

N. Y. SOCIALISTS TO OPPOSE 2 PARTIES

Presents Platform

UNITED INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST ELECTION CONFERENCE



Dr. Annette Rubinstein reads draft platform to United Independent-Socialist Conference, at Sunday morning session, June 15. Nearly 500 independent socialists and members of organized socialist tendencies attended sessions of the three-day conference.

Auto Workers Rally To Defense of Union

By Frances James

JUNE 18 — In the three weeks of work without a contract the rank-and-file United Auto Worker members, as well as the secondary union leadership, have demonstrated their solidarity and readiness for militant struggle against the Big Three auto companies.

With the expiration of the contracts around June 1, the companies launched an attack against in-plant union representation in grievance-handling procedures. International union officers, in line with their "turn the other cheek" policy have instructed workers to remain on the job and accede to company demands. In the locals and plants the workers have swung into militant action and are moving to reinforce their in-plant set up.

General Motors plant committeemen in Flint report in the June 5 Searchlight (published by Local 659) that attendance at the regular Committee Body has risen from 10% to 90%. Chairman of the Body, Carl Bramlet, has announced (in the same issue of the Searchlight) the calling of a policy meeting to establish representation under a revived steward system.

The militant mood in the union ranks is reflected in the call for this policy meeting. "As most of the old timers know, the UAW was founded on the steward system and in the opinion of many of these 'old timers' this system was much more effective than our present set-up. . . . This will mean, however, that our complete collective organization will be reorganized. . . . Again, I request you to explain the situation to the people in order to offset the handbills placed in the plant by Management because 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."

According to the June 14 Ford Facts, Ford Local 600 Tool and Die Unit is setting up a Stewards Council, and, "to as-

sist the Committeemen and to insure the workers' rights, the Tool and Die Unit is establishing a Steward for each foreman. Meetings will be scheduled for Department Stewards. . . . Some of the duties of the Stewards will be as follows: a) To keep members informed on union problems. b) To assist in collecting dues. c) To help maintain a 100 per cent Union Shop. d) To see that regular department meetings are held."

These actions are a militant rank-and-file implementation of proposals set forth in "How to Operate a Local Union Without a Contract," a plan distributed by the international officers.

This plan includes suggestions for setting up a stewards system, for choosing "a job steward for every foreman," for Stewards Council meetings to be held each week, for communication systems with workers inside the plants, for dues collections patrols, town organizations, organization of the unemployed and retired members, weekly leaflet information to the union members, etc.

It is the kind of union organizational plan that should be in effect with or without a contract. It is up to the rank-and-file militants in the plants to put this plan into immediate operation.

With the expiration of the contract, the Big-Three companies have refused to make payroll dues deductions. The union now has to collect dues directly from its members. Management hopes to undermine the union's financial base and thus weaken its ability to fight in contract negotiations.

The plan sent out by the top union officers suggests dues patrols, gate checks, wearing of dues buttons, etc. But even before any patrols or checks appeared, the members rallied to the defense of their union and began paying up dues in mass.

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Labor's Rights Hit By Supreme Court

JUNE 17 — While the U.S. Supreme Court yesterday strengthened the right of Americans to travel freely in its passport decision, it tightened the noose around the neck of labor in a six to three decision on the "secondary boycott" or "hot cargo" issue. This decision of the Court, tightening the Taft-Hartley Act's interference with labor's rights, strikes at the solidarity of the working class. The Supreme Court held that only if the boss agrees can workers refuse to handle goods from a plant where fellow-workers are on strike. This open show of court bias in favor of the bosses is another manifestation of the drive to impose government control of the unions.

The dissenters to the majority opinion, Justices William O. Douglas, Earl Warren and Hugo L. Black, did not argue for the complete freedom of the workers to strike in support of the struggles of their brothers, but they did insist that unions had the right to enforce contracts that contained this right. Calling the majority opinion "capricious," Justice Douglas said it "strains to outlaw bargaining contracts long accepted, long used."

Text of Socialist Draft Platform

PREAMBLE

America, once the hope and inspiration of the oppressed, has become the most feared and hated power on earth. While the bulk of mankind has turned resolutely in the direction of socialism, our country stands as the main fortress of reaction. The United States appears to the rest of humanity a bristling arsenal of militarism, its patrol planes armed with H-Bombs ready to level civilization to the ground as it did Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The responsibility for bringing our country into such disrepute lies with the Democratic and Republican parties, who hold every top office. For the peace of the world, for the well-being of the people of our land, it has become necessary as never before to challenge the political monopoly exercised by the giant banks and corporations through these two corrupt political machines.

BRINK-OF-WAR

The Democratic and Republican architects of the bi-partisan Truman and Eisenhower "doctrines" are committed to brink-of-war policies which cannot fail to involve the world in catastrophic conflict unless reversed. In place of recognizing the New China, of seeking peace and fruitful trade with the Soviet-bloc countries, they have persisted in the testing of weapons of mass annihilation which even now are destroying lives and sapping the health of present and future generations through radioactive fallout.

The alleged aim of the "cold war" conducted by the State Department under both the Democratic and Republican guidance is to safeguard democracy everywhere and to "restore" it to Eastern Europe and China. The real aim of the cold war is to safeguard capitalism in the old colonial empires and to restore capitalism where it has been replaced by a better system. But this aim flies in the face of reality. The monopolists cannot win against the opposition of the majority of

Conference Adopts Program Draft

We print herewith the complete text of the platform draft unanimously adopted on June 15 by the N. Y. State Independent Socialist Conference for a United Independent-Socialist Ticket in 1958. On the afternoon of the opening day, June 13, the platform committee held open sessions affording an opportunity for all participants to appear with proposals and to speak for them. On the final day the sponsoring committee submitted the platform draft which was read to the conference by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein.

Speaking for the Presiding Committee, Murry Weiss then explained that the draft submitted was the product of months of discussion among the sponsors and should not be regarded as a final product but the product of an agreement so far reached. "In our discussions on the platform prior to the conference," Weiss said, "we were guided by the common determination to arrive at a minimum agreement on the essential points of a socialist platform. We were unable to come to agreement, up to this point, on a number of questions and I trust that efforts to do so will continue. For example, the Socialist Workers Party feels that a necessary point in a minimum platform of socialists in this election is a clear stand on the relationship of socialism and democracy. The SWP is in agreement with the sponsors of this conference in irreconcilable opposition to the anti-Soviet war mongers. However, it is our conviction that socialists who support the Soviet Union should view the struggle for socialist democracy as a necessary part of the process of building socialism."

The delegates thereupon discussed the platform for several hours. In unanimously adopting the platform, the conference referred it with suggested amendments, rewordings, etc., to the Continuations Committee.

mankind in the world of today. They can only succeed in plunging us into a nuclear war that might mean the extinction of the human race.

Democratic and Republican parties alike are committed to an antiquated economic system for the profit of the few which oscillates periodically between boom and bust. One of the most ominous signs of the wearing out of capitalism is its increasing need to rely on wars and war preparations for prosperity. This year, despite almost two decades of the greatest armaments budgets in the history of the world, our country is once again in an economic collapse that arouses memories of the great depression of the thirties.

To patch up and hold together this outgrown economic system, both the Democratic and Republican machines have burdened the working people of our country with an unprecedented and unrelieved tax burden, they have plundered the hard-earned savings of the people through inflation; they have enabled and encouraged enormous profit-feeding of Big Business through government handouts.

They have sought to suppress all political opposition and to render as seditious in the public mind and indeed in the laws of the nation, the search for peace and a better way of life, and for a world of brotherhood and equality among men and nations.

They have sought to crush labor, the family farmer and the small businessman. They have driven the scientist from the laboratory of peace. They have impoverished and corrupted our educational system, driving fine teachers from the classroom and others into unwilling conformity.

FOSTER JIM CROW

They condone and foster race hatred, deny the American birthright of freedom and threaten millions of foreign birth and their families through repressive statutes which are a restoration in our time of the iniquitous Alien and Sedition Laws which Thomas Jefferson and his followers fought to destroy in the founding years of our republic.

As part of their preparations for nuclear war, and for use in new foreign adventures (like the one in Korea) they have sentenced present generations of our young manhood to universal military service, bringing uncertainty and despair to our youth and frustrating the normal, healthy development of family life.

By training for violence, by neglect of humane endeavor, and by their evil example in public life, they have bred hopelessness and cynicism throughout the land which expresses itself most grievously in juvenile delinquency and widespread crime.

In New York State the Democratic administration and Governor Harriman, in collusion with the Republican majority in the State Legislature, have continued the reactionary policies of the previous Republican administration under Dewey. The Security Risk Law, a witch-hunt measure initiated by Dewey, has been annually signed by Governor Harriman. The Feinberg Law, the main witch-hunt Act against freedom of thought in our schools is still on the books. Under the Democratic administration, big employers are still recipients of juicy windfalls through the merit rating system in the unemployment insurance fund; while callous disregard is

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United Conference Votes to Place Full Slate on Nov. Ballot

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 16 — The movement for united socialist political action took a major step forward at the three-day independent political conference which ended here yesterday. The conference voted by a near-unanimous majority in favor of nominating a full slate of socialist candidates to challenge the Republicans and Democrats for the five major offices in the coming state election. A militant socialist draft platform expressing a wide area of agreement on a minimum program was adopted unanimously. (See text this page.)

