

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 two.)

The initiators of the movement for a united socialist ticket have put forward a clear-cut proposition. 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-gov-

and voters in both major parties to certain independent candidacies, irrespective of their views on socialism."

On the basis of its "coalition" line, the CP favors supporting labor-endorsed capitalist politicians. In the 1958 election, this boils down to supporting the Democratic Governor Harriman, in his bid for reelection. By favoring "certain independent candidacies," the CP means it may consider supporting one or two independent candidates for offices other than governor as a means of projecting "issues" in the campaign.

Such a course would repeat on a state-wide basis the CP policy in the 1957 mayoralty election in New York City. In that election the CP supported Tammany's candidate, Wagner, for reelection on the Liberal Party line even though there was a socialist candidate in the field — namely, Joyce Cowley of the Socialist Workers Party. To project "issues," the CP ran Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for City Council on a platform of immediate demands that ignored the issue of socialism. The campaign was so designed as not to take votes away from Wagner.

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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Calif. Independent Polls 400,000

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error, 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

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 Chalfont, 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.

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.

pendently 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 commotion?

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 up 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. They "begrudge" the appeal the Soviet economy has for the peoples of Asia and Africa. And they cry panic and alarm at every new indication that the

Soviet economy is viable and highly progressive, whereas the retrograde character of capitalism 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.

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Chrysler Pushes Attack On UAW Inside Plants

The Spirit of '37

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, 1956. Even so, the "loyalty" probers 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.

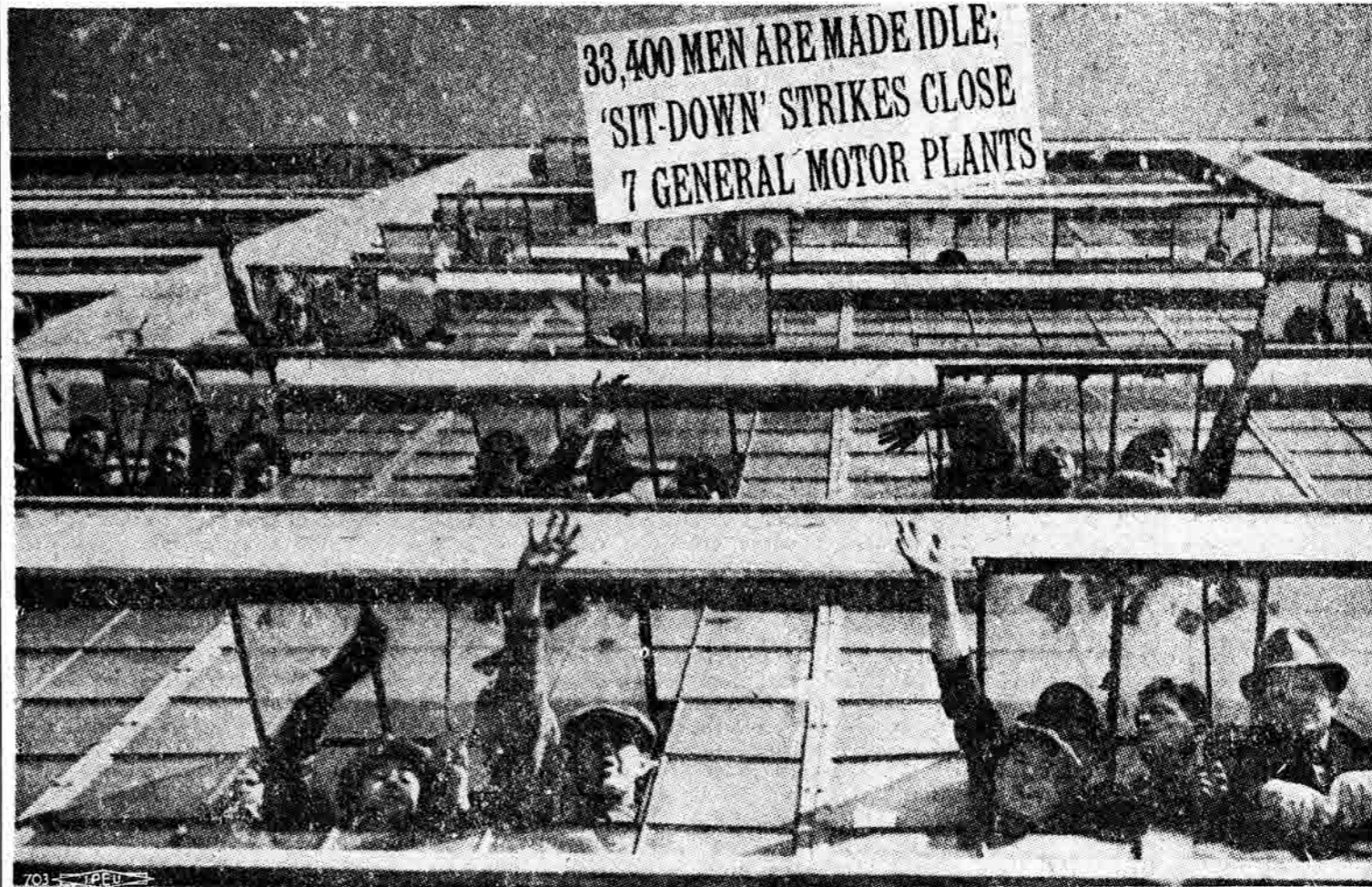
This ridiculous pretense could not stand up in court and so with ill-grace the U.S. General Accounting Office now has to give Kutcher the \$13,589.94 specified in the judgment signed by the court. This sum, as is customary in such cases, has already had deducted from it federal withholding tax.

