFICIALS

But, argues Davis, putting up a socialist slate is not in line with the official policies of the labor movement and therefore means isolation from it. He really means that a socialist ticket opposing the capitalist parties is not in line with the policy of the top labor officials. He is right about that since most of these officials are Democrats.

But if socialists are going to oppose cold war and witch hunt, if they are going to fight for effective anti-recession measures and in favor of civil rights, don't they have to oppose the Democrats — those in Tammany Hall and those representing Tammany Hall inside the labor movement?

The trade union brass defends the status quo because of the special privileges and power it provides them. That's why they support the cold war and the capitalist politicians who started the cold war as part of the drive for nuclear conflict. That's why they shrink from challenging Big Business whether in the political or economic arena.

That's why they have failed so far to advance any proposals that can really deal with the suffering that depression imposes on the workers.

While socialist opposition to the Big Business politicians will not be cheered by the labor officials, it will certainly be warmly approved by the growing number of rank-and-file

millions who are sick and tired of the two-party shell game. To tag behind Democratic officials of the labor and Negro movement crying "me too," can only mean isolation from those in the process of breaking with the class-collaborationist policies of Tammany's labor lieutenants.

This does not mean that socialists turn their backs on the leaders of the labor movement. Every step, no matter how hesitant, taken by these officials toward independent political struggle should be greeted. Where any significant step toward independent political action is taken, socialists will surely hail it. Wherever labor puts up its own slate against the major parties, socialists will give the ticket vigorous support, pointing out that the break from capitalist politics should be completed by adoption of a socialist program.

But the fact is that in 1958 there is no serious manifestation of such a move in New York. What then are socialists supposed to do? Sit out the elections? Tag along with the trade-union Democrats as Davis advocates? The issue is not abstract. The "me too" course means campaigning for a candidate who is in deadly opposition to everything socialism stands for. It means lining up with the worst enemies of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples fighting to end imperialist rule and with the worst enemies of that sector of

the world that has established a planned economy.

COLD-WARRIOR

Governor Harriman's proudest boast is that he was one of the first to advocate cold-war measures against the Soviet Union. While posing as a "champion" of civil liberties, he signed a witch-hunting state "security risk" law condemned by every civil liberties body in the state. While posing as a "friend of labor," he has joined the Republicans in blocking measures that might aid the growing army of jobless in New York. While making eloquent speeches about racism in the South, his record in fighting Jim Crow in New York is a conspicuous, lily-white blank.

Davis, it is true, says he is for an "independent" movement. Good! But Davis himself admits it doesn't exist today. We are right back where we started from. Socialists will be in the forefront in organizing an independent political party of labor and the Negro people when the sentiment for it exists strongly enough to make it a realistic venture. But the best way for socialists to strengthen that sentiment is to make the formation of a Labor Party a central plank in their platform.

On this, as on all other questions, to campaign as socialists is the honest course. It attracts the admiration of everyone disgusted with double-talking machine politicians. It wins the approval of everyone who likes a candidate with the guts to

face the facts and to stand up for it even if he's the underdog.

ISSUES OF DAY

Nor is there any contradiction, as Davis argues, between running as socialists and running a hard-hitting campaign on the issues of the day. A united socialist ticket can lay heavy stress on the demand for a halt to nuclear weapons tests. It can give impetus to the growing demand for liquidation of the cold war. It can help popularize proposals for East-West trade as an anti-recession measure. It can help put the searchlight on the witch hunt in the New York school system. It can give considerable publicity to the need for a low-cost housing program. These are only a few of the many issues which socialist campaigners can bring to the Negro community that the most effective protest vote is a vote for the socialist ticket.

Above all, the central task of socialists today is to contribute every ounce of their energy to the struggle for peace. And to combat the imperialist war drive, socialists must necessarily oppose the bipartisan foreign policy of the Republicans and Democrats. (Note in passing Davis' false charge that the SWP is "anti-Soviet." This, I'm sorry to say, is nothing but an attempt to revive the slander of the Moscow frame-up trials — a method that has been completely discredited since Khrushchev's 20th Congress revelations. Davis would spend his time better in explaining why he proposes to support the anti-Soviet Harriman.)

To help deepen and extend the growing sentiment for peace, socialists must tirelessly expose the big lie that there is danger of attack from the Soviet Union. They must prove the fact that the war danger springs from Wall Street. Socialist campaigners have an excellent opportunity to do this in the elections, explaining to large radio and TV audiences why social ownership of the means of production and planning end the incentive for war and why capitalism, on the other hand, breeds war.

