

# Indep. - Socialist Petition Drive Off to Good Start

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Aug. 6 — Reporting solid progress in its state-wide drive to secure the nominating petitions necessary for a place on the New York ballot, the United

## N.Y. Candidate



CAPTAIN HUGH N. MULZAC, Independent-Socialist candidate for New York State Comptroller. See interview with him on page 3.

## PETITION DRIVE

Required to file a minimum of 12,000 nominating petitions by Sept. 9, with at least 50 coming from each of the 62 counties in the state, the independent-socialist ticket has now completed the first week of the drive to secure the signatures. Richard Garza, the committee's director of the upstate New York petition drive, said today, "At the end of the first week, we have more than the legal minimum of signatures in 20 upstate counties generally considered to be among the most difficult because of their remote locations and sparse populations. We're going to do more work in these and other counties to make sure we file substantially above the legal minimum, so there's still plenty

## L.A. Rally to Hear British Laborite and Linus Pauling

Harold Davies, leading left-wing Labor Member of the British Parliament, will arrive in New York City Aug. 12 for a six-week speaking tour of this country and Canada. Primary stress in his speeches will be given to the issue of halting nuclear tests.

According to an announcement from Los Angeles, Mr. Davies will share the platform at a mass meeting at Embassy Auditorium in that city with the distinguished Nobel scientist and fighter for peace, Dr. Linus Pauling. Mr. Davies will speak on "Labor, Socialism and Peace." Dr. Pauling will discuss "The H-Bomb Menace." Socialist leader Vincent Hallinan will chair the meeting.

## DENVER DATE

Mr. Davies' opening speech will be made Sunday, Aug. 17 at Wingdale-on-the-Lake, N.Y. Next, he will speak at a mass meeting of the Denver Labor Alliance on Aug. 20. On Aug. 23 he will be heard at the Independent Socialist Forum of San Francisco and, on Aug. 25 at the Berkeley Socialist Forum.

A reception and picnic honoring Mr. Davies will be held at the home of Vincent Hallinan in Ross, Calif., Sunday, Aug. 24. Mr. Davies will then tour the Northwest, the Midwest and return for East Coast speaking engagements in September.

A leader of the Victory for Socialism group in the British Labor Party, Mr. Davies is the author of many pamphlets on current social issues. They include "Death Stands at Attention," a protest against nuclear tests and an earlier pamphlet, "Oil Is Inflammable," an analysis of the inevitable conflict between the Middle East governments kept in power by Anglo-American oil interests and the aspirations of the Arab people.

Mr. Davies has undertaken his tour at the personal invitation of Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Elinor Perry of New York, an active civil liberties fighter.

# U.S. Gov't Tells People Of World: Stop Revolts

## GM Units Vote 11 to 1 For Strike

AUG. 6 — By a margin of eleven to one, 126,000 workers in General Motors plants throughout the nation have voted to go on strike if necessary to enforce their contract demands. The vote was 115,973 in favor of strike authorization and 10,410 against.

Announcement of the strike-vote results followed over two months of fruitless negotiations while the union worked without a contract. During that time GM cut down on union representation in the plants, let grievances accumulate and in a number of cases fired union militants.

The UAW recessed negotiations with Canadian GM subsidiaries after the company offered a two-year extension of the present contract. This action by the union was interpreted as rejection of the offer. The UAW had previously rejected a similar proposal by the Big Three auto companies last May.

Meanwhile, on July 30, the first strike took place at a GM plant in the Detroit area since the contract expired. This was a "quickie" at the Fleetwood Fisher Body plant. It ended when Leonard Woodcock, UAW vice-president, issued a back to work order.

## UAW FILES CHARGES AGAINST CHRYSLER

Also on July 30 the UAW filed five charges of unfair practice against Chrysler with the National Labor Relations Board. These charges include refusal of the company to discuss workers' grievances, attempts to discredit committee members and stewards, and cancellation of preferential seniority rights of UAW stewards and committee members.

In announcing the GM strike vote Leonard Woodcock declared, "The strike vote shows conclusively that the UAW rank and file wants a 1958 contract that meets the problems that General Motors has so far refused to do anything about."