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 Claims 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

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As the UAW began operating without auto contracts this month, the chairman of a meeting of UAW Local 659 committeemen at the Chevrolet plants in Flint, Michigan — where the crucial 1937 sit-down strikes like that pictured above 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.

Stewards Hit Reuther Inaction

DETROIT, June 9 — Two things have become clear after a week of operations under no-contract conditions in General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Reuther's "turn the other cheek" strategy, scheduled to last until that indefinite time when the inventory of 800,000 unsold cars is exhausted, can lead to the destruction of the United Auto Workers union as an effective instrument of the auto workers.

It has become equally obvious, however, that the UAW rank and file — including most of the secondary leadership — will sooner or later rebel against the suicidal policy of the weak-kneed top brass of the UAW.

Already on June 7, six hundred Chrysler secondary leaders, ranging from local presidents to stewards, loudly denounced demands by International Union officers to stay on the job and accede to company demands aimed at destroying in-plant union representation and at increasing speed-up.

COMPANY ATTACKS

The meeting was called over company acts which resulted in disciplinary layoffs of from one to three days for 300 stewards, and in walkouts involving 3,400 workers on June 6 at Chrysler's Mack Avenue and Plymouth plants in Detroit. The company provocations were:

(1) Chief stewards were restricted to two hours and committeemen to five hours a day to handle grievances. In the past, both groups were allowed up to eight hours. In addition both groups are now required to do production work the first hour of their shift, the first hour after lunch, and the last hour. (Pat Quinn, president of Dodge Local 3, said of this: "It is like scheduling a rhubarb in a baseball game." But this, of course, is no ball game.)

(2) A company order has gone out reducing the number of chief stewards at Local 212's Mack Avenue plant from 102 to 46. (The local's president, Ernie Bruce declared: "We are going to continue representing our membership in the same way we have since 1937.")

(3) Chrysler corporation has given notice of two changes in production at the Dodge plant beginning today. One would reduce the number of men on the windshield line from 13 to eight with no reduction in output. The other would reduce the number working on "name

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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 liberals and labor leaders.

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'etat 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 followings 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

"invited" them to give up politics and turn to the work of promoting French-Moslem reconciliation.

But the men of the Algerian coup d'etat do not willingly lend themselves to the role that a bonapartist ruler intends for them. Some believe they can go further by military invasion and civil war that they hope to win in France as they did in Algeria. Others have no faith in the life expectancy of de Gaulle's regime and look beyond to a full-fledged fascist solution. Even those who feel that at this stage they must acquiesce to de Gaulle do not wish to do so before they have squeezed from him all they possibly can in the way of policy commitments, posts and the other spoils of the victory of which they were the prime movers.