Davis makes the observation: "Experience has shown that those parties which speak for socialism without relating it to the immediate needs of the workers — and without participating in the struggle for these needs — do not advance

the cause of socialism."

The statement is entirely correct. But Davis ignores the real issue: Socialists who campaign for Democrats neither help the struggle over immediate issues nor advance the struggle for socialism.

A socialist ticket can provide meaningful answers on the issues it can do more. It can help those who are not yet ready to accept socialism but who are seeking effective alternatives to the twin capitalist machines. Take the concrete example of the developments around the Powell campaign in Harlem. The revolt in that community against Tammany is bound to be felt in the state elections. Are socialists going to support the Democrats and thus help by default to deliver these protest votes to the Republicans? Or are they going to try to demonstrate to the Negro community that the most effective protest vote is a vote for the socialist ticket.

An impressive socialist vote can create real fear among the hacks in both capitalist parties and force them to do something about some of the demands of labor and the Negro people. Capitalist politicians are not much concerned about giving concessions to people whose votes they already have in their vest pocket.

EXAMPLE FOR OTHER STATES

A militant socialist campaign will serve notice of a new spirit of revolt, of actual achievements by socialists in uniting their forces. This will not gladden the hearts of the money changers and the H-bomb enthusiasts. But it will inspire every genuine independent and socialist in the country. New York's example can set similar movements going in other states. A united socialist ticket would prove its worth as a positive answer to the tens of thousands now on the sidelines who persistently ask the socialist movement "Why don't you get together?"

If a united socialist ticket succeeds in getting the 50,000 votes necessary for legal ballot status it will be marked as a most promising victory for the entire radical movement in America. But even if it should fall short of this mark, its impact would be substantial. It could serve as the springboard for a still more vigorous effort in the next election.

The debate on electoral policy centered mostly around the question of SP-SDF participation in primary elections — that is, not around the question of support or non-support to capitalist parties but of how deeply to get involved within these parties. In motivating his support for participating in the primaries, Norman Thomas said that labor's attitude is different since the New Deal and that socialists must accept and adapt to the people's desire to participate in capitalist politics, especially in the Democratic Party.

The Socialist Party began its adaptation as far back as 1936 and has been adapting steadily since. This betrayal of socialist principles has been responsible to a great extent for the demoralization and loss of membership that has been a chronic feature of the SP.

In order to lock the door with double bolt against a policy of socialist independence at the polls, the convention enacted a constitutional amendment which prohibits any state or local organization or individual member of the SP-SDF from supporting or endorsing nominees of the Communist Party or the Socialist Workers Party.

This amendment to the constitution is designed specifically to prevent any SP-SDF organization or member from participating in such united socialist election campaigns as the recently concluded Holland Roberts campaign in California, the Rev. Joseph P. King campaign in Chicago or the united socialist election conference being held this week in New York City. These united socialist electoral activities are an effort to unite all anti-capitalist electoral sentiment. The SP-SDF electoral policy is a further move in the opposite direction — that is, an attempt to channel socialist sentiment into the Democratic party through support to liberal and "labor-endorsed" candidates as well as through participation in the primary elections.

The resolution reads: "The situation calls for flexibility in the electoral policy of the Party. It means essentially that we must recruit Democrats and Republicans — or people whose electoral allegiance will remain to those parties — provided, of course that they agree with basic socialist goals and policies. We must encourage a flexibility of electoral approach which, while not committing the Party as such to support for old-party candidates, can consider socialist or other independent candidacies, entrance into primary elections, and action by individuals in support of labor or avowedly progressive candidates." (Emphasis supplied)

The majority of the convention voted for admission of the Independent Socialist League into the SP-SDF. But a minority succeeded in getting a petition through asking for a referendum on unity with the ISL. The ISL has agreed, in the event the unity goes through, to put its paper, Labor Action, and its magazine, The New International, at the disposal of the SP-SDF.

Opposing Views on United Ticket

(We print below excerpts from four articles and letters pertaining to the controversy over the Conference Call to Launch a United Independent Socialist State Ticket in 1958. The text of the call — issued by a group of individuals including independents and leaders and members of organized socialist tendencies — was printed in the June 2 Militant and June 2 National Guardian. — Ed.)

