

United Socialist Ticket Wins New Sponsors in N.Y.

By Herman Chauka

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

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

Mich. Socialists Pick Candidates For '58 Race

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

Named to run for governor was Frank Lovell, 2470 Lothrop, a General Motors worker. Lovell said that he was asking GM to grant him a leave of absence in the fall so he can concentrate on his campaign. Mrs. Evelyn Sell, 3310 Cortland, mother of two, was chosen to run for the U.S. Senate in her first bid for office.

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

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

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

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The conference call has now been mailed out to more than ten thousand people throughout the state, and the original initiators of the movement have been joined by numerous additional sponsors. Among them are the noted artist, Rockwell Kent; James Aronson, editor of the National Guardian; Captain Hugh Mulzac, militant civil rights fighter and former American Labor Party leader; Elinor Ferry Kirstein, prominent civil liberties figure; Harry Ring, associate editor of the Militant; Bert Deck of the Young Socialist Alliance; Otto Skottedal, a former leader of the American Labor Party in Long Island; and Steve Gratton, trade-unionist.

ORIGINAL SPONSORS

The original sponsors included Dr. Corliss Lamont, W. E. B. Du Bois, Joyce Cowley, Russ Nixon, Dr. Otto Nathan and John T. McManus.

Sessions of the conference will be held Friday, June 13, 8 to 10:30 P.M.; Saturday, June 14, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. and 2 to 5 P.M.; and Sunday, June 15, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. and 2 to 4 P.M. Platform Committee hearings will be held on Friday from 2:30 to 6 P.M. Delegates will be registered Friday from 2:30 to 8 P.M. All individuals interested in promoting a united socialist ticket are invited to register as delegates.

Sponsors of the movement report a gratifying response to the conference call. Thus far the only formal opposition registered to the project has come from the Communist Party which made its opposition known through an article in

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Socialist Fund Ends On Time with 103%

By Murry Weiss
National Fund Drive Director

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

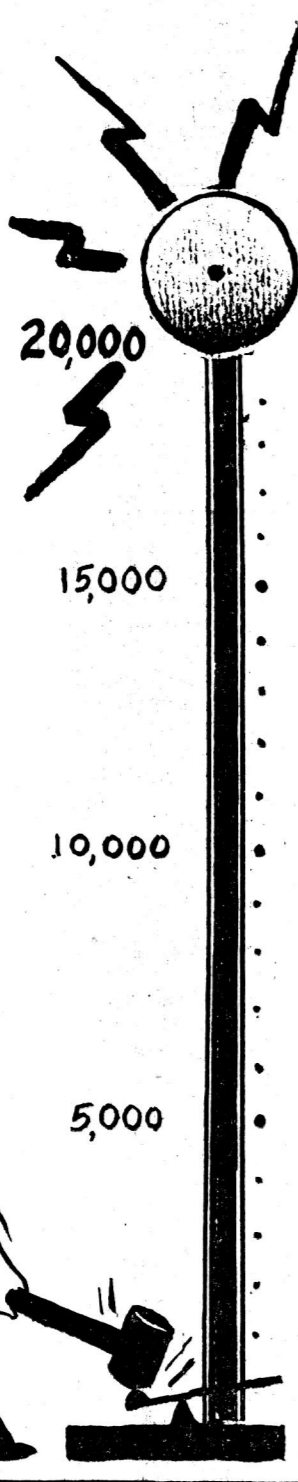
Those who followed the drive in the Militant from week to week know that it wasn't an easy task. From the beginning the Fund Drive ran into the grave problem of mass layoffs and short work-weeks cutting deeply into the incomes of the membership of a working class party.

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

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

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

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



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De Gaulle Voted Dictator As Parliament Caves In

French Workers Must Act Now

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

A Standing Threat

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

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

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

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

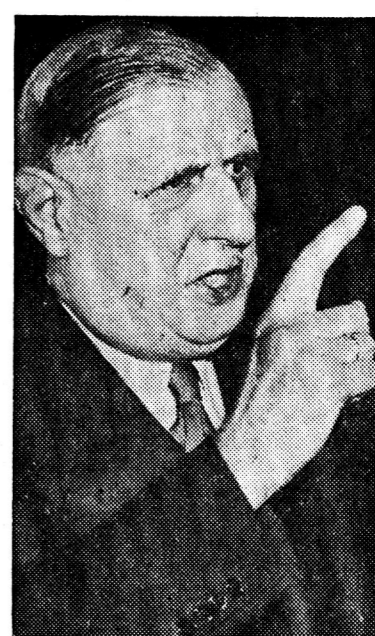
This situation is enormously tempting for the fascists. The workers must take immediate measures to correct it. United action committees must be formed everywhere to organize workers' militias for defense against invasion of France.

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

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

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

Their Threats Put Him In



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

Majority Of People Are Opposed

By George Lavan

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

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

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

OPERATION FLIMFLAM

Rallying all except the extreme reactionaries of parliament behind his pledge not to give in to de Gaulle and the militarists, Premier Pflimlin won large votes of confidence (these included the votes of the Communist Party and Social-Democratic deputies.) Flimflammed by their own parties' support of Pflimlin and his government's "impregnable" position according to the mathematics of the old parliamentary game, the workers were lulled to the imminence of the danger. Why should they act when their parties were rolling up such big votes in parliament against de Gaulle?