The executive board of the UAW and councils of the Ford and Chrysler divisions of the union are scheduled to meet Friday and authorize strike deadlines at those plants also.

## Celebrate Iraq Revolution



Syrian youth marching past Government House in Damascus. They are celebrating the signing of a pact of mutual defense between the United Arab Republic and the new Iraq government. Signing the pact of friendship with Nasser's government was one of the first acts of the new regime.

## Behind Steel Price Rise

By Gordon Bailey

AUG. 5 — A new price hike has been announced by the steel industry, giving another upward boost to the spiraling cost of living, even as millions of unemployed workers are tightening their belts. Price raises average \$4.50 a ton on most steel products. Although U.S. Steel has not yet announced its price increases, it is expected shortly to go along with the rest of the industry.

While steel corporations were jacking up their prices, capitalist politicians called on the steel workers to exercise "restraint" and forego wage increases so that the cost of living could be "stabilized." Among those calling on the workers to restrain themselves was Sen. Estes Kefauver, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. He told reporters, "The United Steel Workers ought to be willing to make some concessions, and perhaps defer some benefits to hold the price line and get some fellow workers back to work."

Yet it was Sen. Kefauver's own subcommittee that established, through public hearings, that steel price rises are not the outcome of workers' wage increases, but are the result of the steel monopolists' deliberate policy of charging all the traffic will bear.

In an article in the June 28 Nation, Sen. Kefauver charged that prices set by the steel industry are "administered prices" — that is, monopoly prices. There is no price competition among the steel makers.

## ONE-WAY ELEVATOR

Sen. Kefauver wrote: "In the steel industry, at least, [prices], have for many years been administered in only one direction — upwards. A chart . . . shows that since 1947 the price of steel has risen from year to year at almost a constant rate. It rose when unit labor costs were declining, and it rose while demand was falling."

According to the Kefauver subcommittee's findings, increased labor costs resulting from a July 1957 adjustment in wages and benefits added somewhere between \$2.50 and \$3.00 per ton of finished steel. But the July 1957 price hike amounted to \$6 per ton. The gap of \$3 to \$3.50 between increased prices and increased labor costs was further widened by a decline in the 1957 price of scrap iron — an important element in steel makers' costs.

"With prices increasing more than costs," says Kefauver, "the expectation would be that profits per ton of steel would rise. This is exactly what happened. . . . From 1952 to 1957, profit (after taxes) per ton of steel products shipped rose every year, from \$6.80 in 1952 to \$17.91 in 1957."

It seems that the steel industry is having misgivings about the 1958 price hike. The magazine Steel wrote in its July 1 issue that a price rise "might alienate public opinion, put added pressures on customers' profits, and draw fire from Washington." But greed for profits is winning out as usual. Also as usual, the steel corporations are trying to blame recent wage boosts provided for in their contract with the United Steel Workers for the price rise that stems from their own profiteering.

## Threatens to Unleash War Unless Masses Submit to Imperialism

By Myra Tanner Weiss

AUG. 6 — A debate on the Mideast crisis now looms in the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Soviet Union will charge the United States and Britain with aggression for landing thousands of troops in Lebanon and Jordan. The United States will have to defend its military posture by charging the Soviet Union with "indirect aggression."

While the United States may pressure its way to a majority vote in the Assembly, few in the State Department and the Western embassies are looking forward to the debate. It is difficult to take U.S. charges seriously. As the Wall Street Journal editors woefully pointed out, Aug. 5, "One difficulty lies in pinning indirect aggression on the Soviets. . . . The chief force in the Arab world at present is Nasserism. . . . To complicate matters further, it has yet to be shown that Mr. Nasser was directly behind the disorders in Iraq and Lebanon. . . ."

"Even if one grants that 'indirect aggression' was attempted in Lebanon, the American case is not especially impressive in terms of international politics. For while this nation talks about Soviet indirect aggression . . . the Soviets will be accusing us of direct aggression in Lebanon. The charge is baseless," the Journal thinks, "but the presence of American troops in Lebanon makes it seem plausible to many people in the world."

The Eisenhower Administration's attempt to justify its military moves in the Mideast on grounds of countering "in-

direct aggression," however, is not just a poor propaganda line. It is now basic policy clearly enunciated by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at the recent Baghdad Pact conference in London. There the U.S. committed itself to defense of any of these nations in case of "indirect aggression."