A strong sentiment for socialist unity and a deep desire for an aggressive socialist challenge to the capitalist parties was manifested throughout the conference by the great majority of the 499 individuals who participated in the various sessions as delegates and observers. Almost 200 additional persons throughout the state had registered their support for the project but were unable to attend.

CONTINUATIONS GROUP

An eleven-member continuations committee was elected by the conference. It was empowered to seek additional support for the projected ticket from socialist and independent forces and to proceed with efforts to select candidates for U.S. Senator, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Comptroller and Attorney General. In addition it was empowered to call a ratifying conference if time permits.

The eleven, who also were the presiding committee of the conference, are: John T. McManus, general manager of the National Guardian; Morris Goldin, Henry Abrams, Babette Jones and Annette Rubinstein, former American Labor Party leaders; Murry Weiss of the Socialist Workers Party; Milton Zaslow and Muriel McAvoy of the Socialist Unity Forum; Richard DeHaan, chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance; George Stuyker; and Sidney Gluck.

The composition of the conference was estimated by the June 23 National Guardian as follows: "Independents made up some 300 of the attendance, with leaders and members of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance estimated to make up the rest."

The decisive point in the conference came Saturday with

Co-Chairman



JOHN T. McMANUS, General Manager of the National Guardian, was co-chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Conference.

the debate on whether to nominate candidates for the top five places on the ballot or only for U.S. Senator. The single, senatorial nomination would avoid a contest against Harriman, the Democratic Party choice for reelection as governor. The single-candidate proposal was put before the conference by Benjamin J. Davis—in his capacity of state chairman of the Communist Party—in the opening of the debate on the presiding committee's unanimous resolution for five candidates and a socialist platform.

(The day before, in an open hearing of the Conference's platform committee, Arnold Johnson, leading CP spokesman, not only argued for a single candidate against a full slate but also called for deletion of that section of the platform draft proclaiming socialist goals. This side of the CP position was not openly pushed in the Conference debate over one or five candidates.)

In presenting the unanimous (Continued on Page 3)

High Court OK's Right To Travel

JUNE 17—The right of American citizens to travel freely was restored by the U.S. Supreme Court yesterday in a five to four decision. The court acted on three cases. Rockwell Kent, one of America's foremost artists, appealed for a decision against Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who refused him a passport on the grounds that he was a Communist and had "a consistent and prolonged adherence to the Communist party line." Dr. Walter Briehl, Los Angeles psychiatrist, likewise refused to sign a non-Communist affidavit. Both these cases were argued before the Supreme Court by Attorney Leonard D. Boudin for the Emergency Civil Liberties Union.

The third case was that of physicist Weldon Bruce Dayton of New York who was charged by the Secretary of State with associating with "Communist espionage agents." Dayton denied the charges under oath. Dulles refused to reveal his secret source of information and continued to refuse the scientist a passport.

The issuance of passports to these applicants is regarded now as a matter of course. In addition the United States government will probably cease to imprison Paul Robeson within the country's borders.

The majority opinion of the high court, written by Justice William O. Douglas held that the right to travel is part of the liberty guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment provision against depriving a person of life, liberty or property without due process of law.

Reign of Terror Against Georgia Negroes Bared

By John Thayer

Police in Dawson, Georgia, are carrying on a reign of terror against Negroes. So far they have perpetrated two legal lynchings—one with blackjacks, the other with guns. Other Negroes have been wounded, beaten, and jailed. In the Negro sections of town people are fearful and observe the unofficial 11 P.M. curfew imposed upon them by the police. The police have neither been punished nor reprimanded for the two murders, as is to be expected under the American Way of Life (Southern Style). Nor is there much likelihood that they will be. The federal Civil Rights Commission, set up under last year's watered-down Civil Rights Law, is doing its utmost to dodge an investigation of Dawson.

The facts about the wave of anti-Negro violence in this town of 4,500 people, slightly more than half of whom are colored, were made public by the liberal newspaper, Washington Post and Times Herald, which having got wind of matters, sent Robert E. Lee Baker, a reporter to the scene.

AS UNDER NAZI RULE

The danger for Dawson Negroes was so great that procedures similar to those of resistance movements under totalitarian regimes had to be used. Negroes "were afraid to be caught talking to a reporter in their Dawson homes," writes Baker. "They set up elaborate plans for meeting at night, outside the city and outside Terrell County. They talked softly, earnestly behind tightly drawn shades. They froze at outside sounds. They exacted a promise they would not be

identified. They kept their number small because they feared police informers among their own race. They watched the clock and left the haven singly and at intervals so they wouldn't be out after an 11 p.m. 'curfew.' They traveled predetermined and separate routes to their homes."

Among the stories told was that of the death of James Brazier, 31, married with four children. On April 20 he came upon the police as they were arresting his father, Odell Brazier, allegedly for driving while drunk. Young Brazier asked the police to stop beating the elderly man. When they hauled the father off to the police station he drove his father's car home.

A witness gave the Washington Post reporter this account of how James Brazier was later arrested for having "interfered" with his father's arrest: "These two policemen came up and grabbed James and dragged him toward their car and one of them held a gun on him and said: 'I ought to shoot you.' They kicked him twice, once in the groin, and his little ten-year-old boy ran up and said, 'Don't you hit my Daddy like that,' and one of the officers hit the boy aside. James was struck on the head with a gun, slapped across the face with a gun and they shoved him into the car and slammed the door on his feet."

BEATEN AGAIN

Apparently young Brazier was beaten again at the police station. Chief of Police Howard L. Lee says that Brazier "bucked and scuffed and they had to hit him on the head with a blackjack." At any rate next morning before the Mayor's

Court James Brazier was unconscious, unable to speak or to stand. The father was fined \$115 and told to take his son home and bring him back for trial in a week. Instead the family took him to the Terrell County hospital where doctors told them to rush him to the Medical Center in Columbus, Georgia, for immediate brain surgery. They did. But he never regained consciousness and died four days later. On the day of the funeral, on April 30, police again arrested the father, allegedly for a traffic violation.

Two days later Tobe Latimer, a Negro electrician and plumber, was shot by one of the policemen involved in the Brazier killing. Though accused of attacking an officer, Latimer was severely wounded in the back.

THIRD KILLING

That weekend Dawson police killed Willie Countryman, 32, a truckdriver, in his own back yard. The police version is that Police Officer Cherry, involved in both the Brazier killing and Latimer shooting, and another officer, heard "whooping and hollering" while they were driving through the Negro district late at night. They parked a short distance away and walked towards Countryman's back porch, when suddenly he jumped at them with a knife whereupon they shot in "self defense." Negro neighbors say there was no noise whatsoever until the shots rang out.

An incident earlier that Sunday was the arrest of 21-year-old Billy Flagg and his mother. The young man had been playing ball on the edge of town with a half-dozen others. Ac-

Kremlin Murders Imre Nagy, 3 Others

By Myra Tanner Weiss

JUNE 18 — Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter, Jozsef Szilagyi and Miklos Gimes were executed by the Kadar government of Hungary. They evidently failed, despite long imprisonment and probable torture to "confess" to the crimes of which they were accused by their captors. The Kremlin agents therefore sent them to their death. Five others were sentenced at a secret trial to prison terms ranging from five years to life.

Imre Nagy, former Hungarian Premier and Pal Maleter, former Defense Minister, were both members of the Communist Party. Nagy fought with the Russian Bolsheviks in the revolution of 1917. He lived in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1944, returning to Hungary to assume the post of Minister of Agriculture in the post-war government and rose to the position of Premier in 1953. He lost power to Matyas Rakosi whose regime and "false policies" were officially blamed for the Hungarian uprising of 1956. Rakosi was given asylum in the Soviet Union despite his crimes against the workers, while Nagy, who promised concessions to the workers, was executed.

Pal Maleter was reportedly a veteran of the Spanish civil

war and returned to Hungary to become an officer in the Hungarian army. His "crime" during the November 1956 events was to refuse to shoot down Hungarian workers and youth who were fighting for socialist democracy in Hungary. Instead, he and the entire Hungarian army joined the insurgents.

The victims of the first Kremlin blood-purge since Beria's execution were accused of the traditional frame-up charges. They were accused of "plotting" with Anglo-American imperialists for the overthrow of the government. These charges were likewise hurled at the entire Hungarian people, including the Workers' Councils. To all oppressors, popular uprisings appear as "plots" of a foreign enemy.

Actually Nagy was a Communist and as such became a symbol of the break with the hated Rakosi era. The aims of the workers in the revolution were clearly marked out in their program. They were for

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... Text of United Socialist Platform Draft

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shown for the worsening plight of the unemployed.