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

CORRUPT 'SOCIALISTS'

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

The most disgraceful chapter (Continued on Page 2)

N. Y. Young Socialists Fight For Free Speech

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

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

The Workers Defense League is providing legal aid to the arrested youths on the basis of the defense of free speech. News of the incident spread through the high school and became a popular topic of conversation today. The YSA has called for a united rally in defense of free speech at the same spot tomorrow. A YSA leaflet announcing the rally says in part:

ENFORCED SILENCE
"Our generation has been condemned as 'silent.' Last Tuesday this 'silence' was enforced by police terror and intimidation. Do not allow this precedent to stand! Regardless of your own political convictions, unite to defend our common political right — the right to speak. . . . The school administration and the police have, in this case, abandoned all legality. Now we, speakers and audience alike, must unite peacefully to preserve it. Act now for your right to speak and hear whatever ideas you choose!"

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

FREE SPEECH VICTORY

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

Auto Ranks Show Will to Resist Companies

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

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

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

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

But some thought the union should be preparing to meet provocations by the company. "All we need," said an old-timer, "is John L. Lewis. Anybody would be a fool to like working without a contract. But you have to like it when the company's got a rope around your neck and has you over a barrel at the same time."

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

Last Wednesday, this sacred soil felt the tramp of production workers' feet as over 3,000 unemployed Ford employees responded to the call of Local 600 to demonstrate for their demands. Many others could

not participate because of a lack of parking space. As it was, cars lined both sides of the intersection of Michigan and Southfield in Dearborn for more than a mile in every direction — in some cases double-parked and triple-parked on the highways.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRIPLE ATTACK

In the meantime, Ford, in a pattern identical to that of GM and Chrysler, continues its (Continued on Page 4)

Struggle for Power Opens in France

By John Thayer

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

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

CRISIS OF EMPIRE

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

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

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

SEEK LOWER WAGES

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

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

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

COMMON CAUSE

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

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

Nature of Bonapartism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus the beginning of the period of showdown between the classes in France has been announced not by the workers, who had been brought to a state of political passivity by the false policies of their leading organizations, but by the capitalists. Their announcement was in the form of a surprise attack on political democracy.

It caught the workers off guard and succeeded. There is no point minimizing the defeat. An important battle has now been lost. French capitalism can now govern by ukase rather than by passage of laws. The precedent of suspension of all civil liberties — by state of siege declaration — has been

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

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

250,000 IN PROTEST

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

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

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

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

Model for Insurgent Generals



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

United Front And Popular Front

By Myra Tanner Weiss

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

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

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

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

PEOPLE'S FRONT

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

As a part of the Spanish capitalist government, the Communist Party could not champion the peasant demand for land nor offer Morocco its independence. As a result Franco gained peasant support and made Morocco a base for his counter-revolutionary operations.

Despite the heroic fight of the Spanish workers, including Communists, fascism won. Ultra-leftism in Germany gave Hitler the victory. Opportunism in Spain enabled Franco to come to power.

In addition, it must be remembered that the Communist Party has never made a serious analysis of the reasons for either defeat. In both cases the victory of fascism was explained simply on the ground that

the workers confronted "overwhelming odds." But it is precisely the socialist program that can provide the workers with "overwhelming odds."

What course is the French Communist Party now following? The answer to this question is quite clear. It is the same policy that was followed in Spain. It is the same policy that the Communist Party of France has followed all along — proposed collaboration with the capitalist parties, subordinating the workers' needs to the needs of the Communist Party in its pursuit of blocs in parliament.

This policy enabled the capitalists to regain power after their 1945 fight with the Nazis. It disarmed the workers and returned them to the drudgery of factory life with none of their problems solved. This policy left the deep-seated crisis of French imperialism to corrode all of French society.

SAME AS IN SPAIN

Recently, M. Servin — a top French Communist Party leader — summed up this people's front policy in the following way: "We say that the dilemma today is not reaction, fascism versus people's democracy and socialist revolution but reaction, fascism versus political and national democracy on the internal level as well as the foreign level."

The collapse of the French democratic government is evidence of the bankruptcy of the old system of "political and national democracy." It demonstrates that France is in urgent need of socialist democracy as the only visible alternative to fascism.

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

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

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

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

RECORD DIVIDENDS

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

De Gaulle Becomes Dictator

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

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

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

Donates to Socialist Fund

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

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

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

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

WORKERS' RESISTANCE

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



PFLIMLIN

miners of the north who responded about 80%.

The May 28 demonstration in Paris marked the awakening of the French workers to the danger. It was tremendous. Police statements, which all along tried to minimize its size, finally had to admit to at least 250,000. Its success was due to the fact that Parisian workers were able unofficially to turn it into a united front demonstration, particularly of CGT workers and members of the social-democratic-led union federation, the Force Ouvriere.