(1) Excerpt from "N. Y. Elections and Independent Action" by Benjamin J. Davis. The Worker, June 1:

... it's possible to proceed in a wholly narrow and sectarian manner in trying to advance independent political action, in a manner which is isolated from life and reality and from the labor, Negro and broad peoples movement. The "United Socialist" ticket grouping which has just sent out a call for June 13 state conference to set up such a party and ticket for the '58 elections falls in this category. It's a pity, for many of the forces and personages associated with this project are sincere, genuinely disgusted with the two major parties and are desirous of following a course of political independence. But in equating a united socialist ticket with effective independent political action in the present situation, they're really withdrawing from the political mainstream into militant isolation.

When he announced his candidacy, Dr. Roberts said: "The people of the United States will soon discover that nothing less than a complete change of our social and economic system will save our schools from decay and our civilization from collapse. ... Only under socialism can we educate all our children up to the full development of their capabilities."

Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party Presidential candidate, was campaign manager for Dr. Roberts. In an April 21 interview with the National Guardian, Hallinan declared the

purpose of the campaign was "to put before California voters an independent socialist candidate who can speak freely because he is not committed to the Republican and Democratic parties ... who can advocate the teaching of the real history of the labor movement, the contributions of the Negro people, class movements and socialism."

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The Soviet Trade Offer

A common tactic of capitalist diplomats is to try to plant their own criminal intentions on others. An example of this was provided by Secretary of State Dulles at his June 10 press conference in his comment on Khrushchev's proposal for expansion of U.S.-Soviet trade.

Dulles asserted: "The Soviet Union, according to Chairman Khrushchev, has, as he put it, declared economic warfare on us.... And now it looks as though the Soviet Union wanted to get credit from us so that it could more successfully pursue its economic warfare against us."

The fact is precisely the opposite. Since the founding of the USSR, Washington has waged virtually uninterrupted economic warfare against it. In 1956, U.S.-Soviet trade amounted to but \$11-million and it has increased very little since.

The effort to construe Khrushchev's letter to Eisenhower as a challenge to economic warfare flies in the face of the readily available text. In fact Dulles' interpretation of it was so raw that New York Times correspondent James Reston was moved to point out that it "is not an accurate account of the Moscow proposal."

What are the facts? The Soviet Union has offered to negotiate a trade pact that would mean the exchange of several billion dollars worth of goods. It is ready to buy machinery for production of synthetic fibers and plastics, refrigerator and air conditioning equipment, paper and wood

processing machinery, automatic vending machines, rolling mill equipment, chemical products and medical equipment, textile machinery and a variety of consumer goods. None are of military value.

In exchange, it offers raw materials needed by the U.S. Among them are manganese, chrome, platinum, asbestos, lumber, paper products and furs.

The Soviet credit proposal is of direct benefit to the U.S. The Soviet Union is prepared to place large orders for immediate purchase of industrial goods. But while U.S. manufacturers have a long-term need for the raw material offered in exchange they are not in a position to absorb deliveries on the same scale as the Soviet purchases. Extension of credits would clear the way to filling the Soviet orders.

Acceptance of the Soviet trade proposal would put a substantial number of U.S. unemployed back on the job. Since four fifths of those now jobless are in manufacturing industry, acceptance of the Soviet offer is particularly urgent.

Dulles and the Wall Street gang he speaks for are hostile to the trade proposal because they are intent on continuing their losing effort to stymie the development of the Soviet economy. But we are certain that jobless American workers will view the matter differently. A major anti-recession demand by organized labor should be immediate acceptance of the Soviet trade proposal.

Program to Fight Unemployment

The Militant proposes the following as immediate measures to combat the depression:

(1) Organization of the unemployed by the labor movement. For union unemployed committees to fight their jobless members' grievances on rehiring, unemployment compensation, rent, mortgage and installment payments, relief, etc.

(2) Unemployment compensation to all jobless for the entire period of unemployment at trade-union wages.

(3) A 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to be the number one demand of all unions in contract negotiations. Amend federal and state wage-and-hours laws to include 30-for-40.

(4) A giant public works program at trade-union wages to build all the schools, hospitals, low-cost housing, highways and other useful and peaceful construction needed in this country today.

(5) Union action and FEP laws to prevent discrimination in layoffs, rehiring, unemployment compensation, public-works hiring, relief, etc.

(6) A debt moratorium for the unemployed. No evictions or foreclosures on homes, autos or appliances.

(7) No taxes on yearly incomes of \$7,500 or less. End withholding and sales taxes to restore workers' purchasing power. Tax the rich and the corporations.

(8) A long-term trade agreement with the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. Combat unemployment by filling large-scale orders from these countries for industrial and farm equipment in exchange for raw materials. Extend the credits necessary for such job-creating trade.

(9) Build a Labor Party based on the unions in alliance with minority peoples and working farmers.