Under the Harriman administration the urban centers suffer discrimination in the allocation of funds for social welfare; yet these large cities are forced to carry a disproportionate tax burden.

While piously deploring persecution and terror against the Negro people of the South, Harriman has failed to use the power of his office to push vigorously for legislation and executive action to end discrimination against the Negro and Puerto Rican people in private housing in New York State.

HOUSING CRISIS

In New York City, under Harriman's political mentor De Sapio, the world's largest and wealthiest city has suffered the worst rent and housing crisis in the country since the end of the war; its transportation system has degenerated in proportion to the rise in fares; its schools have become more and more inadequate.

The same Governor Harriman has openly supported the machinations of the Tammany boss, De Sapio, in removing Congressman Powell from the Democratic ticket because he voices the demand of the Negro people for full equality. The people of Harlem have rightly answered this attack with a wave of indignation at the attempt of the Harriman-De Sapio machine to dictate who should represent them.

In short, neither in the nation or the state have the Democratic and Republican parties

grappled with the real needs of the great majority of the people. Instead they have fought for the reactionary interests of the monopoly capitalists they represent.

The people of our country are beginning to search for pathways to a better future. They have rallied in increasing numbers against repression. They have begun to roll back the evil known as McCarthyism and have scored signal victories in the courts for civil liberty. The Negro people have embarked on a great effort for full equality. Citizens of all walks of life have joined in protest against the development and testing of nuclear weapons. Throughout the house of labor is heard the repeated demand for an independent political course that will open the way to a labor party able to offer America the choice of a labor government.

This trend has strengthened the forces for social change in our country. It points to the socialist alternative to the greed, brutalization, repression, economic insecurity, and war-making tendency of capitalism.

By voting for the United Independent-Socialist Ticket, working men and women of every shade of belief can register their opposition to the economic and social evils of today. By voting for these candidates, they can register their desire for a world of enduring peace, economic well-being, and the full application of atomic science to the conquest of nature—a world of democracy, freedom, and cooperation on an international scale.

under government auspices, with management subject to election by the workers.

As relief for depressed sections of the economy, and as a step toward international economic cooperation, the Administration should encourage American industry to fill the gaps in the planned economy of the Soviet bloc, arranging the exchange of all types of goods on a cost basis.

For an immediate end to Jim Crow:

America's greatest shame is continued racial segregation and discrimination almost a century after the Civil War that abolished slavery.

Further procrastination in integration is intolerable. The Supreme Court decision to integrate the schools must be enforced regardless of the cries of bigots and race haters for fresh delays. Similar swift action must be undertaken in housing, transportation, recreation facilities and throughout industry. Let's have Fair Employment legislation with real teeth.

To further speed the struggle for full equality in both the South and the North, let the labor movement bring its vast powers to bear in close alliance with the Negro people.

For restoration of our Constitutional freedoms:

America has suffered an erosion of its Constitutional freedoms. We are saddled today with reactionary legislation and administrative practices limiting freedom of thought, the right to a job regardless of beliefs, and the right to travel abroad. The Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Subversive Activities Control Act and New York's Security Risk and Feinberg acts are police-state laws that should be wiped off the books.

End the government witch-hunt in America. Abolish such police-state practices as the blacklisting of "subversive" organizations by the Attorney General, the snooping of the FBI into political views, the "investigations" of the House Un-American Activities Committee, into matters of belief and opinion, and the refusal of the State Department to issue passports to American citizens.

Restore the civil rights of all Smith Act victims. Free Gil Green and Henry Winston. Grant executive clemency or a new trial to Morton Sobell. Reinstatement all government employees victimized in the witch-hunt.

Unshackle the labor movement:

The Taft-Hartley Act, the so-called Right-to-Work laws, and all similar anti-labor legislation must be repealed. No curtailment of the democratic right of the union movement to organize all wage earners and to conduct its own affairs without interference from the government or labor-hating corporations.

The corollary of this is internal union democracy. It is hypocritical of the union bureaucrats to call for democracy and a free labor movement in other countries while imposing dictatorial practices in their own unions. Democracy begins at



home. This is the only effective way to meet the anti-labor McClellan "investigating" committee and similar government bodies that are seeking to put more shackles on our unions.

Labor can win recognition of its rightful place in the life of America only if it rejects company unionism in politics and begins organizing in this field. What is needed is a powerful party of labor whose concern extends to the working farmers, the Negro people and small businessman. Such a party, able to organize a coalition of all the low-income groups, can offer an effective challenge to the monopolies.

For democracy, for planned economy, for socialism:

The cooperative system of socialism is superior to the profits-first system of capitalism. This is no longer a matter of theory but of fact. In the short time of four decades, planned economy brought Russia from the most backward country in Europe to the position of second power in the world.

Planned economy in America can register even more phenomenal success. It will begin with the world's most advanced industrial plant, the largest and most skilled working class and a powerful democratic tradition. Moreover, America will not face the obstacles that hindered the Russian workers. We will

not be subject to a Hitlerite invasion, to the devastation of war, or to the pressure of a surrounding hostile world.

Planned economy in America can rapidly find links with other planned economies, thus bringing into play a new force of immense proportions—planned international economic cooperation.

In America the assurance of a world of enduring peace and prosperity will certainly release sources of energy and enthusiasm among the working people that will more than match the swift development of atomic energy as the basic power for industry-wide automation.

The slums and unsightly factories of today that pollute our streams and atmosphere will give way to shining cities and gleaming plants designed to help heal the hideous scars of industrialization under capitalism.

As living becomes easier and richer, the blighting prejudices and hatreds of today will surely give way to feelings of solidarity and friendship with all mankind.

The possibilities of achievement under the rational planning of socialism, bold as they may seem, are completely feasible. All that is required is the breadth of view, the confidence in progress, and the courage and determination needed to carry through the struggle to success. In opening up this new continent of economic and social change, America's pioneer spirit faces its greatest challenge.

The United Independent-Socialist ticket welcomes every development which brings labor into the political arena in collision with the entrenched political machines. We welcome every development which brings the Negro people against the parties of the racist-Big Business ruling clique.

The alliance of labor and the Negro people in the struggle for common political objectives will result in the emergence of an independent mass Labor Party which will attract the support of the small farmer, the professionals, the youth and all the forces of the people. This new political alignment can effectively battle the monopolist parties—only then will we have a real two-party system.

We socialists know that the solutions to the grave problems facing the American people will not come as a gift from well-meaning liberals; such solutions can be won only through gigantic struggles involving labor, the Negro people and other minority groups. Through such struggles, waged on both the economic and political fronts, the American people will replace the profit system with a planned society. Only a socialist economy can end the recurrent crises, war drives, race prejudice and poverty of today and harness the vast resources of our country and the abundant energy of our people to meet the complex needs of the nation in the atomic age.

We invite all socialists—Marxists, Christian Socialists, humanists, pacifists, to support the United Independent-Socialist slate as a way of affirming their belief in the great human goals of socialism.

We invite all independents—Democrats, Republicans and unaffiliated voters—to register their protest against the doing-nothing and do-wrong policies of the Republicans and Democrats by voting the United Independent-Socialist Ticket.

PLATFORM

For peaceful relations with the rest of the world:

We propose an immediate ban on tests of nuclear weapons and an announcement that the United States is willing to join other powers in dismantling its stockpile of atomic weapons by a specified date. Such action would at once relieve international tension and help pave the way for further negotiations.

The new government of China must be recognized without further embarrassing delay, and generous aid should be offered the Chinese people in the difficult task of modernizing their country.

Instead of the bi-partisan policy of waging cold war on the countries of the Soviet bloc, a policy of friendship must be adopted. The first gesture in this direction should be the elimination of trade barriers and the extension of long-term loans for the purchase of goods from American industry. Cultural exchange should be expanded. The schemes of reactionary circles to restore capitalism in the Soviet bloc countries must be disavowed.

The bi-partisan policy of intervening on the side of reaction in other countries must be halted. No more arms for reactionary regimes!

This means specifically, for instance, ending support to French imperialism in its war on the Algerian people. It means ending support to Chiang Kai-shek, Franco, the Mikado and the Latin-American dictators. It means ending the "oil imperialism" that seeks to prevent the Arab people from uniting and modernizing their countries. It means letting the people of Puerto Rico decide whether they want full statehood or independence in fraternal economic relation with the United States. It means offering all the colonial and semi-colonial peoples the economic aid they need without any strings attached.

Withdraw U.S. troops from foreign soil; relinquish foreign naval and air bases; abandon the attempt to establish rocket missile bases; renounce secret diplomacy and all military alliances such as NATO and SEATO. Let's put America on the side of peace!

For realistic measures to combat the depression:

We propose that the colossal armaments budget be converted into a peace budget and used for public works, including schools, hospitals, homes, highways, playgrounds, parks and other public facilities.

We likewise propose the repeal of all taxes on incomes below \$10,000. This should be supplemented by repeal of sales taxes, hidden excise taxes, telephone, transportation and so-called "luxury" goods taxes.