Considerable credit for the success of this greatest demonstration in France since the 1930's goes to the independent Federation of Teachers (FEN) which alone among French unions has not been split into dual CP and SP-dominated units. By maintaining complete internal democracy and freedom for all tendencies and groups within it, the FEN has not only kept strong but won the respect of all French workers.

In addition to its role in promoting the May 28 demonstration, the FEN called a general strike of its members for May 30. The union claims that 80% of the teachers walked out. In any case, the strike must be credited as a powerful nation-

FUND SCOREBOARD

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Denver	\$40	\$66.00	165
Pittsburgh	10	12.00	165
San Francisco	440	510.00	116
Detroit	825	918.00	111
Los Angeles	4600	5000.00	109
South	200	215.00	108
Oakland	265	269.00	102
New York	5000	5050.00	101
Allentown	112	112.00	100
Boston	600	600.00	100
Buffalo	1500	1500.00	100
Chicago	1716	1718.00	100
Cleveland	750	750.00	100
Milwaukee	300	301.00	100
Newark	265	265.00	100
Philadelphia	528	528.00	100
St. Louis	80	80.00	100
Seattle	550	550.00	100
Twin Cities	1742	1742.00	100
Youngstown	300	300.00	100
General	177	192.00	109
TOTAL	\$20,000	\$20,678.00	103

Los Angeles

Two-Day Festival of Nationalities

Sat., June 21 from 5 P.M.
SALUTE TO YOUTH NIGHT
Featuring Guy Carawan, young folk singer;
ballroom dancing to Bill Riley's Combo

Sun., June 22 from 11 A.M.
Music, food and dancing of all nations; art
and craft exhibit of all nations; featuring an 8-piece
Mariachi Orchestra.

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Admission 75 cents — Students, 50 cents

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

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Monday, June 9, 1958

A Discredited Method

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

The basic political issue motivating the Davis attack is perfectly clear. That issue is the Communist Party policy of supporting labor and liberal endorsed capitalist politicians as opposed to the policy of united socialist opposition to the major parties on an independent basis in order to further socialist education and to help lay the basis for the necessary development of independent political action by labor and the Negro people.

This is certainly a serious political difference, one that is and will continue to be vigorously debated throughout the radical movement. But this necessary discussion is only obstructed by the smear tactic employed by Davis. His efforts to refute the viewpoint of people like Corliss Lamont, W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. Nathan and the others associated with this committee by trying to use the method of "guilt-by-association" against them is one that is proper to witch-hunters but utterly impermissible among socialists.

Regarding the charge that the SWP is "anti-Soviet," it is well to recall that this falsehood sprang from the arsenal of Stalin's Moscow Trials — trials exposed by Khrushchev to be the foulest kind of frame-ups.

Opposition to anti-Soviet elements is certainly required. But if this were actually the basis of the CP attack, it is necessary to ask on what grounds it justifies its policy of tailing behind the union officialdom in support of such a truly anti-Soviet politician as Governor Harriman whom Davis himself is compelled to characterize as holding "a reactionary cold war position."

The SWP, on the other hand, is supporting the movement for a united socialist ticket precisely because of its deep conviction of the urgent need for socialists to combat the anti-Soviet policies of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The assertion that the SWP has "gotten into the inner circle" of the united ticket movement raises another serious question. This charge can only be interpreted as meaning that the Communist Party favors the exclusion of the SWP from united socialist activities. There is certainly no other basis for taking the charge seriously. The initiators of the united socialist ticket movement took a firm stand on the principle of non-exclusion and urged the participation of all groups favoring such a project. Their long, well-known public record is sufficient to refute the attempt to depict them as being led around by the SWP.

Significance of Adam C. Powell's Campaign

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

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

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

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

taken on by City Councilman Earl Brown. Previously both Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP and the prominent Harlem clergyman, Rev. James Robinson, had refused the nomination.

Marshall pleaded "previous commitments," but Robinson who ran unsuccessfully against Powell as a Liberal party candidate, was more candid. "The Democratic leadership, both of Harlem and this city," he said, "seems to have neither fully understood nor accurately gauged the basic political attitude, unspoken but deep resentments and desires of the people of Harlem."

HARLEM POLL The New York Post confirmed that Robinson knew what he was talking about when it took a poll of 202 persons in the 16th District. Of the 145 persons who had made up their mind, 130 said they would vote for Powell and 15 said they would vote for a candidate selected by Tammany to run against him.

Up to this point, many of those who now recognize the real position of the Democratic party on civil rights have not seen an effective alternative to that party and have consequently shifted to the Republican column at the polls as the only avenue of protest they saw open to them.