Chrysler Attack on UAW

(Continued from Page 1)
plates" from three to two, with no cut in production.

(4) The company has also declared its intention to eliminate hourly rest periods totaling 60 minutes per day for each of 750 men in the Dodge plant body shop. The rest periods had been in effect for 15 years as a health measure because of fumes.

COMPANY UNIONISM

At the meeting of the Chrysler secondary leaders, representatives of the International union charged that those who refused to take these company edicts down were playing politics and aiding the company. The stewards and committee men noted with anger that Reuther and Norman Matthews, UAW vice-president in charge of Chrysler affairs, were not present, and answered the charges with shouts of: "This is back to company unionism!" "We haven't faced anything like this since 1937!" "We're going to have to do something eventually; we might as well do it now!"

With the exception of a 24-hour strike protesting unsafe conditions at a GM plant near Pittsburgh, the reaction at Ford and GM has not been as immediate or open as at Chrysler. All three corporations previously promised that operations would continue as under the expired contract except for the elimination of dues check off and the grievance umpire, and some limitations on in-plant representation. Full-time committeemen at Ford have been cut to four hours a day for union business, while at GM plants, the weekly 15 hours allotted to district committee men has been cut about in half.

REVISED DEFINITION

But the top leadership insists on "patience." According to the latest revised version of the Reutherite dictionary, a good union man is one who lets the company destroy the structure of the union in the plant and grins while the company speeds him up. The rank-and-file who wants to fight back, on the other hand, is now a company stooge. This grim joke has been in the making for a long time.

In the profit-fat decade after 1947, the auto companies tossed Reuther enough crumbs for him to keep face before the response. This is the road to victory.

Ford and GM have not as yet — as far as can be determined here — combined the attack on in-plant representation with a direct onslaught on working conditions. But it would be living in a fool's paradise to think they won't do so if they think they can get away with it.

Carl Stellato, president of the huge Ford Local 600 and nominal leader of the militant opposition to Reuther, has so far gone along with the policies of the International Union, leaving the inevitable and developing revolt among the ranks without any nationally recognized spokesman.

Nevertheless, a motion passed unanimously at a meeting of the Tool and Die Unit of Local 600 Sunday June 8, met with no opposition from Stellato and International Executive Board member Joe McCusker, who were present. Jesus Chantres, chairman of the unit and a member of the Ford national negotiating committee pointed to the necessity of taking a strike vote soon.

LABOR WILL AID

Workers in the Detroit area have not forgotten their own reaction when the striking miners came to them for help. The offer of \$200,000 recently made to the UAW by the International Union of Electrical Workers would be a drop in the bucket compared to the aid which would be forthcoming from the American workers as a whole if the auto workers in defense of their union and of their unemployed brothers should hit the bricks. In such a case, the greater the need, the greater the stakes—the greater the response. This is the road to victory.

Reuther let the corporations increase speed-up.

RODE THE BOOM

The essence of Reuther's policy throughout this period has been reliance on war-spending prosperity. He did his level best to corrupt the workers into counting on the boom rather than class struggle, as is the source of contract gains. He is now faced with having to beg the bosses for face-saving concessions when they are in no mood to grant them. Encouraged by UAW vice-president Leonard Woodcock's infamous "you-can't-force-us-to-strike" statement, the corporations are pressing hard.

But it is not true that the workers have no alternative except to entrust themselves to the tender mercies of the auto companies as they wait for bad times to improve. The rank and file have, to some extent, been disoriented by the UAW's panicky retreat dictated by Reuther, but it will not permit the destruction of the union. The auto workers could still gain the initiative by boldly putting forth the 30-for-40 demand.

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The Murder of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

Burnt Offering



Reprinted from the Militant, June 29, 1958.

And even after the FBI had Rosenberg fired, thereby announcing that it was on his trail, we are asked to believe that he went merrily and carelessly on his conspiratorial way for five more years.

When the FBI had Rosenberg fired from his job in 1945, wouldn't a "master spy's" worry about discovery induce him to escape from the country? Couldn't the Soviet Union arrange this small favor in return for such precious secrets? Couldn't the "spies" have escaped after the arrest of Fuchs in England or at least after the FBI first visited David Greenglass in February of 1950? Or after the arrest of Greenglass on June 15? Or after the FBI first questioned Rosenberg on June 16, about a month before he was arrested?

The FBI was aware of the weakness of its case if it didn't answer these questions. It hoped to provide an answer with Morton Sobell who had actually made a trip to Mexico. So the Sobell family was kidnapped in Mexico City and whisked across the border. The Mexico trip was supposed to prove that an escape plan had at least been made.