To spread employment, the work-week should be reduced to 30 hours but at no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

Unemployment compensation should be extended to cover all jobs, for the full period of unemployment and at the full scale of pay. The government should declare an immediate moratorium on time payments for household necessities for everyone who becomes unemployed.

Surplus goods held by the government should be distributed to people in need whether in this country or abroad.

Plants shut down by private industry should be operated

[The following are verbatim excerpts from the floor debate at the Conference for a United Independent-Socialist Ticket. Asterisks indicate close of one speaker's remarks and beginning of another's.]

"... No matter how much I admire and respect and want to work with Mr. [John T.] McManus, and people who work with him, I feel very strongly that he did not make a good case. I believe that he put forward a very inflexible, a very rigid approach... I believe that we need a position of growing influence, not a rigid, mechanical, and perhaps obstructive, so-called ball position in overcoming our isolation in proving our leadership over the people who want an alternative to the two-party, cold-war, brink-of-war policies that we're faced with in this country."

"That's what I believe, and I'm certain that whatever merits or demerits there may be to Mr. [Benjamin J.] Davis' position here today... his approach kept open the door for a more flexible and less obstructive opportunity to get away from the brink-of-extinction policies that some currents here seem to be pushing us in the direction of..."

"... The question of a united socialist ticket means in essence a united front. A united front of various socialist opinions doesn't necessarily mean an acceptance of each other's views completely. It isn't the same thing as organizational unity, as the formation of one party... It doesn't mean that we have to subordinate our particular views whether we are independents or members of various parties or groups... A united front doesn't mean that you exclude somebody from the ticket. As far as Comrade [Benjamin J.] Davis is concerned, I see no reason why he shouldn't become a member of the five-man ticket... of course based on a socialist program which I hope this conference will adopt..."

"We speak here of the fact that we're isolated. Now that's pretty bad. But to make a virtue of isolation—that's a crime. And some people here make a virtue of isolation and decorate it with Marxism and the red flag... Take for instance, the idea of the development of independent political action. Now if you're satisfied, then of course you can make a beeline and establish a whole united socialist ticket and you'll be just as you were before. But if you're interested in promoting independent political action you must participate with organized labor..."

"Now, when we say a single candidate, that gives us all an

opportunity to participate in a proposition of this kind. Do you want all to participate? Or do you want to have some kind of little monopoly of your own and carry on? Now you say you want to advocate socialism. Well, if the Socialist Workers Party is advocating socialism according to their light, a single candidate doesn't stop them from advocating socialism. But I believe that to reject the socialist world and to maintain that you're advocating socialism is like advocating kosher ham. There's no such thing..."

"I believe firmly in those points that I discussed here. And I disagree with the idea of discussing with the Socialist Workers Party and its members from long distance. I'm glad to have the opportunity to discuss these points right under their own nose and with them..."

"... We came here to select a full slate. Now we are told for some strange reason that a committee that has gone all along for a full slate and a majority of which obviously wants a full slate, that the question suddenly is debatable, that there suddenly is question whether a full slate is feasible. Why wasn't this point raised two weeks ago, two months ago? Why was it said then that a full slate is feasible and now it isn't feasible? I can answer

Excerpts from Speech by Vincent Hallinan

(The following are excerpts from speech by Vincent Hallinan to the United Independent-Socialist Ticket Conference. He spoke Friday evening, June 13.—Ed.)

In discussing with some of my friends of the Communist Party... I was told, "But Hallinan, socialism does not enter into the mainstream of the thinking of the American labor class," I said granted. And if it did I'd go home and read books. What we want is to put socialism into the thinking and mainstream of the American working class.

And if we are going to wait for mass movements of this people and that people—whether they be the colored people or the Puerto Ricans or the labor class—if we're going to wait until they leap fully armed from the head of Zeus like Pallas Athena, why then we can just sit back on our laurels and rest. We don't have to bother about that movement anymore. That my friends is the simple and easy solution—if it were a solution at all. But unfortunately it is not such. Because it seems to me that the building of a socialist movement is going to be a dif-

icult, arduous and patience taking task...

And I say to these people—are you telling me now that the socialist movements of the past were invalid? Are you telling me that the work of Debs for instance was valueless and useless? Are there to be no more Debs? Is there to be no more movement until suddenly by some spontaneous decision of people like Meany and Reuther, the labor movement decides to go socialist?...

That one should support a man because he is a Democrat or a member of the Democratic party or its candidate seems a contradiction in term. People are always saying there isn't any difference between the two parties, and the very person who will say to you, "Now don't go out and start a socialist movement because we are committed to support the Democratic party and we want to bring you along with us," will tell you in confidence that they don't really see the difference between the two parties...

We sneer and we laugh at the millionaire cabinets, the domination of the government by big business, but we have very short memories when it comes to a matter of remembering who put those people in there at the start.

We're talking about the terrible thing that might befall the Empire State of New York if Nelson Rockefeller is elected governor instead of Averell Harriman... Who gave them their political start? Who introduced them both into the United States government? Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Charles Wilson, who lured it over the Eisenhower administration—who first introduced him into the American government? Franklin Delano Roosevelt. John Foster Dulles, probably the most hated man in the world—although I do not want to deprive Vice-President Nixon of what glory he may be entitled to—first became the dictator of American foreign policy when he was placed in the position to do so by Harry S. Truman—a Democrat.

Another Wilson, Charles A. Wilson, chief executive of the General Electric Company, the biggest monopoly in the world, was made economic czar by the same Harry S. Truman. And he's the man that once said we should have a permanent alliance between government, business and the army. Which is in effect the essence of fas-

cism and is exactly what the Mitsubishi Company put over in Japan to its own final destruction.

Talk about dominance of the House of Morgan in this country. From 1944—that was the year before Franklin Roosevelt's death—until 1952 when Eisenhower succeeded Truman, there were four secretaries of state. Of those, three were officials of the House of Morgan...

Averell Harriman, multi-millionaire, scion of a railroad system, every tie of which corresponds to the dead body of some Irish laborer, is boosted up, by God, as a hero of the Communist Party. Averell Harriman, when he was Secretary of Commerce under Truman, worked as hard as he could to induce Truman not to veto the Taft-Hartley act.

We have heard here that because some of these gentlemen have been opposed to certain policies and principles of the Soviet Union, that the Socialist Workers Party is anti-Soviet. But nothing is said at all about the anti-sovietism of Harriman—probably one of the most vicious [of anti-Soviet spokesmen] and the one who has expressed himself the most vigorously in that connection.

here and to see so many young people here, I am in the Jewish progressive movement, next year will be fifty years. Originally, I am from what the workers call the hell-hole—Pittsburgh. For the 1st nine years I have lived in Brooklyn. I was very much interested all my life in the political movements. I might as well tell you, from 1909 to 1920 I was active in the Socialist Party, from 1920 to 1950 in the Communist party.

"When I came here I was active in the American Labor Party. We had a club of the American Labor Party in East New York and suddenly and to our surprise, one day I read in the N. Y. Times that the American Labor Party was dissolved... I was shocked. I want to tell you the sentiment of the people I work with in East New York in many Jewish progressive organizations... We were not asked and we felt very bad. And our people— I want to tell you—our people are very angry. The people that I work with. There are still thousands and thousands of progressive people and they are angry. You know why? Because when election day comes they have nobody to vote for."

"We were told one time to vote for the Democratic party and I tell you the truth, I committed that great sin two years ago. I went into the

polls and I looked around and, all right, they say Wagner—all right, he's better—a lesser evil, and I made a cross, and my wife too. And I tell you I went home and I tried to wash my hands as much as I could. And I said to my wife and to my friends in my organization—No more that sin!

"Before the November elections I took it up in my organization. I said what are we going to do, people? We are all progressives. We are an organization of a hundred and fifty people where I belong there. What shall we do? And I say, I don't care, for 50 years I am a progressive man. And I don't care—any label, as long as it has a socialist label I don't care who it is. If the Socialist Labor is on the ballot, I'll vote for them. If the Socialist Workers is on the ballot, I'll vote for them. And I don't agree on everything with them, but still my conscience will be clear. I'll not vote for the Republican and Democratic parties."

"I was very active in the International Workers Order. Some of you maybe heard what kind of organization it was. You know the Republicans at the beginning they started to destroy it—Dewey started it and Harriman finished it. They even took away the cemetery from us—even our dead. Not only the seven million dollars that we the working people saved for so many years and that they took away from us and robbed us. They took away even the dead—our beloved dead that live in the cemetery. They took away our cemetery, and sold it. So, I want to tell you now, the people, our people—the progressive people—are angry. They say, My God, the biggest city in the world, and here when it comes election there is nobody to vote for. So last year I took it up in my organization and I said, at least let our conscience be clear. Let us vote for the Socialist Workers Party. I don't care if they are Trotskyites or anything. But they are workers—they are socialists. I may not agree with everything with them. And we went in my district; I know there was many votes there. I voted, and my wife, and many friends, and many neighbors. I told them they should vote. But what I want to say is this—I am in favor, and the people I talk to, we shall have a full slate if possible in the state of New York."