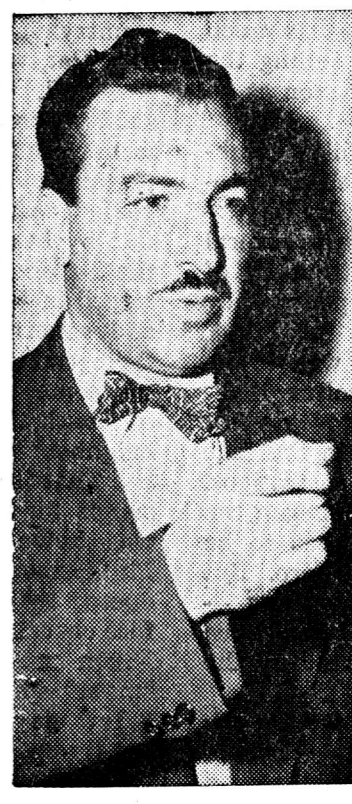
The present situation in Harlem offered Powell a magnificent opportunity to provide a way out of the dilemma of choosing between two Jim-Crow outfits. If he had decided to fight for reelection as an independent in opposition to both parties he would have blazed the trail for an independent

political movement of the Negro people capable of doing effective battle against the Jim Crow system and against the twin-party conspiracy to preserve that system.

Instead, Powell has chosen to accept the Republican nomination and to contend in the primaries for the Democratic and Liberal nominations. He will undoubtedly argue this decision was dictated by practical necessity — that the white political bosses have ganged up on him and that the essential thing is to get back in Congress where he can speak out for civil rights. But even viewed from an immediate, practical angle, there would have been every reason for an independent campaign.

NO ADVANTAGE To begin with, there is no arguing the fact that both parties have equally criminal records on civil rights. When he has so chosen, Powell has driven home this fact with extreme eloquence. Furthermore, from the viewpoint of his effectiveness in Congress, there is no advantage to being elected as a member of either party. The Democrats have already Jim-Crowed him off key committees by stripping him of his seniority, and if he came into the House as a Republican he would be without seniority even if they granted him regular organization rights.

Even more important, there is in Harlem today a growing revulsion against both parties, which Powell's candidacy cannot surmount. While there are many voters who will support Powell regardless of party designation, there are a great many others who would rally



POWELL

to his active support only if he waged an independent campaign.

Powell already has his own political organization. It is probably the strongest organization in Harlem today. The eruption of the long-simmering revolt against Tammany leaves its Harlem machine in crippled condition. The Liberal party, which is helping Tammany to gang-up on Powell, never amounted to much in Harlem and the Republican machine has been almost as weak. The state of the Republican and

Liberal machines is indicated by the fact that two years ago Powell won 57,000 of the 72,000 votes cast in the district running as a Democrat against the GOP and Liberals.

MOVE HELPS BROWN In his present fight against Brown, Powell will not be strengthened by the Republican nomination. Acceptance of the nomination ties one hand behind his back, since it prevents him from exposing the equal responsibility of both parties for Jim-Crow. It leaves Brown in a position to evade Powell's indictment of the Democratic record by pointing to the equally bad Republican record. If Powell didn't have to take responsibility for the Republicans, Brown would be in the position of trying to defend on its merits the completely indefensible Democratic record.

Thus, while Powell's race provides a very significant expression of the growing anti-Tammany mood in the community, the fact that he has not taken the road of independent struggle means that the job of further developing and concretizing that sentiment remains to be done.

The political experts are now measuring the Powell campaign in terms of how many votes it will swing to the Republican state ticket. But the Negro people are not confined to choosing between the Democratic and Republican parties. If the projected united socialist state ticket conducts a militant fight for civil rights it will offer effective means of action at the polls for those in the Negro community who are demonstrating their desire for independent political action.

The SWP and the Soviet Union—A Court Record

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

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

PROSECUTOR: I object to that, Your Honor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A: Yes.

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

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

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

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

Conference Call

To Inaugurate a

United Independent-Socialist Electoral Ticket in 1958

June 13, 14, 15

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

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

Registration Form

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

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

I am contributing dollars to the success of the conference.

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

Name

Address

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK

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

PHILADELPHIA

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

SEATTLE

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

LOS ANGELES

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

Book-a-Month

THEODORE WELD: CRUSADER FOR FREEDOM

By Benjamin P. Thomas 307 pp.

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Meet Chicago's Socialist Candidate

By Fred Halstead

When the national elections are held next Nov. 4, the voters of Chicago's Second Congressional district will have a choice of three candidates. Two will be the traditional representatives of the Republican and Democratic machines — one an arch-reactionary, the other a supporter of the witch hunt. The third, Rev. Joseph P. King, is a socialist and a leader in the Negro Community in the Second District. He is pastor of the International Church and president of the Washington Park Forum.

I met Rev. King when he came East last week for a speaking engagement. When I interviewed him after his speech, he told me that the Washington Park Forum often held large open-air meetings in a Chicago park and that he had been active in the Forum since it began 27 years ago.

RESULT OF EXPERIENCE I asked Rev. King how the Washington Park Forum had come to support an independent socialist campaign in this election. He said the decision came as a result of extensive discussions among the active members of the Forum and of the experience of many years of practical work in the Second District, a majority of whose residents are Negroes. "We have been fighting the oppression of the Negro people in every way we could," he said. "There hasn't been a



REV. JOSEPH P. KING

single civil rights fight in the last ten years — national or local — that the Forum hasn't gone into. Whenever there was an issue, the Forum took to the streets with sound cars, speeches, picket lines and collections for the victims.