What is "indirect aggression"? It has not been defined, says Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, in the Aug. 3 issue of that paper; ". . . but it means presumably a coup or revolution such as in

(Continued on Page 2)

## Faubus Landslide Vote Makes Racists Bolder

By John Thayer

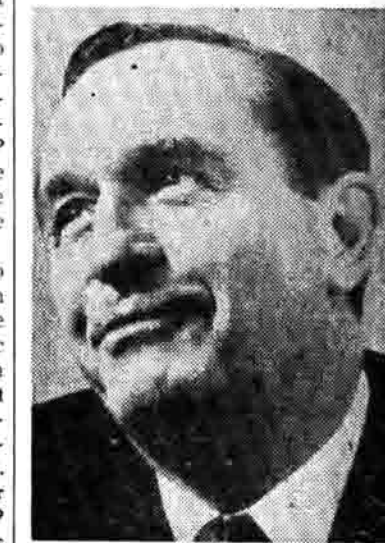
Governor Faubus' landslide victory in the Arkansas Democratic Party primary will cause every Southern politician to redouble his opposition to school integration

in the conviction that he not only will get away with it but will be a sure thing for reelection. Faubus' triumph also brings into sharp focus the extent to which the political-action policy followed by the labor officialdom and the NAACP leadership has resulted in the uncontested supremacy of the most extreme racists on the Southern political scene.

Faubus' primary sweep means, of course, his reelection for a third term, for, as in the Deep South, the Democratic primary is the only election which counts in Arkansas. It may also have an adverse effect on the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis which is about to hear the appeal of the NAACP against Federal Judge Lemley's recent order for an end to integration in Little Rock's Central High School for the next 2½ years. One of the issues in the campaign was that Faubus' dogged resistance had beaten the federal court-ordered integration and a big vote for him would not go unnoticed by the Court of Appeals.

In the four years since the Supreme Court's school decision the racist policy of massive opposition has finally brought about a situation where all Southern politicians vie with one another in pledges to maintain segregation. Suspected weakness on this point now means political defeat, in fact, is becoming something akin to treason.

Thus Faubus' two opponents tried to outdo him by loudly proclaiming their undying devotion to segregation as a principle, whereas he claims to be against only "forced integration."



FAUBUS

**RACIST GAINS**  
The Faubus victory is but the latest evidence of the clean sweep the extreme racists are making in the South. The recent primary elections in South Carolina and Alabama were earlier indications. Even Southern liberal politicians who still nourish ambitions are taking a lead from Faubus' book (before September 1957 Faubus was considered one of the outstanding liberals in the Southern wing of the Democratic Party and as such received labor and Negro support). For example, in Florida ex-Senator Claude Pepper, a famous New Deal liberal, is trying a comeback. His opening shot was a statement denouncing the Supreme Court's recent ruling in favor of the Alabama NAACP as "another invasion of states" (Continued on Page 4)

## Negro Leaders in South Hit Congress 'Probers'

AUG. 5 — Several hundred leaders in the South sent every member of the U.S. Congress an open letter sharply protesting the witch-hunt hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee in Atlanta Georgia. The committee "investigated" Southern whites, prominent in the fight for racial integration. Among those who signed the letter of protest were E. D. Nixon, one of the leaders of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott movement. Rev. C. K. Steele, one of the leaders of the Tallahassee, Fla., bus boycott movement and Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Ala.

"We are acutely aware," the letter stated, "of a shocking amount of un-American activity in our Southern states. To cite only a few examples, there are the bombings of the homes, schools and houses of worship of not only colored persons, but also of our Jewish citizens."

"There is nothing in the record of the House Committee to indicate that it will investigate these things. On the contrary, all of its activities sug-

gest that it is much more interested in harassing and labeling as 'subversive' any citizen who is inclined to be liberal or an independent thinker."

The open letter concluded: "For this reason, we are alarmed at the prospect of this committee coming South to follow the lead of Senator Eastland, as well as several state investigating committees, in trying to attach the 'subversive' label to any liberal white Southerner who dares to raise his voice in support of our democratic ideals."