WORKERS' SAVINGS

Early in 1957, before the recession began, the average skilled and semi-skilled worker had \$212 in savings and 26% had none. The average for unskilled and service workers was \$6; 49½% had none.

What Press Said About Conference

The daily newspapers of New York City gave considerable coverage to the three-day conference for a United Independent-Socialist Ticket in the 1958 state elections. The N. Y. Times, which ran four consecutive news stories on the conference said in its June 16 article: "With the Communists apparently put to rout, the three-day leftist 'unity conference' here ended yesterday on a note of surface unity. The conference adopted a platform said to represent 'maximum agreement on a minimal program.'"

The New York Post in its story of June 16 entitled "Leftists Start Choosing Ticket After Walkout by Communists," stated: "Despite a Communist appeal to put only one candidate, preferably for U. S. Senate, in the field, the conference decided to name candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Controller, Attorney General and the Senate."

"State Communist chairman Ben Davis walked out of the conference Saturday after arguing vainly that most Democratic candidates in the state must be supported because they are backed by organized labor."

Subscription: \$3 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S.; 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
Business Manager: BEATRICE ALLEN

Vol. XXII — No. 25

Monday, June 23, 1958

Fascist Menace Revives

The lesson of France has world-wide significance. The destruction of parliamentary democracy by de Gaulle poses once more for mankind the question of Fascism. True, de Gaulle's regime is at present not fascist, but represents a stage in that direction. But behind him—in the racist organizations of the Algerian colonies, in the brutalized paratroop battalions, in the emergence in France itself of remnants of the Petainists and their merging with new anti-Semitic, semi-fascist and outright fascist groupings—lies the ominous threat.

The crash of Hitler's and Mussolini's regimes in World War II was so resounding that most people throughout the world concluded that fascism had been destroyed for all time. This belief was reinforced by the official propaganda guise given the war by the victorious coalition headed by the U.S., Great Britain and the USSR. But the real motivating contradiction between Wall Street and the British Empire on one hand and the German, Italian and Japanese governments on the other had been that of an imperialist power struggle. On the part of the victorious capitalist powers the democracy vs. fascism theme had simply been a propaganda cloak to persuade the toiling masses that the war was being fought for progressive and humane ends.

Nonetheless at the end of the war it seemed that fascism had not only been physically destroyed but discredited beyond redemption in the eyes of mankind. The existence of Franco's regime in Spain was regarded as an anachronism and in-

creasing U.S. support to it deplored as inconsistent with the outcome of World War II. Similarly the recrudescence in Germany and Italy of neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist parties were considered echoes of the past rather than signs of the future.

It must now be understood that the assumption that fascism was a relic of the barbarous past which mankind no longer had to fear, was mere wishful thinking. The bitter truth is that fascism remains a recurrent threat as long as capitalism survives. The bitter truth is that already there are incontestable signs that world capitalism is approaching a cycle similar to that which followed the first imperialist world war—a cycle in which in-country after country the capitalist class will seek to solve its problems with the bloody ax of fascism.

Most ominous is the rapidity with which these fascist harbingers appear. The swift growth of McCarthyism in this country showed an incipient tendency towards fascism even before the onset of a serious social crisis. The shamefully speedy surrender of capitalist democracy to de Gaulle's "strong-man" rule in France and the concomitant emergence of a fascist movement is a second warning.

To the recognized nightmare shape of things to come under decaying capitalism—depression, and nuclear war—must now be added the horror of fascism. The battle of the working class for socialism today is more than ever the very battle for the continued existence of human culture and humanity itself.

Reaction vs. Progress in USSR

The secret trial and execution of Imre Nagy, Gen. Pal Maleter and several other prominent Hungarian Communist Party members associated with the November 1956 revolution, marks a new swing to repression by the Kremlin.

It testifies once again to the fundamental conflict in the Soviet-bloc countries between the working class, the youth and the intellectuals against what the Hungarian Communist writer, Tibor Dery, called a "regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats."

The conflict is born not of "failure" of the planned-production system, but, on the contrary, of its gigantic successes. The workers seek to translate these gains into greater benefits for themselves by curtailing the swollen economic privileges at the top and by gaining the democratic right to shape the economic plans.

Against them, the horde of office holders—factory managers, party functionaries, bemedaled generals, etc.—whom Khrushchev represents, seek to hang on to their disproportionate share of the national income and to the tyrannical power needed to preserve it.

But the struggle for workers' democracy also expresses the profound needs of the Soviet system itself—of what Leon Trotsky called the "grandiose problem which may be comprised in the concept of independent, technical and cultural creation." The totalitarian regime stifles

such creation. Great achievements, such as the sputnik, are made despite despotic rule. Yet every industrial and cultural advance renders the conflict between the needs of the Soviet system and the bureaucratic oligarchy more acute.

As Trotsky predicted in 1937, "The socialist culture will flourish only in proportion to the dying away of the state. In that simple and unshakable historic law is contained the death sentence of the present political regime in the Soviet Union. Soviet democracy is not the demand of an abstract policy, still less an abstract moral. It has become a life-and-death need of the country." That life-and-death need gave rise to the Hungarian revolution and its slogan of socialist democracy.

The revolution was crushed by the Kremlin. Nagy, Paleter and other leading participants have been framed-up and executed. But the clash between the working people and bureaucratic tyranny will not be ended by bloody repressions. All genuine socialists—all genuine partisans of the Soviet Union—all defenders of the system of planned economy—must take sides with the working people against the bureaucratic oppressors. For the victory of the working masses will immeasurably advance the construction of socialism in the Soviet-bloc countries and its spread to the other countries of the world.

...Kremlin Kills Nagy, 3 Others

(Continued from Page 1)
socialist democracy, not capitalist restoration. The official Hungarian announcement of the murder of Nagy took note of the apparent pro-socialist nature of the struggle when it charged the prisoners with "voicing demagogic and false socialist slogans."

From the point of view of revolutionists, Nagy made many mistakes—all flowing out of his training as a Stalinist. He counterposed to the power of the workers an appointed government including a majority of non-socialist and anti-socialist forces in typical "people's front" style. Had he been a revolutionist, he would have turned the power over to the popular organs of the working class, the Workers' Councils, which corresponded to the Soviets in the Russian Revolution of 1917. But Nagy was not a Leninist. Nagy still thought only in terms of control rather than leadership of the workers.

TRUCE VIOLATED

In addition both Nagy and Maleter made the fatal mistake of taking the "new liberalism" of the Kremlin as genuine reform. When Nagy lost power in November of 1956 he took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy. The Kadar government promised the Yugoslav officials

that Nagy and others would be given safe conduct to their homes. On this promise Nagy left the sanctuary of the Embassy only to be taken captive. General Maleter entered into negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Soviet representatives flouted Maleter's status as negotiator and imprisoned him.

The murder of the Hungarian Communist leaders undoubtedly is meant as a warning to Hungarians and other dissidents in East Europe who press for concessions, especially the Yugoslavs. The threat to Yugoslavia is underlined by the new charges that the Yugoslav Embassy was used by the "plotters" as a center "to continue armed resistance, to organize strikes, to paralyze life and reorganize underground subversion." These charges were immediately denounced by the Yugoslav government as lies.

1949 FRAME-UP

The murder of Nagy and other Hungarian Communists repeats the pattern of Stalin's earlier frame-up in 1949 of Foreign Minister Laszlo Rajk who was arrested and then hanged as a "counter-revolutionary." After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 Rajk was declared innocent. It

was admitted that he had been executed on "fabricated charges."

The revival of the blood-purge of Stalin by the so-called "liberal" regime of Khrushchev was of course utilized by Washington as a hook on which to hang a new anti-Soviet propaganda offensive. A "diplomatic observer" in Washington was quoted in the N. Y. Times, June 17, as saying, "I don't think John Foster Dulles will ever consent to meet with the Soviet leaders now that they are getting their hands stained with blood just as Stalin's were."

Dulles is quite accustomed to blood-stained hands—in Spain, in the Middle-East, Asia and Latin America. The only atrocities he and other officials in Washington get outraged about are those committed in the Soviet bloc.

But many who hoped that Khrushchev meant his denunciation of Stalin's frame-up murders in 1956 have been profoundly shocked. Pietro Nenni, Italian ally of the Communist Party, said he was stunned by the news. He recalled his appeal for an amnesty in Hungary and bitterly noted that "instead there have come the new executions which reopen the wounds."

...N.Y. Socialists to Oppose 2-Party Rule

Clasping Hands in Solidarity



Members of Presiding Committee at United Independent-Socialist Conference join hands to sing "Solidarity, Forever" at end of the parley. The conference members, too, joined hands for the singing of labor's anthem. This is custom of British labor and socialist gatherings.