"In 1954, for example, when some people were burned alive in the State Street tenement fire, we not only put pressure on the authorities for better housing and a chance to move out of the ghetto, but we got homes for the survivors. We've done that in every fire case we've heard about. We were

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

"We found that even at the height of McCarthyism, we were able to get real support in the Community. When Claude Lightfoot was in jail on the Smith Act indictment, we collected money for his defense. We spoke for him and we had a place for him to speak when he got out. When Paul Robeson couldn't get a place to sing in Chicago, the Forum had two concerts for him, and about 17,000 people attended each concert. The outdoor meetings of the Forum often attract one to two thousand people."

QUESTION DEMOCRATS

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

the way we've gained what precious support they've given us in the past."

"Aside from the Forum," I asked, "who is supporting your candidacy?"

"We have a united socialist committee, which is running the campaign. It includes people from the Forum and from the Socialist Workers Party and a number of independent socialists and progressives — people like Dr. William T. Baird, minister of the Essex Community Church and a former district leader of the Progressive Party, and Rev. Harold Hester of the Olivet Presbyterian Church.

"The committee sent an invitation for the meeting which planned the campaign to every conceivable radical or progressive organization. The state committee of the Socialist Party and the South Side Communist Party organization sent observers, but took no further public action that we know of. We invite further participation."

I asked Rev. King what he thought about the call for a united independent socialist ticket in New York.

"That was one of the most tremendous steps forward the left has taken in years. The fact that New York is the political center of the country and that so many prominent people there, people who have earned our respect, joined in

this step gave us a great boost out in Chicago. The people, I mean the rank-and-file of the Forum, felt terrifically encouraged."

I asked him if he had read the article in the Worker where Ben Davis denounced the New York development.

"Yes, I read it. They are just driving people away from the Communist Party with that attitude. Do they think all those people in New York don't know what they are doing? The capitalist politicians are going to support their class. The Negro people in the South know that. The people in my district are learning it. The experience of our petitioners has been beyond my own expectations."

CP RANKS

"It has been my experience that the ranks of the left, including the Communist Party, are keen on this united socialist ticket. Why when I announced my decision to run at a mass meeting in Chicago, I was almost swept off my feet with support. People brought up \$93, and I hadn't even started a collection. When somebody attacked me for taking the candidacy, one old timer — you might call him Mr. CP himself because he has been such a staunch supporter for so long — yelled out 'anyone who hurts King, hurts me.'"

"And recently I attended a Paul Robeson concert in Chicago. I sat on the stage with Paul's other old friends from the city. When the meeting was over, many people from the audience told me they were with me in this campaign."

"Oh, I know the arguments. Before we began the campaign, some people came to plead with me not to run for office. They said the packinghouse workers would vote for me and the Democrat, O'Hara, might lose. Well, I helped organize the stockyards in the thirties. And I organized for the United Electrical Workers for years. I was fired for union activity many times. I've always been a worker and I make my living as one now. That's why O'Hara won't get any help from me — even backhanded help — while he votes to put Dixiecrats in Congressional committees and good unionists in jail with his witch-hunt laws."

"Let him lose votes. Congress won't be any worse than it is now. But the unions will be stronger if we tell the workers this truth: 'The unions should help build a party to fight for the emancipation of the human race. The capitalists can't do that.' In the meantime, we're campaigning for Negro representation in the Second District, which has never had a Negro Congressman, and for civil liberties and an end to war preparations. Socialists everywhere can put pressure on the capitalists and educate the workers by getting together and running their own ticket."

...N.Y. United Socialist Ticket Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

the June 3 Worker by Benjamin J. Davis, state chairman of the CP and a top leader of the party nationally.

Entitled, "N.Y. Elections and Independent Action," the article aligns the CP with the trade union officialdom in support of the Democratic Party. At the same time it subjects the movement for a united socialist ticket to an unscrupulous smear attack.

The article asserts that "the labor movement, working with its anti-monopoly allies, has a chance to help shape the course of events within the two major parties and within the Liberal party . . ."

STAND ON HARRIMAN While conceding that Governor Harriman "holds a reactionary cold-war position," the article declares: "But note must be taken of the fact that the labor movement tends to support him because of his minimal though inadequate responsiveness on such issues as unemployment insurance and the elementary right of the trade unions. This difference on the bread and butter issues is an important one between the two major parties . . ."

After asserting that the projected united socialist ticket represents "withdrawing from the political mainstream," Da-

vis attacks the committee in a fashion strongly reminiscent of the type of witch hunt to which the CP has been steadily subjected by reaction.

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

This attempted frame-up of the committee as "dupes" of "anti-Soviet Trotskyists" follows the pattern of the smear that Davis co-authored in 1957 against the prominent radicals who endorsed the Socialist Workers ticket in the New York Mayoralty election.

Writing in the Nov. 3 Worker, Davis said: "A vote for the SWP is a vote that objectively gives some measure of support to counter-revolutions. Some good progressives do not take this sufficiently into account."

GUARDIAN'S REPLY At that time the CP smear attack was answered by an editorial in the Nov. 11 National

Guardian. Commenting on the CP's support of Mayor Wagner and condemnation of those supporting the SWP, the Guardian editors declared: "We marvel, as at a fancy boxer protecting a glass jaw, at the facile logic which can anathematize a socialist campaign as not advancing the cause of socialism and in the same combination can approve . . . a tailist campaign which hates socialism like the devil hates holy water."