The alarm expressed by the Southern leaders of the integration movement quickly proved justified. The hearing of the House Committee began, July 29, with a speech by segregationist Governor Griffin of Georgia, after a laudatory introduction by Committee Chairman Frances E. Walter (D-Pa.), 15 SUBPOENAED

Fifteen white proponents of integration were subpoenaed and questioned about their "Americanism." Among them was Perry Cartwright, Business Manager of the Southern Newsletter (P.O. Box 1307, Louis-

ville 1, Ky.). He told the Committee that there were many young white Southerners "who don't go along with Mr. Walter's friend, Gov. Griffin, on this business of racism." Cartwright charged that "The Committee knows perfectly well that I am a Socialist. . . . He refused to give names of Southern Newsletter subscribers to the Committee 'because Mr. Walter's friend Gov. Griffin might get them and turn them over to the White Councils of the Klan.'"

Under this barrage of jibes about his friendship with segregationist Gov. Griffin, Committee Chairman Walter said, "He's no friend of mine."

Another witness was Mrs. Mitchell Saba of Roanoke, Va. She testified that she had lost her job because of her pro-integration stand. Committee member, Rep. Tuck (D-Va.) demanded to know, "How do you know so much about the United States Constitution? You must have gone to school somewhere beside Virginia."

Frank Wilkinson, head of a national campaign to abolish the House Un-American Activ-

ities Committee, went to Atlanta to observe the hearing. Even before he had unpacked his bags at the hotel, Wilkinson was served with a subpoena.

## ANTI-SEMITISM

Eugene Feldman, editor of the Southern Newsletter invoked the freedom of religion clause of the U.S. Constitution. The Ku Klux Klan has recently accelerated its anti-Semitic campaign. A cooperative witness earlier testified that Feldman had taught at a Winston-Salem, North Carolina synagogue.

Carl and Anne Braden, sub-

poenaed while on vacation in Rhode Island, told the Committee in a prepared statement that "These hearings are apparently designed to harass white people working to bring about peaceful integration in the Southern states."

The Bradens were persecuted for many years for helping a young Negro family in Louisville to purchase a home despite illegal attempts to maintain segregated housing.

Don West, Georgia farmer and poet, forced to leave the hospital bedside of his wife, recently injured in an accident, told the Committee, "I don't

know anything about any members of the Communist party. I am just trying to make a decent, honest living on my farm. I certainly don't advocate any violence and believe only in the brotherhood of man."

Mr. West sarcastically added, "I certainly haven't bombed any colored homes or dynamited any Jewish synagogues."

So far as could be learned the Walter Committee has not subpoenaed any members of the White Citizens Councils or the Ku Klux Klan. It has made no attempt to discover or expose any of those who might be connected with incidents of racist terror in the South.

The Georgia hearing, it is quite clear, is meant to serve as a warning to those who favor integration that their views make them suspect politically. Those who are hauled before the House Committee probers stand exposed to the revenge of Southern racists. But in using its investigatory power to intimidate opponents of segregation, the House Committee also exposes its own reactionary purposes.

## So. Africa Mass Trial Begins

The mass trial of 91 South Africans accused of "high treason" opened in Pretoria, South Africa, Aug. 1. The real "crime" of the accused, Negroes, whites, Indians and persons of mixed race, is that they fought against the Malan government's racist policies. Originally 156 were arrested in lightning raids last year, but charges against 65 were dropped. At the start of the trial Defense Attorney I. A. Maisel forced the withdrawal of a presiding judge who had acted for the police in a previous "treason" case. The case has aroused world-wide indignation. Committees in the United States and Great Britain are raising defense funds for the accused.



## How Socialism Will Come to U.S.

(Excerpts from a radio interview with Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. "Q." indicates questions asked by one of panel members. "A." indicates answers given by Mrs. Weiss. —Ed.)

Q. Mrs. Weiss, how could a socialist government actually come into existence in the United States? How do you, as a member of the Socialist Workers Party, see the possibility of socialism evolving here in the United States?

A. I don't think it possible on a scientific basis to predict the form in which such a change will come about. But one can see the general trend and anticipate some of the possible forms or variants. For example: I think that in the very near future, we are going to see the formation of an independent labor party, which will bring onto the American political scene the power of organized labor that we saw on the economic scene. This will give the working class a chance to bring its political point of view into the making of U.S. policy. That's one possibility.