MASSU'S DEMANDS

In his testing of strength between the men of Algiers and de Gaulle, the former have

shown considerable aggressiveness. From the first they made bold public criticisms of the "discredited politicians" in de Gaulle's cabinet and urged an end to the whole "rotten system" of parliamentary democracy. On June 9 paratroop General Massu had the Committee of Public Safety of the City of Algiers pass a motion calling for the end of political parties in France, formation there of a "real government of public safety," and postponing the next month's municipal elections in Algeria which de Gaulle had announced would prove the equality of French and Moslems. Massu secured the endorsement of this motion, which is a scarcely veiled attack on de Gaulle's current policy, by General Raoul Salan, whose power as military and civil ruler of Algeria, seized in the coup d'etat, had been confirmed by de Gaulle but a few days before. The resolu-

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... United Slate Builds Peace Fight

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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 effort.

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 movement favoring a fraternal exchange of views and united action on issues of common agreement.

ISOLATION FROM LABOR OFFICIALDOM

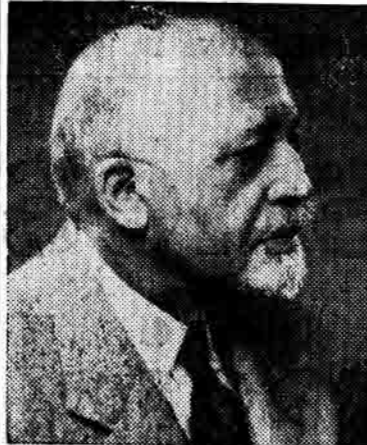
But, argues Davis, putting up a socialist slate is not in line with the official policies of the labor movement and therefore means isolation from it. He really means that a socialist ticket opposing the capitalist parties is not in line with the policy of the top labor officials. He is right about that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

Sponsor United Socialist Ticket



Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (above) and John T. McManus.



militants 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 present 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 proud 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

say what he thinks 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 attention of the public.

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. (I 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.

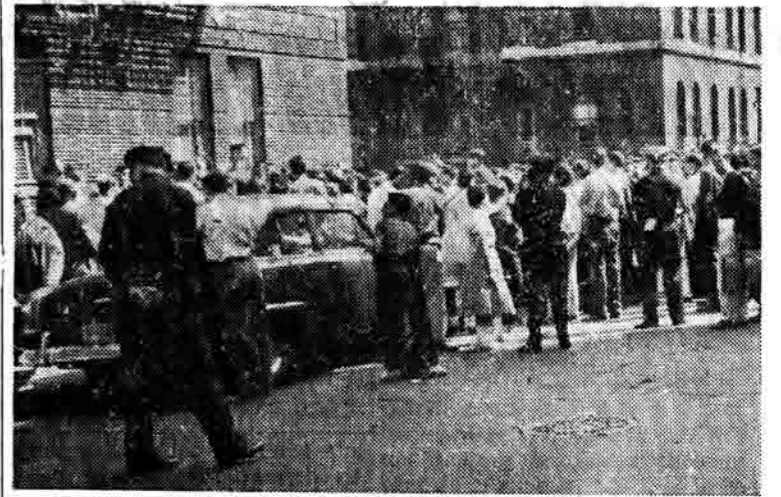
An impressive socialist vote can create real fear among the hacks in both capitalist parties and force them to do something about some of the demands of labor and the Negro people. Capitalist politicians are not much concerned about giving concessions to people whose votes they already have in their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

Taking Socialism to High School



The Young Socialist Alliance conducts a street meeting, June 5, before about 150 students outside Bronx High School of Science. Two days earlier, YSA chairman Richard DeHaan was arrested for speaking at the same spot. The Workers Defense League offered legal aid and the YSA vowed a free-speech fight. The meeting above resulted. Police present told reporters: "We are here to protect their right to free speech."

SP-SDF Offers Support to Boss Political Parties

By Frances James

The second convention of the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation was held in Detroit on May 30-June 1. This convention represents a further shift to the right by the party-federation on the two interconnected questions of foreign policy and electoral policy.