(Continued from Page 1)
recommendation of the presiding committee for a full slate, John T. McManus said: "Both machine-parties pursue brink-of-war policies. Neither offers to do away with Jim-Crow. Both are witch-hunt parties. This is especially true of Harriman, a banker and a capitalist, who has never proven to be a traitor to his class. A lesser effort than putting up a full slate in effect shows disrespect for the independent voter in the state who wants genuine alternatives to the two machine parties. Our objective should be to place such an alternative permanently on the ballot by striving for a minimum of 50,000 votes."

Throughout the debate it was clear that the great bulk of the delegates strongly favored a full socialist slate and wanted no part of Harriman. Speaker after speaker declared their conviction that socialists could not compromise with the capitalist politicians. Their points were greeted by cheers and ringing applause from the delegates.

At the same time it was demonstrated that the vast majority were deeply concerned with exploring every possible avenue to win the Communist Party's participation in the campaign despite its stand that it would not go beyond supporting a single independent candidate.

AMENDMENT

In a special effort to keep the door open for winning CP support, four presiding committee members, Morris Goldin, Henry Abrams, Babette Jones and Sidney Gluck, introduced an amendment midway in the debate that the continuations committee be empowered to further explore the feasibility of designating a ticket. Passage of the amendment would have avoided recording a definitive expression of the viewpoint of the conference.

Speaking for the committee majority—McManus, McAvoy, Rubinstein, Zaslow, Stryker and DeHaan—Murry Weiss declared that he fully appreciated that the minority had in no way yielded its desire for a full, socialist ticket and that its concern for winning CP support was shared by all. But, Weiss said, "I don't see how we can avoid a clear expression of opinion from this body . . . The best way to achieve a maximum of unity on a minimum program is for an overwhelming vote here in support of the resolution."

After a spirited debate on the amendment, it was defeated 81 to 154. Among the 81 who voted for the amendment were many delegates, who like the sponsors of the amendment, favored a full ticket but felt it might provide a better possibility for greater unity.

The wide support for a full slate was demonstrated after the amendment was defeated. The resolution for five candidates was then adopted on a voice vote with only a scattered handful of "no" votes. The solidarity of the participants was further registered when many of those who supported the defeated amendment returned the following morning for the work of shaping the draft platform.

That this was a gathering of convinced socialists was impressively evident in the extremely enthusiastic response to the draft platform which was read to the conference by Dr. Rubinstein. It calls for socialist opposition to the cold war against the Soviet-bloc countries, indicts the capitalist system and its Democratic and Republican representatives, presents a program on civil liberties, civil rights and unemployment and concludes with a stirring depiction of America's socialist future.

The conference opened with a rally Friday evening which heard addresses by sponsors of the movement, including Muriel McAvoy, Richard DeHaan, Sidney Gluck and Joyce Cowley, SWP 1957 Mayoralty candidate. Though not a member of the sponsoring committee Benjamin Davis was also invited to speak.

VINCENT HALLINAN IS MAIN SPEAKER

The principal speaker at the rally was Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party Presidential candidate, who flew from California to attend the conference. Mr. Hallinan was state chairman of the recent campaign in California in behalf of Holland Roberts, well-known socialist educator, in his bid for election to the office of state superintendent of education.

Hallinan warmly endorsed the conference aim of presenting a socialist alternative to the two capitalist parties and detailed the record of both major parties as servants of Big Business. At the same time

he excoriated the Communist party's policy of supporting the Democrats and their claim that to do otherwise would mean isolation from the labor movement. He was vigorously applauded. Benjamin Davis walked out during the speech.

After Hallinan's speech, Sidney Gluck, of the presiding committee, expressed regret that he had attacked the CP's policies at the public rally. The floor was then given to Arnold Johnson who bitterly assailed the speech as "slandorous" of his party.

He was followed by Murry Weiss who declared: "I think Mr. Hallinan has a right to his opinion. I think the Communist Party has a full right to its opinion. Not only—as our party has always said—in the face of the witch-hunt, but in the gatherings of the radical movement . . . For our part, we want everybody in—every member of the Communist Party, every leader of the Communist Party, together with the whole movement to put up a real socialist campaign against the capitalist tickets."

PRESIDING COMMITTEE STATEMENT

The next morning the presiding committee presented a statement expressing regret that Hallinan had stated his personal views about the CP and declared that it did not assume responsibility for his statements, which do not "help to build the unity of purpose which is this conference's prime objective."

Conference Sidelights

By William Bundy

Two tables were set up by the door to the hall and anyone who chose to could register before or at any time during the three-day conference. If they gave a New York state address and requested a voting credential they got it. The floor was open to all who chose to speak. The ability of any tendency or idea to influence the conference was limited only by its ability to get its adherents down, and hold them through the debate.

There was hot discussion after adjournment of the Friday night session. "I'll never vote for Hallinan again," said one grey-haired woman. "He told the truth," said another quietly. "Someone had to say it sooner or later."

I sat at the press table on Saturday when the resolution calling for a socialist slate contesting the five top state offices was being debated. One reporter for a big New York daily said, "This is the first time I ever covered one of these things where the same thing was being discussed on the floor as in the back room."

One militant, elderly woman sat in the front row throughout the debate of the five-candidate slate. When a few speakers sought to argue in a round about way for a policy of only one candidate, she would hold up her fingers and say audibly, "One or five, that's what we want to know."

On the final day, delegate Elinor Ferry announced: "I received a long-distance call last night, from England. It was Harold Davies. [A left-wing Labor Party Member of Parliament] He said: 'Have you learned to call each other comrade?' I said: 'We're trying.' He sends his warmest greetings."

Spirits were high during the closing session. Muriel McAvoy

In his policy speech to the delegates, Davis declared that he didn't think the statement "went far enough or sufficiently repudiated the attack." He further asserted that Murry Weiss' statement that "Mr. Hallinan had the right to make such statements," meant that there wasn't "any hope for a real debate or fight for a policy which we advocate or any hope for a compromise on some minimum basis."

This assertion was thoroughly refuted by the debate that followed. During the seven-hour discussion on the issue of one or five candidates some 50 people took the floor. All viewpoints were presented, including that of the CP, and a fraternal atmosphere prevailed throughout.

In his statement on policy, Davis said that the Communist Party believes that "the nomination of a full socialist ticket . . . would be a narrow, sectarian and premature move that would isolate socialists from labor and the Negro people." He declared the CP "will not go along with any policy that will place us in a clash with the labor movement or the Negro people's movement."

Shortly afterward he and other top leaders of the CP left the conference floor and did not return. However, a number of their supporters remained and participated in the deliberations.

Two main arguments were advanced for limiting the ticket to one candidate. The first was

the contention that significant support could be enlisted on immediate issues but that the workers are not ready to break with the Democratic party and that a full socialist ticket would stand in the way of influencing them on the issues.

The second argument advanced was that since everybody at the conference wanted maximum unity of the radical movement it was necessary to find the most minimal basis for collaboration. Limiting the campaign to a candidate for U.S. Senator would help to bring about unity, it was argued.

...AND FOR FIVE

Virtually no one at the conference seemed convinced by the argument that running a single candidate did not mean left-handed support to Harriman. Speaker after speaker sharply assailed Harriman's cold war, witch-hunt record and declared they would settle for nothing less than socialist opposition to him.

Some delegates bitterly recounted how the American Labor Party was scuttled to carry out the CP's "coalition" line of supporting "labor-endorsed" capitalist politicians. Former supporters of this policy described their futile efforts to reach the workers by trying to function in Democratic party clubs.

The delegates just wouldn't buy the argument that running a single candidate was the most they should try for as socialists. A veteran garment worker concluded his appeal for a full socialist ticket by observing "It seems to me this question of one or five that everyone's talking about is a foolish question. We're socialists, aren't we? So we put up as many candidates as we've got the money to."

And the great majority of the delegates registered their agreement when one independent declared: "If the CP scuttles this conference it can move over alongside the IWW because that's where it's headed."

In the debate on the amendment to avoid decisive action by the convention, delegates reiterated that the best way of convincing the CP leaders to give up their present position and support the movement was to firmly express the will of the conference. Several delegates insisted that many of their friends in the CP were sympathetic to the idea of a socialist ticket and that if the conference went ahead the CP leadership would be under strong pressure to give it some kind of support.

Dr. Annette Rubinstein said that deciding to run the full

slate in no way decreased the possibility of winning unity. If five are nominated, she said, "there is nothing to prevent the Communist Party later from reaching a degree of unity by endorsing our Senatorial candidate."

A number of delegates told the conference that they were expressing not only their own views but those of friends and associates unable to attend. One delegate read a letter of support from Max Bedacht, long-time leader of the International Workers Order. The letter said in part: "Yes, the American workers lack readiness for powerful independent political action. To create that readiness is the job of the revolutionary socialists. They must do it with example, with education through action, and with leadership. If we fail to perform this duty we reduce socialism to the unenviable position of the capitalist Christian religion. You believe in it; you say its prayers; but you condemn all those who want to practice it."