Q. What I would like to ask at this time is, do you not feel, or do you feel, that labor in its present situation has lost its tie with the socialist philosophy—has become more... bourgeois or capitalistic (in its ideology)?

A. That is absolutely true. The labor movement has developed a bureaucratic caste which is more concerned about aping the capitalists and the way they live, than in fighting for the workers and what they need. I think, however, as this bureaucracy was overcome in the thirties, and a new section of the labor movement was born—the industrial union, the CIO—in this period we are going to see the bureaucracy again lose out and a new leadership will be thrown up from the ranks of the working class to advance the cause of the working people in politics.

Q. May I ask you what are your answers to formulating this leadership within labor? Do you have any suggestions that your party would make as to bring about more radically (oriented) leadership?

A. Yes, first of all, the most important thing is the fight for democracy in the union movement. And by democracy I mean the right of everybody to participate. No one should be silenced. No one should be expelled for any view—political, religious or whatever. Full democracy, this was always true of the labor movement in the good old days, and its going to be fought for and won back if the workers are to find a solution to the problems of this nation and the world. So I would say that the first thing to do is to fight for democracy. Let every point of view be expressed. And let everyone judge through the democratic process what point of view is right and what point of view is wrong. I think that, however, it's not going to be easy to fight for democracy. The bureaucrats are used to running the unions with an iron hand just like the capitalist politicians are used to running the government with an iron hand, and a corrupt hand. So it's going to take a fight, and I think that this means the building of a left-wing in the American labor movement.

Q. Excuse me, if I may ask this question. Would you please elucidate your position upon what precisely would be the position of labor unions, assuming that a so-called workers' revolution occurred? Would this type of revolution remove the necessity for labor unions?

A. No, I don't think so. Certainly, not in the transition period. I think that the workers' organizations will be strengthened a thousand times and democratized in the course of such a transition.

Q. In a socialist economy you equate production with consumption to meet everyone's needs and the workers have the power. Precisely what would be the function of the labor union?

A. Well, to make sure that nobody takes it away from them.

Q. I was going to ask that question. What were you going

### Radio Interview With Myra Weiss

This is the second part of an interview with Myra Tanner Weiss. It was a University Press Conference program broadcast last May over WBUR-FM, Boston University's radio station. In the first part, printed in last week's Militant, Mrs. Weiss discussed Socialism and the struggle for world peace. The interview was conducted by a panel consisting of a Boston U. faculty representative and two students. Before the Press Conference interview, Mrs. Weiss addressed a meeting of students at Boston U. This was part of a speaking tour she conducted last spring of several Boston-area colleges. She also spoke at Wellesley and at Brandeis University.

to provide... to prevent a bureaucracy from arising again—which to me is as inevitable as yesterday. It's happened in the Soviet Union, in our unions and just about in any form of government that man has as yet built.

A. Yes it has. I think that the protection against bureaucratic deformation is going to be found in the advanced technique that America has. America is a country with a great democratic tradition, point one. Point two, the American working class is the most literate working class in the world. And point three, American productive capacity is greater than in any nation of the world. Which means that we will have the opportunity to very quickly reduce the working day to as much as six and five hours a day, or four days a week and continually raise the living standard. This will enable the working class to advance in education, to participate fully in the political life of the nation and the world. And it will enable everybody to understand their political role as a citizen far better than they do now. A lot of workers, you know, can't participate in politics today because they are too darn tired after a day's work on the job.

Q. Mrs. Weiss, I think one situation that has caused great concern here in this country, certainly during the past year is in the general area of civil liberties and civil rights, and would you care to comment on the position of your party and of yourself personally in this area?

A. I believe that the Socialist Workers Party has played a very active and leading role in the struggle for civil liberties in America. We don't exclude anyone from that category. Although we are opponents of the Communist Party... we have fought for (the CP's) rights to its mistakes and its point of view just as the capitalists are entitled to their mistakes and their point of view. We believe in defending the Smith Act victims. We were the first Smith Act victims, I might say, during the second world war, and 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were imprisoned for opposition to that war. I believe that Morton Sobell—I personally am very active in the campaign to free Morton Sobell from prison—was a victim of frame-up... I am sorry that it's only the radicals who seem to be fighting for civil liberties.