The resolution on foreign policy introduced by veteran party leader Norman Thomas, presents the U.S. government as the leading peace force of the world. It calls for a limited stoppage of arms production and then for the U.S. to "announce that she [U.S.] expected Russia to do likewise within a specified length of time or she would not feel bound to continue in this direction." This is nothing but lending a socialist cover to the cold war of the State Department against the Soviet Union. The SP-SDF calls itself "democratic socialist." Their foreign policy resolution, however, strengthens their title to the label, "State Department socialist."

Since these "socialists" support the foreign policy of U.S. big business, it follows logically that they should lend increasing support to the political parties of big business at election time.

At the first (unity) convention of the SP-SDF in January 1957, the "Rules and Regulations" stated: "... it shall be the privilege of individual state and local organizations, following consultation with the NEC, to allow their individual members to support candidates for public office who have been endorsed by liberal and labor groups."

The second convention incorporated this approval of support to Democratic or Republican candidates into the constitution of the party. In addition, the resolution on electoral policy does not call on the voters to break from the Democratic and Republican parties even after they become convinced socialists.

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)

Thus there shapes up, for Communists who can take it, the prospect of riding the tail of the Democratic Party if they can't ride the Donkey itself. But immediately this stunt-riding act comes a cropper, since the Liberal Party has now joined with the Democrats in New York's Harlem to dump Rep. Adam Clayton Powell at the behest, as the Guardian pointed out two weeks ago, of the Dixiecrats and their northern press spokesmen, the National Review magazine — whereas the Republicans in Harlem have quickly offered the Rev. Mr. Powell their nomination.

Here we leave Mr. Davis with his dilemma of the present... while we change into our go-to-meeting clothes and undertake to do the best we can, even without Mr. Davis' blessing, to bring out of New York's June 13-14-15 Conference a statewide ticket that New Yorkers can support without checking their good consciences at the ticket-wicket.

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Roberts Polls 400,000 Votes in Calif. Primary

Opponents of the twin capitalist parties throughout the country will be heartened by the fact that Dr. Holland Roberts, well-known California socialist educator, polled nearly 400,000 votes as an independent candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction in the California primary elections.

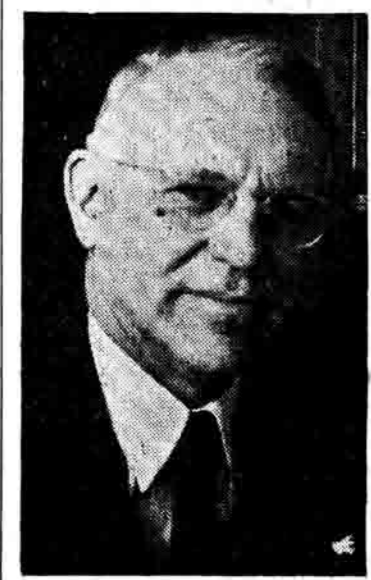
With 3,000 election precincts yet to be reported, Roberts was running a strong third in a field of four. The contest was won by the incumbent, Roy Simpson. In his home county, Santa Clara, Roberts placed second.

LABOR BACKING

In the course of his campaign, which centered around the need for a complete overhauling and expansion of the school system, Roberts won some important labor endorsements. These included the Northern California District Council of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and several of its local unions, as well as Local 1412 of the United Electrical Workers. He was also endorsed by two leading Negro newspapers, the Los Angeles Tribune and the Herald Dispatch.

The substantial vote for Roberts came immediately after he was subjected to a fierce witch-hunt attack as the Director of the California Labor School in San Francisco which was forced to close down last year. Branded a "Communist front" by the government, it was padlocked by the Treasury Department on the phony claim that it was not entitled to a tax-exempt status and therefore owed back taxes.

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



DR. HOLLAND ROBERTS

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."

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."

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 a 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 personalities 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 isolationism.

Having broken from the two-party system themselves, they're helping no one else to break, least of all the labor and progressive movement, which can be won only on the basis of a coalition policy based on reality and actual developments, and militant struggles.

Even on the question of socialism about which they are supposedly united, there are many motley and varied opinions ranging all the way to the so-called "socialism" of the viciously anti-Soviet Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. Unfortunately, despite the association of several fine people with this grouping, the Trotskyists have gotten into the inner circle and are attempting to turn it into a replica of their own narrow sectarian and impotent faction.