But it actually proved the opposite to anyone not blinded by the witch hunt. Having failed to scare Sobell into "confessing," the FBI was left with the most feeble, stupid "escape" plan ever devised by "spies." Any Grade B fiction writer would be ashamed to invent such a plot.

CONSOLE TABLE

After the trial the controversial console table was discovered. The Greenglasses contended that this was a special piece of furniture with a hole in the center for microfilming given to the Rosenberg by a grateful Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs said they got it at Macy's and it had no hole in the center. It was an ordinary console table. Many pages of the trial transcript were taken up with the elaboration of the two conflicting stories. When the table was finally located, it proved that Greenglass was lying and the Rosenbergs were telling the truth.

There are many other reasons, too numerous to list here, for belief in the innocence of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell. But if they were innocent, then what must be said of the federal government?

All three branches — executive, judicial and legislative — have played a part in the violation of justice. The FBI framed up three innocent people. Two presidents turned down pleas for justice and even pleas for mercy.

The judicial branch permitted the frame-up. Judge Irving Kaufman took the responsibility for the savage sentences. The Supreme Court refused to re-

To Hold Memorial For Rosenbergs

A memorial ceremony for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg will be held at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, Long Island, on Sunday, June 22 at 2 P.M. Five years have passed since the Rosenbergs were executed on framed-up charges of "conspiracy" to commit espionage. The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell announces that it will help in transportation arrangements for those who need assistance. For further information call the Sobell Committee at AL 4-9983.

view the case, wiping its hands of the foul play of the courts below. The legislative branch, through congressional "investigating" committees hauled the two government witnesses, Greenglass and Gold, before post-trial hearings in the attempt to patch up some of the holes in the government's case.

No wonder there is to this day so much pressure to silence the cry for justice, for the children and most urgently for Morton Sobell who has spent nearly eight long years behind prison walls.

FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

Yet we believe that the truth will be known and that justice will be done. The fight for justice, despite the pressure, has not died down. It is gaining ground and will mount until the prison doors are swung open and an innocent man is given back his freedom, his family and his pride and joy in living.

The promise of Ethel Rosenberg to her sons in the poem "If We Die," as she sat in the death cell in 1953 will not be forgotten:

You shall know, my sons, shall know
why we leave the song unsung,
the book unread, the work
undone
to rest beneath the sod.

Mourn no more, my sons, no more
why the lies and smears were
framed,
the tears we shed, the hurt we bore
to all shall be proclaimed.

Earth shall smile, my sons, shall smile
and green above our resting place,
the killing end, the world
rejoice
in brotherhood and peace.

Work and build, my sons, and build
a monument to love and joy,
to human worth, to faith we
kept
for you, my sons, for you.

...Algeria Militarists

(Continued from Page 1)
tion was then passed by the 72-man All-Algeria Committee of Public Safety and sent to Paris.

STILL MENACING

Whether the leaders of the Algerian coup d'état are merely pressuring de Gaulle or are preparing a break with him is impossible to say as yet. In all likelihood the decision is contingent on what the present testing of strength reveals. The possibility thus exists that the forces in Algeria might yet attempt to establish their own direct military rule over France in the near future. In this connection the reported formation of 300 or more clandestine Committees of Public Safety in France presents a great danger to the working class and makes all the more imperative the organization and arming of defense units by French unions and workers' parties.

The immediate job of defending French freedom from attacks by de Gaulle, from a fascist thrust from the Algerian generals and colonels, or from the fascist civilian gangs must be fought on a united basis, excluding absolutely no one who wants to resist dictatorship. But this is not enough. A social program that will truly resolve the French crisis is needed. A program that promises only a return to the pre-crisis "status quo" will not meet that need. The issue of "united front" and "popular front" is thus not a quantitative one, but is the issue of whether the working class shall use united resistance as the starting point for realizing its independent class aims.

LIBERAL CAPITALISTS

But what about the liberal capitalists? Mustn't they be placated to keep them anti-fascists? That would be the greatest folly of all. They haven't much fighting capacity to begin with. And they are mortally afraid that the anti-fascist struggle will lead to workers' power no matter how many reassurances they receive from the CP. This makes them much better at capitulating to than resisting fascist threats — as they proved in the National Assembly recently.

To exchange the inspiring program of socialism for an alliance with a section of the capitalist class on the basis of a "status quo" program as the Communist Party of France is doing under the heading of a "people's front" is to lose the greatest anti-fascist power the workers possess — the power to end the crisis by revolutionary means and to open a new era of social progress.