Q. Do you feel, bringing it down to a situation in this country, do you feel that President Eisenhower acted correctly in his handling of the Little Rock situation?

A. Well, I believe that it was necessary to defend the rights of Negroes with troops, but I think it wasn't enough. I think that one should have a civil rights act, a law that would have teeth in it, which would be enforceable. I think that above all the labor movement ought to go into the South and carry out its long-promised organizing drive. This would bring the Negro and white workers together and would overcome in the course of the struggle a great deal of the "prejudices." I don't think that the troops, in other words, have solved the problem. But that it saved life, I don't doubt that.

#### URGE TEST BAN

A petition to Eisenhower demanding the immediate cessation of U.S.-thermo-nuclear tests was signed by 265 teachers in eight California colleges. The petition stated that the government should "elicit like action from all other atomic powers."

# Can UN Bring About World Peace?

By George Lavan  
Apparently at the behest of the Chinese leaders, Soviet Premier Khrushchev on Aug. 5 flatly rejected a "summit" conference on the conditions the U.S. had laid down—that it be held within the Security Council of the United Nations subject to all procedural rules and regulations decided by that body.

In his letter to President Eisenhower announcing this rejection, Khrushchev denounced the UN Security Council as a tool of the U.S. State Department rather than an instrument for peace.

#### RIGGED COMMITTEE

The Soviet Premier said: "... under United States pressure this organ [Security Council] has virtually become a kind of committee composed in the main of countries included in NATO, the Baghdad Pact, and SEATO and in which the place of the lawful representative of the great Chinese People's Republic is occupied by representatives of a political corpse, Chiang Kai-shek. ... Thus a situation has arisen where the Security Council is virtually paralyzed and not in a state to adopt any decision independently of the United States that could effectively assist in insuring universal peace."

You are of the opinion that the examination of this question should be entrusted to the United Nations Security Council. Unfortunately, as already noted earlier, the position into which the Security Council has at present been placed, when it is practically subordinated to United States foreign policy while the majority of representatives of various countries on it are not free to undertake anything that is contrary to the position of the United States, does not allow us to recognize your proposal as correct. ... The United States government uses the Security Council for its own mercenary interests through representatives of countries that are members of military blocs where the U.S. occupies a dominant position.

"The United States is in effect trying to reduce the Security Council to the position of an auxiliary organ of the State Department."

#### FOLLOW U.S. DICTATES

Khrushchev's charge that the UN Security Council is U.S. dominated is beyond dispute. The Security Council has 11 members—five permanent and

### On Eve of Mideast Crisis



President Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, left, bids farewell to Marshal Tito at Brioni, Yugoslavia, after a visit of several days. The conference of the two leaders took place just before the Iraq revolution broke out.

six temporary. The five permanent members are the U.S., Great Britain, France, Formosa and the USSR; the six temporary members are at present Canada, Columbia, Panama, Sweden, Japan and Iraq. Thus except for the USSR all of the members are capitalist nations and all of them (before the nationalist revolution in Iraq) with greater or lesser degrees of docility followed the diplomatic and military strategy laid down for the capitalist world by U.S. imperialism.

To think that the United Nations was or could be anything other than an instrument of the imperialist powers is an illusion—an illusion which the Kremlin leaders themselves had no small part in sowing in the minds of the world's masses and which they continue to nourish by expressing hope for its "reform."

Like its predecessor, the League of Nations, the United Nations, despite all wishful thinking and ballyhoo, could not possibly be any more than the sum of its constituent parts. These are primarily the capitalist governments of the world, with the imperialist nations in the dominant position, not only through the UN's built-in organizational provisions but by their control of the votes of the politically independent, but economically dependent, semi-colonial nations.

Instead of "protecting peace"

the League of Nations was the arena for diplomatic deals and military alliances, whitewashing of colonial rule and the final maneuvering for World War II. The Soviet Union did not play as much of a role in the League of Nations as in the UN for the simple reason that the Bolshevik leaders had denounced it from its inception as a fraud and a racket, a den of thieves, an instrument not for peace but for perpetuation of imperialism's world rule. It was not until five years before the outbreak of World War II that Soviet foreign policy had been drained of its earlier revolutionary content to the point where the USSR joined the League of Nations.