Davis' 1957 attack was less an attempt to pressure the Guardian editors and others who had endorsed the SWP ticket than an effort to hold those Communist party members in line who were opposed to supporting capitalist candidates and who intended to vote socialist. Despite the attack, Joyce Cowley, the SWP candidate for Mayor, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, CP candidate for City Council, polled almost identical votes in the district in which Miss Flynn was on the ballot.

Opposition to the pro-Democratic party "coalition" line is apparently even deeper in the CP today. Writing in the May issue of Political Affairs, James J. Lima points out that there is "within the ranks of the Party great unclarity and disunity on how best to influence the political scene . . . There

is also disagreement with the coalition concept of our Party as well as unclarity in regard to the meaning of the concept."

SOCIALIST OPPORTUNITY

A united socialist ticket in New York will provide a golden opportunity for all those who refuse to support capitalist politicians to actively campaign for a movement that can deepen socialist consciousness and help develop the necessary movement for independent political action in the ranks of labor and the Negro people.

The public letter from the initiating committee of the movement put the issue this way: "A united Independent-Socialist ticket in New York State can provide the long-needed impetus for a revival and re-invigoration of independent political action . . . We believe that thousands of people in our state would rally in support of such a campaign . . . We believe that this effort is necessary this year to introduce vital issues and prospects which would otherwise be absent from the political argument in the forthcoming elections. Further, if a minimum of 50,000 votes can be won at the ballot box, an independent political medium of great, new significance can be given ballot status in our state for future elections."

The New Richard

By E. F. Loftus

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The Young Lions"

By Ruth Norton

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE MILITANT

EAT IT, I SAID — DON'T YOU WANT DADDY TO GET A JOB?



News Item: Speaking to the American Management Assn., on "Selling Can Turn the Tide," Harry Bullis of General Mills said his firm will spend \$24,000,000 for an advertising campaign "sponsored by Wheaties . . . the kind of approach that will build America."

... Auto Workers

(Continued from Page 1) three-pronged attack against the solidarity of the workers. It appeals to the unemployed, asking for an extension of the old contract so that "conditions can be settled and men brought back to work." To those still working, the company writes individual letters about the benefits that it supposedly granted of its own free will and that it is willing to continue for two more years. Its third approach is to drive back toward pre-union conditions under the no-contract situation. So far, it has only stopped the dues check-off, eliminated the umpire in grievances and cut down pay for union committeemen. But it has already warned that it would shut down plants where management says there is a "slowdown," sabotage or other "labor dispute."

DELIBERATE SPEED

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

... Michigan Socialists

(Continued from Page 1) every unemployed worker and placed the UAW in the forefront of the fight to end unemployment. One of the reasons Reuther failed to advance this demand is because of his close ties with the Democratic Party, according to Lovell.

In addition to the demand to cut arms spending, the Socialist Workers platform calls for an immediate end to atom-bomb tests and elimination of the trade barriers erected by this country against the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Republic of China and the countries of Eastern Europe. Resumption of peaceful trade relations with the peoples in this vast section of the world would provide work for many of the presently unemployed in this country, Lovell said.

ATTACKS JIM CROW

The Socialist Workers platform endorses full civil rights for the Negro people. "The scandal of Little Rock follows American ambassadors to every country of the world. But little is heard about segregation in the Detroit school system which exists and is maintained on the basis of neighborhood segregation patterns," Mrs. Sell charged.

The Socialist Workers Party has also consistently campaigned against the attack on civil liberties in this country, directing its fire against the late

Senator McCarthy and his imitators. It hailed the recent exposure of the FBI by the Cleveland industrialist, Cyrus Eaton. The SWP charges that the FBI operates as a political police, violates laws, ignores traditional civil liberties, and has done more to destroy freedom in this country than any other single agency.

The Socialist Workers Party will advocate the labor movement's break with both capitalist parties and the formation of a labor party aiming at the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

A state convention of the Socialist Workers Party will be held in the fall to ratify the platform and select other candidates for state office.

"CIVILIZATION"

The physician at the City Jail in Brooklyn, N. Y., resigned June 3, branding the prison "a disgrace to civilization." He reported he had to examine an average of 100 men daily in tiny, jammed cells without a central examination room or examining equipment.

LET 'EM EAT CAKE?

A quarter of a ton of cake was baked for a birthday party for the wife of Governor Williams of Michigan. Contents included 500 eggs, 100 pounds of sugar, 75 pounds of butter and 15 pounds of cream.

Miriani Puts Ax To Last Detroit Day Nurseries

DETROIT — A broad grin crossed the usually cranky-looking face of Mayor Miriani. The nine members of the Common Council heaved sighs of relief. Together, the mayor, elected with CIO support last fall, and the councilmen, six of whom were elected with CIO support, had just won "the battle of the budget." The 1958-59 city budget is now set at 325 million dollars — which means no increase in the tax rate.