French Big Business has al-

ways to prevent the worst, so that tomorrow de Gaulle won't become the prisoner of the "ultras." Illustrating this evolution of liberals, Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, editor of the "left-of-center" L'Express, which reflects the views of the followers of Mendès-France, now sees in de Gaulle the only person who could rise to power with such sinister sponsors without being dominated by them; de Gaulle's "personal character" is the "thin barrier" against the paratroopers.

Such sophistries covered the treason of Mollet and other right-wing Socialist leaders. It is spreading like poison through the bureaucracy of that party and the unions it leads. Though the Communist Party leaders did not join the de Gaulle ministry cabinet (they wouldn't have been accepted) and though they gave lip service to fighting de Gaulle, they actually immobilized effective opposition by the workers with their support of Pflimlin. In pursuit then and now of their Popular Front aims they are subjecting the French working class to the "lesser evil" poison emanating from their would-be Popular Front partners — the Mollets and Servan-Schreibers.

Unless the workers are presented with a true alternative — an independent labor counter-offensive against de Gaulle with the program of workers' opposition to de Gaulle are now rallying to his support. The rationalization for such treason to the reestablishment of democratic liberties and to the working class, is the ancient trap of the "lesser evil." "JOIN US"

This tendency appeared during the crisis that preceded parliament's suicide. France-Observateur quotes the "Gaulists of the Left" as follows: "Join us, they say to me, be

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

DuBois on Socialism and Civil Rights

The month of June has become somewhat notorious in this country for the commencement addresses, honorary degrees, citations and other honors bestowed by publicity-seeking and endowment-conscious universities on Big Businessmen, reactionary publishers, high political muckamucks, "statesmen" of countries in the good graces of the State Department, etc. It seems that real scholars, scientists and others who actually contribute to human advancement pretty much get the short end of the stick as universities barter off their honors in devious financial and political deals.

So it is like coming across a spring in a desert to read that Fisk University honored Dr. W. E. B. DuBois at its graduation exercises. This year marks the 70th anniversary of DuBois' graduation from Fisk and among the numerous tributes paid the illustrious alumnus was the creation of the W. E. B. DuBois Lecture Series which will open next year with Dr. DuBois as the first lecturer. We may be sure that Fisk's actions were not prompted by the U.S. State Department, Wall Street, or the other hidden sources of so many June honors. Nor will its courageous action earn Fisk the favor of those powerful sources, but it will earn the respect and gratitude of all sincere admirers of true scholarship, and of moral and political courage.

At the age of 90 Dr. DuBois is not resting on his laurels. He is still giving

Think It Over

By Mary Wright

(Reprinted from the May Workers Vanguard, Canadian Socialist publication.)

I see they're out gunning for us girls. They must be worried stiff down at the shop these days. You remember Mary, Jean and the others. They're married and though they hustle around as much as the single girls when Big Dome cracks the whip they have never been taken on permanent. Mary's been there 14 years but she is still just temporary help — married, you know — and the same with Jean.

Now, with all this unemployment, there's more and more talk urging married women to give up their jobs and join the likes of me in the kitchen.

Of course I worked before Jimmy came along. I don't know how we would have set up house if I hadn't. I went back again. But when Paul came, and then Anne, that ended it all for me and I became a lady of leisure. Hostess, you might say, to two boys, a girl and a man. No more work for me — just a bit of dusting, washing, scrubbing, ironing, cooking, and other odd jobs.

I don't know about all those other married women who work. When I did, it wasn't exactly for fun. It was one mad scramble getting Jimmy ready for nursery, then, after being on your feet all day, shoving components into the machine, dash back again to pick him up, and then the housework all there waiting.

Who are they to say whether a married woman needs her job or not? Do they think Mary comes down to work for Big Dome so she won't be bored stiff at home — just something to keep herself occupied with? Now they will be asking the girls for a detailed report on what their husband is making, how much they owe on the house, advising them whether it is really essential that their boy go to university — a real means test. As if it were any of their business!

Jean was telling me over the phone last month that she just doesn't know how the family would have got along without her pay when her husband was laid off three months last Fall. But that's her tough luck, I guess. She's married and it's too bad.

Of course a lot of these married women

more than he gets. An example is a recent speech he made at Chicago's Dunbar High School following a testimonial dinner in his honor. "The future of the colored man lies not with capitalism but with labor, and the future of both lies with socialism," he told his audience of over 1,000. "A group of willful and irresponsible men, chiefly Americans but also French and British, have spread the idea around that communism is a dirty word, and Communists are criminals and that socialism is either a mistake or a crime."