#### KOREA

With the United Nations it was different. Stalin collaborated actively with the victorious imperialist powers in setting it up and in selling it to world opinion as an impartial and effective instrument for the prevention of future wars. But the UN has proven to be even more reactionary than the League. The League had merely presided impotently over such crimes as wars of colonial repression, the conquest of Ethiopia, and the butchery of the Spanish people. The UN, however, gave its official sanction to the bloody intervention in the Korean civil war.

The UN might be compared

to an employers' organization such as the Chamber of Commerce, which has accepted as members a few representatives of trade unions. After a brief honeymoon period their opposing class interests come into conflict. Since the employers have the majority, there is no question of impartiality—except in propaganda statements. The most that the union leaders can do is complain and object and make temporary alliances with some of the small businessmen members who at the moment may have grievances against the monopolists in control of the organization.

Attempts to stave off a union-busting campaign by appealing to the good will of the organization or to its declaration of peaceful and moral labor relations count for little. When and if the employers launch a union-busting campaign depends on the actual relationship of forces, on the strength of the working class and its organizations.

Thus with the UN. It is a truism that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. The capitalist governments are not transformed or lifted onto a higher moral plane when they take their seats in the UN Council or Assembly. They pursue their interests just as selfishly as they do in domestic politics but also just as carefully. If they believe their interests are best served or preserved by a cold war, or even by a hot war, they will embark upon such a course. There is but one big counter-consideration with them—the power and attitude of the workers. To the extent that their own working class is militant, organized, too conscious to accept a cold or hot war even though it is in a UN wrapper marked 100% peace-loving and pure, to that extent is the working class a danger to capitalist rule and capitalist military adventures.

To the extent that the workers wage the class struggle militantly and with socialist objectives will the war danger be abated. And to the extent that this struggle mounts will it be reflected in an increased caution by the imperialist governments in their diplomatic and military policies.

In rejecting a summit meeting within the U.S.-dominated Security Council, Khrushchev called for a special meeting of the UN Assembly on the Mideast crisis. With a sigh of re-

lief, the State Department accepted with alacrity this lesser evil.

#### FORUM

It is beyond the realm of probability that the General Assembly, which has only power of recommendation and that requiring a two-thirds vote, will pass a resolution condemning the U.S.-British military intervention in Lebanon and Jordan. Nonetheless the General Assembly has one merit. It is a public forum. The spokesmen of the Soviet-bloc, of the Arab nationalist states, and their supporters among the newly-independent nations of Asia will be able to expose and denounce the Anglo-U.S. attempt to run the Middle East and bring the world to the brink of war by the exercise of naked military force. This will not only have a great educational effect upon the world's masses but might even dent the Big Business-press propaganda curtain which covers the Ameri-

can people with unanimous assurances that U.S. foreign policy is irreproachably noble and unselfish.

Despite the advantage to be derived from such a public debate, the true character of the UN should not be forgotten. Devised as an instrument of imperialist powers it is used as such. When the Soviet veto or internal opposition make it in the least unresponsive to imperialist demands, U.S. imperialism simply acts without it. Indeed, should it ever cease to be a useful tool, the State Department would not hesitate to junk it completely as Ambassador Lodge has already hinted. Rather than putting hopes in it, or even in a summit conference, as the magic panacea for securing and maintaining peace, workers must come to realize that in their own struggle against capitalism and in the colonial freedom struggle lie the basic, effective deterrents to World War III.

## Why Dulles Keeps Traveling

By Herman Chauka

Adolph Hitler once dreamed of ruling the world and set out to build a military force capable of realizing that mad dream. But neither fascist Germany, nor any other imperialist power, ever achieved such an incredible global military buildup and welter of warlike treaties as the U.S. big-business-dominated government has put together.

The U.S. government now has military treaties with 44 countries on all five continents. According to these pacts, American troops are committed to "defend" territories that cover 17 million square miles and include populations totaling 630 million people. (This doesn't mean that all 630 million—or even a majority of them—favor the treaties. Indeed, one of the reasons for the pacts is to "defend" the countries from takeover by the people themselves.)