The big corporations and banks approve too. They have been advocating a property tax cut, at least for themselves, despite rising welfare and relief costs. But they didn't really expect a direct cut this coming year. Right after his election Miriani had given them a \$551,000 tax cut in the form of a reduction in the tax assessments on their business inventories. Earlier this year he and the Council had further lowered the assessment valuations of several big corporations.

However, to keep their promise on taxes, mainly for the benefit of the rich, Miriani and the Council had to break a dozen promises they had made to the poor in last year's election campaign. Here is a prize example:

During World War II, when women were being encouraged to go into the plants, Detroit finally started a day-nursery school program. With federal aid, 16 nurseries were set up. When the cold war came and federal funds were withdrawn for such unarmy projects, the nursery program was drastically cut.

By this year, there were only two nurseries left, at Custer and Priest Schools, caring for 82 children between the ages of 2 and 12. Their mothers, most of them widowed, separated or divorced, pay from \$5 to \$20 a week, depending on income. Even so, there is a deficit, amounting to \$63,921 this year — which the mothers say could be eliminated if more people knew about the program.

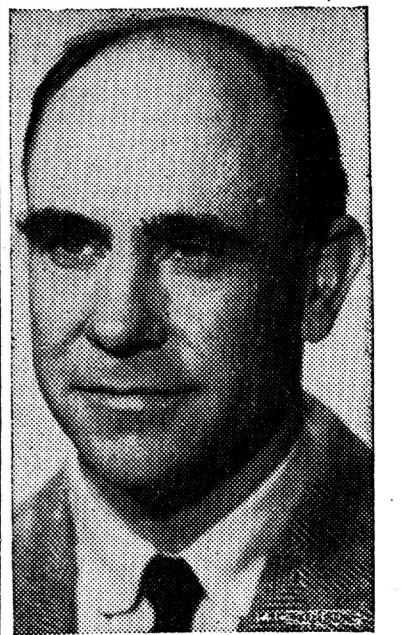
ONLY .02% Sixty-four thousand dollars is not a large sum of money for a big city. It comes to only two-hundredths of one per cent of the city budget. It is a lot less than the \$551,000 tax cut Miriani gave the businessmen as a bonus after his election. It is even less than the \$95,000 which Mary Beck said could be saved annually if the Council would cut by 5% the salaries of all city employees earning \$12,000 or more a year, including Council members. The Council could not see the point of saving \$95,000 in this way and voted down the proposal with great irritation.

But the employers and the daily press keep crying for economy. And two-hundredths of one per cent of the budget is two-hundredths of one per cent. Anyhow, there were less than 100 parents involved, most of them Negroes, and who cares about encouraging women to look for work nowadays?

DECREES END, JUNE 30 So Miriani announced that the nursery program, now run by his Welfare Department, would end this June 30. When 60 mothers formed a committee to plead for reconsideration, he met with six.

"I am very sympathetic with your problem," he said, as a labor-endorsed politician should. "But the fact remains that this care is not a proper

Socialist Nominee



FRANK LOVELL, Detroit auto worker, has been nominated for Governor of Michigan by the Socialist Workers Party. The party also nominated Evelyn Sell as candidate for U.S. Senator. (See story page one.)

function of the Welfare Department. Legally," he had suddenly discovered, "it is a responsibility of the Board of Education," which has its own budget and no interest in nurseries.

Mrs. Mary Franklin, co-chairman of the committee, said it was false economy because shutting the nurseries would force many of the mothers to give up their jobs and apply for welfare. But Miriani washed his hands like Pontius Pilate, told them to go see the Board of Education, and cut the budget by \$63,921.

The mothers and their children staged a picketline at City Hall, but the Council voted to go along with Miriani, not the mothers.

"We feel we just have to keep the nursery," Mrs. Franklin said. "I don't know how to do it, though. We're not a very large group."

UAW SILENT But there are large groups in this city, like the unions. No regular UAW convention passes without a resolution demanding day-nurseries. Where were the unions while all of this was going on? They never opened their mouths once. They sent to one to join the delegation to the mayor or the picketline. They didn't even write a letter about it to the Council.

Why? Because it would be politically embarrassing to have to differ publicly with the mayor and six councilmen they helped elect? If that's not the reason, they ought to say what is.

In a few weeks this big city will be without a single public day-nursery. What can you call it but a disgrace, an indictment of capitalist politics, and an additional reason for an independent labor party?

NEGRO JOBLESS

One out of every seven Negro workers in the United States is now unemployed as compared to one out of every 14 whites.

"I Hope I Never See You Again"

By Theodore Kovalesky
It happened on one of those weekends.

Since Connie had to travel so far to see Ralph she always stayed over and came on both visiting days. It was always the same. Ralph was delighted. The loneliness of the past weeks, the stifled desperation of imprisonment, the hunger for smiles, laughter, kind words, for the very sight of someone from the past, from "outside" all worked up into a sort of explosion. Ralph and his mother talked fast, interrupted each other, laughed quickly, nervously, and switched from one subject to another, leaving sentences, thoughts unfinished. There was so much to say, and so little time in which to say it. But then it would change. The thin current of hysteria would fade from the laughter. Talk would be quieter. There would be pauses. And Ralph

would grow silent, moody. Two more years stretched out before him like a straight treeless gray road tapering to a dim horizon where it disappeared to the eye although the brain knew it extended on into invisible distance. It was good to see Connie. He had needed her. But she was from "out there" where he could not go. Finally, in pain, he would say, "Mom, go home!" . . . and she would go.