Dr. DuBois also spoke some home truths about prominent Negroes who lend themselves to the U.S. government's cynical program of speaking tours abroad to allay world-wide indignation against America's Jim Crow system.

These are the sort of things that have to be said to help people to throw off the prejudices and fears instilled by the witch hunt and recomment independent thinking. They have to be said because they are absolutely vital to the advancement of the Negro people in their struggle for equality. They have to be said to help labor break out of its mental lethargy and envisage the socialist goal which alone can solve the terrible problems besetting modern society.

And who can command a more respectful and serious hearing for these things which have to be said than Dr. W. E. B. DuBois?

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King Rallies Are Slated In Chicago

CHICAGO, June 10 — Rev. Joseph P. King, United Socialist candidate for Congress from the Second District, announced today that he plans to take his campaign to the people in a series of open air meetings, starting immediately. Eight meetings are scheduled for this month. Key issues to be taken up are the fight for Negro equality, unemployment, housing and "redevelopment," atomic radiation and war, and police brutality.

All eight meetings will be held in the evening between 7 and 10 P.M. according to the following schedule: Sat., June 14 at 43 and Ellis; Sunday, June 15 at 46 and Greenwood; Tuesday, June 17 at 43 and Drexel; Friday, June 20 at 50 and Dorchester; Saturday, June 21 at 43 and Berkley; Sunday, June 22 at 44 and Drexel; Friday, June 27 at 45 and Drexel; Sunday, June 29 at 43 and Oakwood.

ECLC to Hear Dr. Meiklejohn

Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, dean of American philosophers, Rabbi Robert E. Goldberg of New Haven, Conn.; and Dr. Corliss Lamont will speak at a New York Meeting, Wednesday evening, June 18, on the "Right of the People" under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

As a protest against the subpoenaing of prominent actors and musicians by the House Un-American Activities Committee, which has scheduled New York hearings for the week of June 16, an invitation to the meeting has been extended to all who resist the unconstitutional questioning by the Congressional committee. The ECLC meeting will be chaired by Harvey O'Connor, and will be held at the New Yorker Hotel.

His victory in the New Jersey Supreme Court against eviction of himself and his family from a low-cost federal housing project was an important factor in convincing the Department of Justice to abandon attempts to

Wins Against Injustice



James Kutcher (right) and George L. Weissman, treasurer of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, during one of the long series of legal battles against the government's "loyalty" purge program. Final victory in the 10-year fight came when Kutcher was awarded his back pay June 6.

...Kutcher Pay Victory

(Continued from Page 1) public opinion against the whole witch hunt.

The record rolled up by Kutcher is impressive. In the successful fight against revocation of his veteran's disability pension he forced the first open hearing in a "security" case. By winning his eight-year court fight to get back his VA job he became the first member of an organization on the Attorney General's illegal blacklist to vindicate his right to government employment.

His victory in the New Jersey Supreme Court against eviction of himself and his family from a low-cost federal housing project was an important factor in convincing the Department of Justice to abandon attempts to

enforce the Gwinn amendment establishing "loyalty" purges of federal housing tenants.

His recent victory in the Court of Claims should establish a precedent for witch-hunt victims who regain their jobs getting their back pay without the expense and delay of a court fight.

LOYALTY OATH

New York City's high school graduates will start on the road to adulthood by signing a loyalty oath. Every member of the graduating class must, before receiving a diploma, sign a statement that he will be loyal to his parents, his God, and to the laws of the United States of America.

Mich. Socialist Nominee Heard By UAW Locals

DETROIT, June 9 — The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator, Evelyn Sell, spoke before two local union meetings last week-end. Well-attended meetings of the Ford Local 600 Tool and Die Unit and the Cadillac Local 22 heard Mrs. Sell outline a program to combat the current recession which has affected the Detroit area to the point where it is being named the "Capital of the Depression."

Both union bodies are among those working without a contract. The auto companies are hacking away at hard-won union gains by increasing speed-up and decreasing union representation for the workers on the job. Faced with such attacks by the employers and the anti-labor offensive of the government, these auto workers listened attentively as the SWP candidate urged them to rely on their own strength, courage and abilities in order to solve their grave problems.



EVELYN SELL, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan.

have been in control of Congress. Have they seriously tried to throw out the Taft-Hartley law? Aren't they the party of Eastland and Faubus? The demand for a Labor Party—the Democratic Party certainly doesn't include that in its platform! Isn't a vote for such a party a vote against your own union program?