Perhaps the most moving episode in the conference came when a Brooklyn worker with 49 years devoted to the socialist cause told how in the 1937 primary election he had followed the CP policy and voted for Wagner. He then went home, he said and washed his hands to wash off the shame. (See Excerpts from Debate, page 2.)

HAIL PLATFORM

Complete unanimity of the conference was registered in the adoption of the draft platform.

From School Of Experience

Evoking hearty response from the audience were the following remarks made by a participant in the debate. "I wish I could say that I spoke for an organized group but I've been investing my time in the Democratic clubs. And those of you who have had this experience, you know that you're spotted as a progressive and they say, 'The envelope stuffing begins over there.' And that's all I've been able to do in the three Democratic clubs in which I've held membership. So from now on, if I'm going to stuff envelopes, they're going to carry a socialist message."

form. During the two-hour discussion, proposals were made for improving or adding to the various planks. But not a single delegate challenged its clear-cut socialist line.

After election of the continuations committee, the conference heard closing remarks by members of the presiding committee.

Henry Abrams told the conference, "It seemed almost impossible to get unity. But I think we have achieved a good measure of unity and I think more can be achieved."

Annette Rubinstein said she was "happy were in business." She reminded the audience of the declaration by Debs that it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it.

John T. McManus asked the delegates if they "realized how far we have come in two years." "How Quixotic it would have seemed a year or so ago," he said, "that the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Socialists and the independents would be together trying to reach minimum agreement."

On the floor and on the platform, the delegates who had discussed and debated for three days sang "Solidarity Forever" with fervor to close the conference.

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Paradoxically, one of the major causes of the current crisis in Chrysler corporation plants organized by the United Auto Workers union (see story page 1) is the fact that the top leadership of the UAW has for years hamstringed the General Motors local unions in their fight against speed-up. Chrysler now insists on squeezing production workers as much as GM does. The near revolt this has created in the union's Chrysler set-up can be better understood in light of the following description of GM conditions excerpted from the May issue of the Assembler, official organ of New Jersey GM Local 595. The issue was published just before UAW contracts with the Big Three expired.

"The corporation describes the present contract as a fine document which has preserved labor peace. It is true that we haven't had many disputes since 1955 when the contract was signed. But is that to our benefit? GM doesn't tell us in its letter that there were over 110,000 written grievances in 1957 and about 155,000 written grievances in 1956, under that contract."

"In 1957 GM employed approximately 350,000 workers who became union members. This means that one out of every three employees ran into a situation at work which was bad enough to be written up as a grievance. Does that sound like labor peace? Yes it was peaceful for

the company all right. They went right on producing and raking in tremendous profits while the poor lunk on the assembly line waited as much as six months for the company to do something about his grievance.

"No wonder Mr. Curtice [GM president] likes the agreement! Without it, the 110,000 aggrieved employees wouldn't have been so quiet when their rights were trampled on! Without it he couldn't require a man to work like two men until his grievance was settled. And without it, his foreman couldn't ride an overworked employee until the worker was provoked into losing his temper and found himself out the door!

"We don't need a continuation of the present agreement. We need a new and better agreement. We need an agreement that actually protects us from overbearing foremen, not one that lets them pick on us while our grievance is being processed. . . . What we don't need is the old agreement in which GM's high-priced lawyers found the loop-holes before the books were even printed.

Unfortunately, Reuther's policy of retreat in the face of the recession will not help GM workers fight speed-up, and they want to fight it. As the Assembler points out: "Things were a lot tougher through the early history of our union, but we made terrific gains."

What SWP Stands For

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY—WHAT IT IS — WHAT IT STANDS FOR. By Joseph Hansen. Pioneer Publishers. 54 pages. 25c.

This new pamphlet is much more than a presentation of the principles, aims and activities of the Socialist Workers Party. It is a brief but precise presentation of the basic Marxist analysis of capitalist evils and of the socialist alternative of planned production for use.

Socialist literature has supplied abundant material exposing the war-depression alternatives of capitalism. There is a shortage of material explaining the potentials of planned economy. This pamphlet presents the capitalist system as it appears in the United States and then goes further to give the reader a glimpse of what a socialist America would be like.

"Picture our grimy, tenement-cluttered, smog-choked urban areas turned into clean, beautiful cities, filled with modern buildings, playgrounds, grass, pools, flowers and trees! That is only the beginning. The work week can be shortened as automation takes over the burden of labor. . . . Workers can retire young enough to enjoy years of leisure. With life-time security guaranteed—an ample living from cradle to grave—think how free and joyous life will become! Everyone will be able to develop his talents to

the fullest, to contribute his best to the world."

The real power that can bring such a society into being is the mass of the American workers and farmers. But how can they do this? The author takes up these questions in sections of the pamphlet dealing with "Key to Success," "Development of Class Consciousness," "A Party of Action," and "Socialism and the Labor Movement."

Life inside the Socialist Workers Party—internal discussion and democracy, educational work, branch meetings, finances, etc.—is explained in the last sections of the pamphlet. It closes with an appeal for everyone to join in the "hard-hitting, inspiring life of a revolutionary socialist. . . . There is no better life than participating to the best of your ability in the struggle for socialism."

The author, Joseph Hansen, has devoted over two-and-a-half decades in the labor and socialist movement as a miner, a seaman and labor journalist. In 1946 he was SWP candidate for U.S. Senator in New York State. He is at present editor of the theoretical Marxist magazine, International Socialist Review. His excellent pamphlet should be added to your library. It is a fine introduction to socialist ideas. Order extra copies for your friends.

—Frances James

Worker's Bookshelf

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. 78 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.

THE IWW—THE GREAT ANTICIPATION. By James P. Cannon. 40 pages. 25c.

A former organizer for the IWW, Cannon shows how that movement was a trail blazer both for industrial unionism and revolutionary socialism.

FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS. By Daniel Guerin. Long out of print. A very few copies still available at \$4.

A thorough scientific analysis of the social bases of fascism—drawn from the experiences of German and Italian fascism. Shows under what conditions Big Business finances the fascist march to power and under what conditions the middle classes are attracted to the fascists.

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.

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY. By Peter Fryer. 96 pages. \$1 (plus 15c mailing charges).

Peter Fryer was special correspondent of the London Daily Worker in Budapest. His dispatches telling the truth about the workers' uprising were suppressed by the editor. This book is his eyewitness account.

THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION. By Messali Hadj, President Algerian Nationalist Movement. 10c.

The history and aims of the Algerian national independence revolution, written by its most heroic figure.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY (IN DEFENSE OF MATERIALISM). By G. V. Plekhanov. 410 pages. \$1.35.

Long unavailable in this country, this brilliant study of the rise of materialist philosophy, beginning with the French materialists of the 18th Century, is an unusual bargain at this price. Lenin said of it: "A remarkably logical and valuable exposition of dialectical materialism."

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

Art Laurent

Art Laurent, a member of the Milwaukee branch of the Socialist Workers Party, was found dead on June 3 of a heart attack in his cabin at Bay de Noc, Wisconsin, where he had gone on his annual Memorial Day fishing expedition.

Comrade Laurent was 34 years old. He was a man of memorable and unique appearance and personality. He seemed a colossus — tall, heavy-set — and since early manhood handicapped with a wooden leg. He affected a gruffness of manner that intimidated people till they caught on to his concealed gentleness, thoughtfulness, even shyness.

He spent his early years working a farm at Thorpe, Wisconsin, taking on the responsibility left him by his father's death, of supporting a large family. When his charges had grown old enough to start on their separate paths to becoming school teachers and professional men, Art with his wooden leg and his mind full of the radical, progressive traditions, migrated to the city. There he rapidly schooled himself into a reliable tool and die maker.

He lived a stoical life, hardly touched by the ordinary pleasures and comforts. He held that everyone was obligated to labor — and to think. He believed in the right of everyone to the full social product of their labor, but they must think and organize as socialists — that is go beyond the credo of the International Association of Machinists to which he belonged.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party first met Art at a Socialist Party picnic in 1944 where they were circulating petitions on behalf of the 18 SWPers and union leaders, imprisoned after the Minneapolis Labor Trial, the first Smith Act trial in America.

Art admired the socialist integrity and anti-war stand of "the Minneapolis bunch," as he called them. Soon he subscribed to the Militant and in 1945 joined the Milwaukee branch of the SWP. Orderly in his habits, scrupulous in always bearing a full share of the party's financial burden, he had shortly before his death taken on the post of branch treasurer.

During the height of the witch hunt Comrade Laurent was active in getting workers in his shop to sign petitions for Senator McCarthy's recall. One of the last lunch-hour "discussions" with the "Republican" tool and die makers at A. O. Smith where he worked reportedly ended with him roaring: "I voted for Farrell Dobbs three times and will continue to vote for him because he's the only labor leader who knows anything about the history of this country."

Comrade Laurent embodied the grass-roots radicalism of which he was a native product. This most precious element in the American heritage, passed on to his comrades, strengthened and will continue to strengthen the Milwaukee branch and the SWP nationally.

— J. E. B.