(2) Letter to Editor, The Worker, June 8:

The undersigned, comprising the Administrative Committee of the United Independent-Socialist Conference Committee, wish to correct some implications made in Mr. Benjamin J. Davis' article of last week.

The United Independent-Socialist Conference Committee was an outgrowth of a series of meetings originally called by Morris Goldin and Henry H. Abrams early in 1957 to discuss the prospects of forming a political action group. Since that time, Mr. Goldin and Mr. Abrams have been speaking to various people about the possibility of independent candidates in the 1958 elections. Mr. Abrams spoke publicly to that effect in the political action panel of the conference of the American Forum for Socialist Education held in late 1957.

The present Committee arose out of an invitation sent by them to a list of independents and socialist leaders, among whom was Mr. Davis. Mr. Davis did not attend any of the seven meetings except the last one. On two occasions the Committee sent subcommittees to advise Mr. Davis of developments and to ask him or some other representative to attend these meetings. He therefore is in no position to talk of any group worming its way into "the inner circle." Actually, the Administrative Committee for the conference includes only one member of the Socialist Workers Party, and his is hardly the key post.

The Call for the Conference has proposed consideration of candidacies for the top state offices and U. S. Senator, but has properly left the number and names of candidates and the platforms for determination by the Conference, at the Great Northern Hotel on June 13-14-15th.

The character of the sponsors makes entirely unwarranted the implication that they are being used by any political group. Henry H. Abrams, Morris Goldin, Babette Jones, John T. McManus, George Stryker and Murry Weiss.

(3) Excerpt from reply by Benjamin J. Davis, The Worker, June 8.

... The central and decisive

question is one of policy pursued by the Committee. It was, therefore, disappointing that the signers of the letter from the Committee did not discuss or attempt to rebut my main criticism that the project is moving in a narrow, sectarian direction. This question seems to me far more important than the number of representatives of a particular organization working on one of the group's committees.

Most regrettably, I could not be present at early meetings of the Committee. But other Communists as well as myself made clear our position for a broad coalition policy which could attract workers and voters in both major parties to certain independent candidacies, irrespective of their views on socialism.

Since the Trotskyists and others put forward their policies, I see no reason why we shouldn't do the same. Equally energetically, we shall continue to work toward a possible unity of the left forces and others around independent political action which might take place for certain candidate or candidates around the questions of peace, civil rights and the depression. Above all, such unity to be meaningful, ought to relate itself to developments among the Negro people and labor, as well as the Puerto Rican people and others.

The Communist Party, in addition to carrying the banner of socialism, will fight for the immediate needs of labor and the people generally — Negro and white. 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 struggles for those needs — do not advance the cause of socialism.

We expect to present our point of view at the Conference.

(4) Excerpts from editorial, "Answer to a Dilemma," National Guardian, June 8:

... an original sponsoring committee of twelve — most of them well-known independents along with a Socialist Party member, a Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) member and a leading educator who has been called a Communist almost as often as Mr.

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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.

The Murder of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Five years have passed, June 19, since that terrible day when Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were put to death in an atmosphere of savage witch-hunt hysteria. They were innocent. Yet they were executed—without even a review of the trial by the Supreme Court of the United States. And despite the outraged protests of millions of people throughout the world.

How are we so sure the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, now serving 30 years in prison, were innocent? Anyone who studies the trial record, recently published in its third edition by the Sobell Committee, will see that the government never proved its case against the defendants. The trial was a political affair in which the charge of "Communism" played a major role. The theory then prevalent, widely promulgated by the McCarthyites, was that "Communism" was first-cousin, if not blood brother, to treason.

In this atmosphere the jury was under heavy pressure to believe the government witnesses rather than accused "Communists." The jury made its decision solely on the basis of the testimony of "accomplice" witnesses.

GOVT. LACKED PROOF

But even without the evidence of frame-up that was obtained after the trial was over, the court record failed to prove the government charges. The government presented an absolutely incredible story. The account of the "conspiracy" by the government witnesses, David Greenglass and Harry Gold, was credible only if one accepts the notion that the Soviet Union had the most stupid and amateurish spy system in the world.