If you want to vote for the program endorsed by your union, vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Frank Lovell for Governor and Evelyn Sell for United States Senator.

On the foreign policy side the SWP candidates advocate an immediate end to atom-bomb tests and elimination of trade barriers erected by this country against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the countries of Eastern Europe.

California Primary Vote Hits Union-Busting

By John Storm

SAN FRANCISCO — The 650,000 vote margin of Democratic candidate Edmund P. Brown in California's June 3 primaries has dealt a smashing blow to Republican Senator William F. Knowland's hopes of becoming governor in November. Democratic national leaders see in the California voting the prophecy of a Democratic victory in November not only in California but nationally.

Observers credit the strong Democratic tide in California to the recession and to anger with Knowland's openly anti-labor campaign.

Knowland, darling of the reactionaries, has been campaigning on a program calling for a state "right-to-work" (more accurately known as a right-to-scab) law. Democrat Brown has come out against this blatantly anti-union measure. Since the contest between them centered about this issue, the primary attracted national attention as an important test of strength between employers and labor.

KEY LABOR STATE

Next to New York, California has more union members than any other state. If the bosses are able to put this union-busting law across here, they would obviously be in a position to move more vigorously in other states and in Washington for similar anti-labor legislation.

Gov. Knight announced his candidacy for re-election well before any serious campaigning

had started. When Knowland entered the race, he took issue with him on the "Right to Work Law." Knight was considered a "popular" governor by prevailing standards, and his chances of winning the Republican nomination over Knowland appeared good.

Then Knight was summoned to Washington and bluntly told to withdraw from the race for Governor and to run for the U.S. Senate or face the possibility of political annihilation. "Goodie" was not about to sacrifice his political career for labor, and he promptly switched his candidacy as directed. Knight realized that he would not get either the newspaper or financial support he needed if he persisted in his campaign for Governor.

Knight's desertion threw the labor leaders into consternation. Their champion, "Goodie," had folded up like an accordian without even that instrument's customary moan. To make matters worse his candidacy for Senator confronted them with new problems.

A FRIEND OF LABOR' This process had a profound effect upon the current election. When Warren was kicked upstairs into the Supreme Court, Goodwin "Goodie" Knight donned liberal garb, and promoted himself into the office of Governor. From that time on, "Goodie's" reputation as a so-called friend of labor was unexcelled by any of the state's leading politicians in either the Republican or Democratic parties.

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AFL CIO JOCKEYING The AFL and CIO are still organized as separate bodies on the state and city levels in California. In the past, the CIO has operated politically within the Democratic Party while the AFL has usually supported the liberal Republicans. In this election, the CIO bussed itself with promoting Brown's cam-

paign for the Democratic nomination, and the AFL obviously intended to support Knight as it had in the previous election. If Knight had lost to Knowland in the Republican primary, the AFL would have then switched its support to Democratic Brown for the November elections.

In order to keep this escape hatch open and to work as closely as possible with the CIO colleagues, the AFL leaders were planning to support Democratic Congressman Clare Engle for U.S. Senator. Knight's switch to this race put the labor leaders on the spot. Engle's labor record in Congress is anything but savory. It includes voting for Taft-Hartley and numerous stands against labor-supported bills. Knight immediately took advantage of the situation to demand endorsement for Senator on the basis of his record as a "friend of labor."

This led to a split in both the CIO and AFL conferences. In the CIO, a group led by the Steel Workers union fought a losing battle to secure the endorsement of both Knight and Engle. In the AFL, a group led by the Retail Clerks wanted to support Knight. Since the conference, the AFL group has come out for Knight in disregard of the state AFL's endorsement of Engle.

The Democratic politicians' opposition to the "right to work" is merely a vote-getting gimmick. The Democrats haven't enjoyed a major election victory in California for 20 years. Without the support of the unions, their chances are nil. Brown, who is presently California's Attorney General, has never distinguished himself as strongly pro-labor.

While he and other Democratic Party leaders have made numerous statements against a "right to work law," they have qualified these by saying that they would favor some other types of labor legislation. Since it is the bosses who are pressuring the other types of labor legislation at this time, their stand is neither reassuring nor inspiring.

Once again it becomes painfully clear just how badly labor needs its own political party to protect its interests. The efforts of the California labor leaders to block the employer offensive against the unions by maneuvering within the parties of Big Business have only succeeded in confusing the situation and in placing political confidence where none is deserved.

Labor will never be able to cope with these capitalist sharks in their own political waters — that is, in the Democratic and Republican parties.

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