It was, as I said, on one of those weekends. Connie approached the prison in time to see an old car driven up to the gate. A middle-aged white woman got out, smiled pleasantly at the younger Negro driving the car and was admitted by the guard.

Connie was not at all prejudiced, but she was curious. After all, a man had a right to drive any woman around, but for just what reason, she wondered, would he be driving a white woman around? And why would he be driving her to the prison?

So when Ralph's jaw muscles tightened into visible lumps, when he turned away his face and said, "Mom, go home," when she turned from him with a gay goodbye, an aching throat and the pressure of imminent tears around her eyes, when she was passed through the gate by the indifferent white guard, and when the man, seeing her standing at the roadside, miserable and indecisive, offered her a lift to the station, she was glad. She felt her curiosity rising again and was pleased that it might be satisfied.

With the directness that makes Connie one of the most fascinating women I have met, she smilingly asked him, "What were you doing with that white woman?"

"That's a long story," the man replied seriously. "I come from Alabama," he began. "Worked on a farm, never knew much about anything else. You know the way it is. . . . " "I know," Connie answered. "I was born in the north, but my folks came up."

"Well, an uncle of mine wrote to me to come up and go to work in a little furniture factory where he worked. I didn't come right off. I studied a while should I come or not. But then I came."

"When I got there — it was a little town outside of New York — I went right to the factory. Right off the farm down there, I didn't know anything, you know. . . . " "I know."

"Well, I got to the factory, and there were a lot of men walking around in a circle. So I went past them to go in, but they grabbed me and started beating me up. I remember I was thinking I never had a bunch of white men jump on me like that just for nothing down in Alabama and I should have stayed there, but then one white man came over and made them stop. He took me off to the side and asked me, 'Do you know what a scab is?' and I said, 'No.' He asked me, 'Do you know what's going on here?' and I said, 'No,' so he explained how there was a strike and the men were trying to get better wages and work-

ing conditions and how we should all stick together. It sounded good, and we shook hands, and then I was glad I came up from Alabama. He put a sign on my back, and I got in line and walked around, and everybody was friendly now."

Connie smiled, and the man continued. "After the strike was over I went to work in that shop. It wasn't much of a job to start with, but then Fred — he was the man that stopped them from beating me up and told me about the union — he started teaching all us colored fellows in the shop how to run the machines. Before that we just did the bull work or the sweeping. Then we began bidding on these jobs, and Fred made the company give them to us. I never knew a white man like Fred."

"You run across them," Connie said. "It's funny, but there are a lot more of them than you'd think."

"Another thing Fred did, the company used to just give the white men the overtime, but Fred wrote a grievance and made them divide it up so we all took our turn. That shop got to be a pretty nice place to work."

else was dead tired, so they went to bed instead. Fred was tired too, but he went out. He sat there in his car near the gate, just sat and watched, but he fell asleep. I guess the company must have been watching him too, because while he was asleep the plant guards or somebody smashed up six foremen's cars in the parking lot and then slipped a sledgehammer with little bits of broken glass stuck to it right into Fred's car. The first thing Fred knew about it, the cops were shining a flashlight in his face and yelling at him and pointing their guns at him. I guess he knew right then the company had finally got him. Would you believe a thing like that?"

Connie smiled, not her usual warm smile, but a smile the man thoroughly understood. "Yes," she said, "I'd believe it."

"Fred got five years. The union appealed it and all that, but they sent him away. So we decided at the next membership meeting that everybody would give fifty cents a week so Fred's wife would get the same money she would have got with Fred still working. We didn't want her to go on relief. You know how they treat people on relief?"

Connie nodded silently, and he went on. "Then we decided that every visiting day we'd take turns driving Fred's wife up to the prison to see him. It's three years now," he said proudly, "and we haven't missed one visiting day yet."

The car drew up to the smoky little railway station and rattled to a stop. Connie got out, thanked the man and said,

"I hope I never see you again." He looked surprised, a little hurt. Connie laughed. "That's what we always say here. Didn't you know? After all, this is a prison we come up here to go to."

The man smiled, comprehending. "All right, I hope I never see you again," he said unconvincingly.

Connie saw Fred's wife during other visits. You don't become friends in the shadow of the prison walls, but you quickly become acquaintances, and there is a temporary warmth and closeness in the relationship that is like friendship. She told her about Ralph, who had never been really bad in his life but had early run afoul of the law, which hangs like a precariously suspended boulder over the heads of the youth — particularly the Negro youth — of the poorer neighborhoods.

And Fred's wife told Connie of the friendly union men who brought her on her periodic visits, of the long legal struggle, of the refusal of the state to grant Fred a parole — he had been eligible three times and been refused three times. Connie often rode to the depot with her in some union man's old car. And they always parted with a warm handshake and the words, almost an incantation, "I hope I never see you again."

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