Burnt Offering



Reprinted from the Militant, June 29, 1953.

Whoever heard of a spy that would join a persecuted minority party and fail to at least cover up the tracks to these oppositional views and activities? The government charged Julius Rosenberg with membership in his student days in the Young Communist League and later in the Communist Party. The government "captured" a donation can for aid to Spanish refugees. The government produced evidence that Rosenberg belonged to the Intra-national Workers Order, an insurance organization, listed by the Attorney General's office as a "Communist front."

Whoever heard of spies being

active in the union movement, processing grievances, attending meetings, making speeches, calling all kinds of hostile attention to themselves from the powers-that-be? Yet both Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were active in the labor movement.

Whoever heard of a spy, a "master spy" at that, getting fired from a minor government job as a "Communist," as Rosenberg was fired in 1945, and then running to the union and to Washington D.C. to fight against the discrimination, when he was allegedly right in the middle of stealing the country's "most important" secrets?

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 Rosenbergs 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 witch-hunt 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 Rosenbergs, for their 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.

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.

The Fight Against Fascism

By C. R. Hubbard

Many questions have been raised among radical workers about the differences between the "people's front" policy of the Communist Party and the "united front" policy advocated by the Socialist Workers Party. This programmatic controversy dating back to the civil war in Spain has been brought to the fore urgently once again by the present fascist threat in France.

Some radicals think that the difference between a "people's front" and a "united front" is merely quantitative; that the Communist Party is for uniting, not only the working class in the struggle against fascism, but the middle class and a liberal section of the capitalist class as well. They therefore conclude that the "people's front" policy is one which will mobilize the largest possible force for the struggle against fascism.

If this were so, there could not possibly be any disagreement with the "people's front" policy of the Communist Party. There can be no task as important as the mobilization of the largest possible force for effective anti-fascist struggle. Our objection to the Communist Party program is precisely that it will fail to do this.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

Key to a victorious struggle against fascism is the middle class. The fascists, paid tools of Big Business, look for a mass base in the middle-class small farmers, small businessmen, professionals and the youth. It is here, and in the ranks of professional soldiers, that the fascist demagogues hope to find the human material needed to smash the workers' organizations.

The anti-fascist strategy of the workers must therefore cope with the problem of winning the vacillating middle class to its side. If they succeed, not only will the workers win a large social mass to the anti-fascist struggle, they will also deprive fascism of forces without which it cannot triumph.

The Communist Party leaders contend that inasmuch as the middle class is not socialist, the workers must forego advancing their socialist program at this time lest they alienate the middle class. The Communist Party thus makes its central slogan "Defense of the Republic," in effect, a return to the status-quo before de Gaulle.

Yet it is precisely in a pre-fascist crisis such as France is in today that the status quo begins to lose all popular support. The Republic begins to crumble. The crisis in France has reached the point where normal parliamentary rule of the capitalist class is no longer possible. This testifies that

a social crisis has opened in France in which all classes in society — including the middle class — seek change. The idea that the middle class is forever wedded to capitalist democracy is a fatal delusion. In times of crisis it looks for solutions both to the left or to the right — to socialism or to fascism.

QUESTION LONG POSED

Long ago the crisis of French capitalism posed the question of workers' power. Thus at the end of World War II, the overwhelming majority of French workers sought a solution to their economic and political woes. Decisive sections of the

ready formed Gestapo-like battalions under the leadership of General Massu. These are the paratroopers, trained in methods of torture and highly charged with their "patriotic" mission. The civilian fascist movement in France — including armed gangs — according to George Herald, New York Post correspondent, April 4, "have an estimated following of about half a million. . . . This is already a significant force. But it is still fragmented in competition for middle class support. With a deepening of the economic crisis, the capitalists hope the fascists gangs will gain mass support."

But resolute struggle for socialism can win these mass forces for struggle against the fascist danger. A workers' government in France can end the burden and misery of the war in Algeria. It can offer rising living standards and security to the workers, to the middle class and to the youth. Socialism alone can provide the social change that is so desperately needed.

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.