...Auto Ranks Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

Reports are that some locals voted to pay up a year in advance. A St. Louis local reports that more than 1,000 members showed up to pay dues in a single day.

There has been no request from UAW tops for a strike vote — just the reverse, official policy is to keep working until the stockpile of 800,000 cars is depleted. Walter Reuther, head of the Union, told a press conference, June 17, that he expects the contract to be signed in the next few months without strike action. Yet, many union locals have gone ahead and taken votes authorizing strike action by the union.

A June 10 UAW news release reports that the membership of UAW Local 51, Plymouth Division of the Chrysler Corporation, gave unanimous authorization to the officers of the local to take a strike vote.

Chrysler workers have broken out into militant opposition both to the company attacks since the contract expired and to the do-nothing policy of the UAW leadership. At a meeting of six hundred secondary leaders on June 7, instructions for the international union officers to stay on the job and accede to company demands were booed and denounced.

(Following the Plymouth Local vote to authorize a strike vote, a UAW release announced that President Walter P. Reuther was personally assuming the directorship of the Chrysler Department of the UAW on an interim basis.) Vice-President Norman Matthews has been in charge of this department. Official reason for the personal change was Matthews' poor health.)

Ford Local 325 at St. Louis and Local 551 at Chicago have voted to strike if and when the international union calls for a walkout. (June 13 Wall St. Journal.)

The June 15 Detroit Free Press reports, "The GM department reported Saturday that votes across the country so far total more than 90 percent in favor of future strike action if necessary. The same results are reported in a proportionate vote among Ford department locals."

Carl Johnson — UAW Militant

Carl Johnson, one of the early socialist builders of the United Auto Workers union died May 23. He was the father of Kermit Johnson, a key leader of the 1937 sit-down strikes in Flint, Michigan. Searchlight, official organ of UAW Local 659 to which he belonged to his death, says: "When Socialism was made a dangerously disreputable word by the McCarthyites, Carl did not flinch or budge because he believed so firmly in the ultimate victory of Truth. . . Farewell, brave warrior."

Book-a-Month

THEODORE WELD: CRUSADER FOR FREEDOM

By Benjamin P. Thomas 307 pp. Original Price \$4.25 Book-a-Month Price \$1 (plus 15c postage) PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Ohio

Annual Picnic

SUNDAY, JUNE 29 — FROM 10 A.M.

Virginia Kendall Park

(On Rt. 359, off Rt. 8, near Akron)

Park in the hardtop picnic grounds parking lot, then cross the field to the grove marked "Militant Picnic."

Bring your favorite basket lunch. No food will be sold. SOFT DRINKS, COFFEE and ICE CREAM WILL BE PROVIDED

Favors for the children

Baseball, Badminton . . . Games for All Contests and Prizes for the Children

FUN FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY

Contribution: Adults, \$1.00, children, 50 cents, payable to a member of the Picnic Committee

For further information, directions, or to arrange to get a ride or give someone else a lift, phone SW 1-1818 Friday, 7 to 9 P.M.

Michigan Socialists Hit Democrats on Jobless

DETROIT, June 15 — Frank Lovell and Evelyn Sell, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and U.S. senator, opened their campaign at a dinner here last night at their campaign headquarters, 3737 Woodward Ave.

Lovell, speaking about unemployment, said, "All our politicians have done is extend the pittance of the unemployed for 13 weeks, and in many cases, not even that. But that is not enough. We want jobs." Lovell said that the answer to unemployment now is the shorter work week with no reduction in take-home pay. He said that if Governor Williams was the friend of labor that he claims to be, he would introduce a bill for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

On the issue of civil rights, Lovell accused Governor Williams of hypocrisy in not being critical of the Democrats in the South who deny Negroes their rights to education and equality. "I don't see how a man can call himself a liberal and tell people to vote for the Democrats, the traditional party of Jim Crow," Lovell said.

Evelyn Sell proposed that the vote be given to 18-year-olds, saying, "If they're old enough to fight and die, they're old enough to vote." She proposed that all people be given the right to vote on the question of war or peace by national referendum. She also said that the American people need a Labor Party.

Three more candidates were announced at this dinner. Larry Dolinski, for lieutenant governor; Rita Shaw, for attorney general; and Robert Himmel, for secretary of state. All three are trade unionists.



EVELYN SELL, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from Michigan and FRANK LOVELL, SWP candidate for governor of Michigan.



...Terror in Georgia

(Continued from Page 1)

cording to Chief of Police Lee, who says he was told by his informers among the Negroes, "This boy made believe he had a shotgun. He aimed it at the policeman and shouted 'Bang!'" For that he was thrown in jail. When his mother went to the police station, "She was carrying on about her boy being locked up," says Chief Lee. "We put her in there to cool her down." Young Flagg was given a beating by the cops and fined \$18 for disorderly conduct.

Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Matthews and Police Chief Lee explain the series of shootings and beatings as caused by the Negroes' "resisting" arrest. "You know, Cap," Sheriff Matthews nonetheless told Washington Post reporter Baker, "there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line."

Background to the "legal lynching and police brutality is the determination to prevent Negroes from registering and voting. Terrell County in 1956 had 3,486 white voters and 105 registered Negroes. Today only about 45 Negroes are still registered and they are not permitted to vote in local elections. Because of Georgia's notorious unit system in tallying votes for the Democratic primaries (the only elections there), sparsely populated Terrell County has two electoral units while Atlanta (population 600,000) has only six.

"LITERACY" TESTS
On April 7 about 25 Negroes in Dawson attempted to register. Many were teachers but none succeeded in passing the "literacy" tests. Sheriff Mat-

thews outlined his views as follows: "Well, Cap, I believe we ought to be strict about who votes. There isn't a nigger in Georgia who wouldn't take over if he could. They all want the power. The nigger has progressed under our system and we sure wouldn't progress under his. Isn't that right? I tell you this, Cap, all this agitation is the work of communists."

Officially there is no longer a curfew for Negroes in Dawson. Sheriff Matthews explained: "This [city] administration didn't see fit to have one. But we need it, the way things are going. A man who knows the nigger can tell when dissatisfaction is brewing. Niggers up late at night are suspicious."

"THEY HEAR THE NEWS"
Dawson Police Chief Lee said among other things: "The nigger resents everything the white man has, all you've got, all I've got. I've noticed things have gotten worse since television. They all get television sets up there and hear all the news over NBC and CBS, telling what the Supreme Court has done and what the federal courts say and all about civil rights, and they begin thinking. We've had a lot of trouble. We're going to have more of it."

The Washington Post printed its story about the situation in Dawson on June 8. It was reprinted by the New York Post on June 11 with an editorial which posed the question: "How is it that the Associated Press didn't tell the country the whole story many days ago? The answer is that in many Southern areas the AP—and other wire services don't investigate such unpleasantness any more than Pravda exposes terror in the Russian province of Georgia."

As a matter of fact the N.Y. Post queried the AP about the Dawson situation reported by the Washington Post only to get a 360-word dispatch "that consisted largely of an ineffectual attempt to discredit the findings of the Washington reporter." It was this that decided the N.Y. Post to reprint the original story in toto. After a closed meeting on June 10, the new federal Civil Rights Commission (which has expended almost half of its legal life span without doing anything but getting its personnel appointed) told the press that it had decided to postpone consideration of whether it should investigate the situation reported in Dawson by the Washington Post.

INTEGRATION SUIT

In West Virginia, the first court action since 1954 seeking to force desegregation of teachers was filed in federal court in Huntington by a Negro plaintiff.

San Francisco FRANCE IN CRISIS

"Why De Gaulle Came to Power"
Speaker: GEORGE LAVAN Staff Writer, The Militant Sat., June 28—8:15 P.M. 1145 Polk St. Don. 50c. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party

Local Directory

BOSTON
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 295 Huntington Ave.

BUFFALO
Militant Forum, 851 Main St.

CHICAGO
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9738.

CLEVELAND
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.

DETROIT
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-6883 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.

MILWAUKEE
150 East Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

NEWARK
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.

NEW YORK CITY
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA
Militant Labor Forum and Campaign Hqtrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.

SAN FRANCISCO
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Open Wed. 4-6 P.M.; Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M.

SEATTLE
655 Main St., MU 2-7139. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.

ST. LOUIS
For information phone MO 4-7194

Calendar of Events

CHICAGO
"King's Campaign Frolic." Free admission, free entertainment, free chance on a 1958 TV set. Saturday night, June 28, 777 W. Adams St. Proceeds to campaign to elect Rev. J. P. King on the United Socialist Ticket.

LOS ANGELES
Swimming Pool Party. Saturday, June 28, 2-10 P.M. 2189 N. Altadena Drive, Altadena. Auspices: International Socialist Review.

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.

SEATTLE
"Pacifism and Socialism." How can World War III be prevented? Speaker: Richard Fraser. Saturday, June 28, 8:15 P.M. 655 Main Street. Dinner and social hour following. Public invited.

- Dulles "favors" a test ban — truth or hoax?
- After test cessation — What?

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