To Debate French Events

The issues being fought out in France will be posed sharply in a New York debate next week between partisans of two diametrically opposed points of view: the extreme right and Marxism. The debate will be the first of its kind in this country. Speaking in favor of de Gaulism will be William Rusher, publisher of the reactionary, McCarthyite magazine National Review and former associate counsel for the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee. Speaking in favor of the French working class and socialism will be Tim Wohlforth, managing editor of the newspaper Young Socialist and national committee member of the American Forum for Socialist Education. The debate starts at 8 P.M., June 19 at the Hotel Great Northern, 118 West 57th Street, New York City.

middle class were prepared to back a workers' revolution. But the leadership of neither the Communist Party nor the Socialist Party was oriented to the struggle for a workers' state. Both parties used their mass support as bargaining strength with the capitalist parties for a few cabinet seats in the capitalist government.

So far the workers have been frustrated in their attempts to solve the crisis of French society. But what is even more alarming is that the middle class has also grown more frustrated. It is beginning to look elsewhere than capitalist democracy and elsewhere than the working class, too, for a solution. The middle-class lacks the patience, the cohesion, the discipline, the understanding of the workers' movement. It can turn swiftly in a fascist direction and rally behind a French "Fuehrer" in its yearning for social change.

...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.

If it is bluster and de Gaulle prevails, it is possible he may begin to take measures against his challengers, such as removal of individual leaders of the committees in Algeria or transfers of individual officers. He might even go as far as dissolving (on paper) some organizations of the recalcitrant racists and militarists.

It is precisely in the hope of such a "crack down" that many elements of what a month ago was the liberal and labor 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-Observer quotes the "Gaulists of the Left" as follows: "Join us, they say to me, be

with us 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 Mendes-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' rule in France — the French working class will be limited to grudging support of the "lesser evil" — today the bonapartist de Gaulle instead of semi-fascist Soustelle and paratrooper General Massu. This policy of the "lesser evil" in Germany finally narrowed down in successive choices to Hindenberg rather than Hitler. The terrible but logical penalty came with Hindenberg's bringing in of Hitler.

... 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 80 minutes per day each for 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 committee-men 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.

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 spokesmen.

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.

REVISIT 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-filer 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 UAW rank and file. In return,

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 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-cannot-force-us-to-strike" statement, the corporations are pressing hard.

But it's 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.

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.

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

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 recommence 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?

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 husbands 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

work in offices and as store clerks. Are they going to replace them with men — pay a good wage — better than the girls got because the men have a wife and children to support? That would be real noble. But you will pardon me if I have my doubts. I'm inclined to believe that they won't fill the vacancies left by the married women but just plunk more work onto the single girl clerks.

I never saw things work any other way at the shop. Big Dome never tired of telling us that he wasn't in business for fun or for our sake. He always paid us 30 or 40 cents an hour less than any of the men, even though some of them did practically the same job as we did. He's probably going to use it to scare the girls — to get more work out of them. Then again he may think some of the older — the married women are not quite as fast as they used to be and besides are getting too uppity — it would be a good idea to get young girls who are not so wise to his ways — who he could start in at the job at a much lower rate.

Then, too, I guess we married women can serve as a good scapegoat — to stop the men from seriously thinking about the real cause of unemployment and doing something about it. Oh sure, it's all the fault of those married women taking men's jobs. . .

Now it's back to the kitchen. Look after your husband and provide a home for the children, which is just what I thought I was trying to do when I was working. Quite a far cry from the war years when we were told that it was our sacred, patriotic duty to lay down the apron, leave the kids in nurseries, and pick up the coverall.

We've made some progress but we are a long way yet from establishing equality for women. Come to think of it, it would be a good idea for Prime Minister Diefenbaker to write into this Bill of Rights that he talks about — a clause with teeth in it to establish equal rights for women. He could do it at the same time as he writes up another prohibiting the issuance of injunctions to break strikes such as Jim was in last year, and maybe a moratorium on debts during unemployment, and a few other matters of interest to me, my husband and my children.

Worker's Bookshelf

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY — WHAT IT IS — WHAT IT STANDS FOR. New revised edition. By Joseph Hansen. 54 pages. 25c.

Discusses what socialism is and how the Socialist Workers Party believes it will be achieved; explains differences between the SWP and other radical parties; tells about the democratic structure of the SWP and the rights, privileges and duties of members.

SOCIALIST ELECTION POLICY IN 1958. By James P. Cannon. 11 pages. 10c.

The reasons why united socialist political action is indicated now and the outlook for American socialism. Discusses new opportunities opening up for American radicalism and the historical precedents for a united socialist campaign.

AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM. By James P. Cannon. 79 pages. 35c.

Presented in simple, highly readable form, this pamphlet provides a searching analysis of the situation of contemporary American capitalism, the prospects for the socialist movement and a remarkable forecast of what Socialist America will look like.

EUGENE V. DEBS. By James P. Cannon. 44 pages. 25c.

A Centennial tribute to the foremost American socialist and an appraisal of the socialist

movement of that time and its meaning for today.

FASCISM — WHAT IT IS — HOW TO FIGHT IT. By Leon Trotsky. 48 pages. 15c.

This is a compilation of writings on the struggle against fascism in Germany, Spain, France and the United States.

WHITHER FRANCE? By Leon Trotsky. 160 pages. \$2.50. (Very few copies left.)

A study of the working class struggle against Fascism and the road to socialism. Covers events in France from 1934-1936. The revolutionary socialist line is counterposed to the

Communist Party's Popular Front theory and practice and to Social-Democratic reformism.

THE LESSONS OF SPAIN — THE LAST WARNING. By Leon Trotsky. 21 pages. 25c.

Written in December, 1937 during the civil war in Spain. This pamphlet, which discusses working-class strategy in the fight against Fascism, is especially timely in view of threats by French generals to launch a Franco-type attack on the French working class.

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

New York Debate

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Ausp.: The Young Socialist

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 1958

NUMBER 24

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 Berkeley; Sunday, June 22 at 44 and Drexel; Friday, June 27 at 45 and Drexel; Sunday, June 29 at 43 and Oakenwald.

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.

THE MILITANT

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.

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.

Besides pushing "right-to-work" propaganda through Knowland's campaign, the labor-haters are gathering signatures to put this proposal on the ballot in November. Reports indicate that the signatures are being obtained at the cost of \$1 per name. However, the employers are apparently ready to spend unlimited sums.

Although California has more registered Democrats than Republicans, the Republican Party has had almost exclusive control of the state for more than fifty years. When the "New Deal" swept the state, the Republicans quickly adapted themselves to its political power with only a minimum of casualties. During this period the liberal, Earl Warren wing of the party was dominant. However, as the post-war reaction deepened, the conservatives started taking over.

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.

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 accordion without even that instrument's customary moan. To make matters worse his candidacy for Senator confronted them with new problems.

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 busied 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 Democrat 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 the 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.

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 meet-

ings 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.

SUPPORTS UNION'S STAND

"I'm not going to tell you to vote for me or the other candidates of the Socialist Workers Party because we know better than you how to get peace and prosperity," Mrs. Sell said to the Ford workers. "You have already worked out a program which deals with the problems of unemployment, war and the anti-labor offensive of the employers and the government. I think you should vote for me and my fellow candidates because we support the same program you do."

Going on to point out that both the Socialist Workers Party and Local 600 call for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, the abolition of the Taft-Hartley law and right-to-work laws, the extension of jobless benefits through the full period of unemployment and the creation of a Labor Party, the candidate asked: "Does the Democratic Party include in its platform a call for 30-for-40? They



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.

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 pressing 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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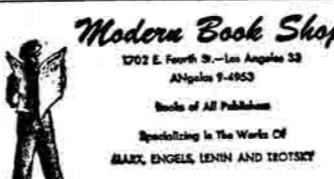
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Calendar Of Events

NEWARK

"The Socialist Program for Peace and Full Employment." Speaker: Daniel Roberts, Editor of the Militant, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey. Friday, June 20, 8 P.M. B. E. P. House, 478 Broad Street, 2nd floor.

PHILADELPHIA

June Festival, "Clothes-line Art Exhibit" and Smorgasbord. All art entries welcomed. Saturday, June 28, 8 P.M., Militant Labor Forum, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Donation 50 cents. Unemployed free.

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