### 635,000 Troops Abroad

U.S. commitments are no mere scraps of paper. At least 24 U.S. military bases abroad and more than 635,000 troops garrisoned across the globe give substance to the treaties. According to Hanson Baldwin, military affairs specialist of the New York Times, present military commitments "transcend any prior known experience in history." (Aug. 3, N.Y. Times.)

The U.S. began the organization of the "mutual defense" pacts at the same time that it launched the cold war against the Soviet Union shortly after the close of the second world war. Today, military borders of the U.S. have been pushed clear across the globe so as to completely encircle East Europe, the Soviet Union and China. On its side of the borders, the U.S. government prepares incessantly for war against the Soviet orbit.

In addition, each of the military agreements is designed to further U.S. Big Business' imperialist aims in a particular sector of the world. To secure Wall Street's continued exploitation of Central and South America, the U.S. has a pact with 21 Latin American countries that permits it to send troops to any of them "on request" in the event of "attack."

Among the countries that may "request" such aid are Guatemala, whose current government was forcibly installed by the United Fruit Company and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency after overthrow of a democratically-elected regime, and Cuba, where dictator Batista is trying to stamp out the "indirect aggression" of the Cuban people against his brutal rule.

### Treaties with Dictators

To flank the Soviet Union on the west, and to guard against working class revolution in Europe, the United States set up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Member nations include Great Britain, Canada and Iceland and ten countries of Continental Europe. Among the card-carriers are such bulwarks of freedom as Portugal under the tyrant, Salazar, and France under the Bonapartist dictator, De Gaulle.

The so-called Southeast Asia treaty is a bit shy of Southeast Asian members, with India, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia refusing to participate. Of the eight member nations only three can be regarded as located in the area. These are Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. Besides the U.S., the other treaty members are Britain, France, New Zealand and Australia.

Pakistan turns up again in the Middle East Baghdad Pact—soon to be without Baghdad, Iraq's capital city. To make up for the expected loss, the U.S., which originally inspired the pact although it did not join it, has become a full member. Dulles committed the American government without bothering about the Constitutional requirement of a Senate authorization. The other members of the Baghdad Pact are Britain, Turkey and Iran. The latter two are police states.

In addition, the U.S. maintains bilateral treaties with the Philippines, Japan, South Korea and the fake "Chinese government" of dictator Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan.

To round out the bristling "free-world" alliance, the U.S. has agreements involving the maintenance of bases and the flow of arms and dollars to Franco's Spain, Emperor Haile Selassie's Ethiopia and King Saud's Saudi Arabia.

Is it any wonder that an American Secretary of State, parolling these far-flung military alliances, should resemble something less than the emissary of the prince of peace?

## "The Road to Peace"

How many people in the world want peace? The answer is about 2,500,000,000. With that many people wanting peace why is it so hard to get? Because there are many roads marked "peace" that lead nowhere or, still worse, take you on the road to war.

James P. Cannon considers two roads—one recommended by Stalin, the other by Lenin. In an easy-to-read series of articles, brought together in a 48-page pamphlet, he deals with such topics as "The Results of the Teheran-Yalta Agreement," "What Washington Wants," and "The Theory of 'Peaceful Coexistence.'" Written in 1951, this pamphlet provides the essential background for a better understanding of why Eisenhower landed Marines in Lebanon, what the Soviet government actually wants at a "summit conference," and what the realistic way is to win the struggle for peace.

For a copy of this thought-provoking pamphlet by one of the leaders of the early American Communist movement and the founder of the Socialist Workers Party, send 25 cents.

### Pioneer Publishers

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## ... U.S. Gov't Threatens War

(Continued from Page 1)

Iraq. "But there was a popular upheaval in Iraq against a police regime hated by virtually everybody in the country. 'Indirect aggression' is thus but another name for popular revolution.

Until now, the U.S. Big Business government has held that its huge military machine was necessitated by the alleged danger of Soviet aggression. On this basis the U.S. has prepared the whole world for war. Dulles now sings a different tune. At a press conference in Brazil, on Aug. 5, he told reporters, "We do not in fact believe that they [the Russians] want war or would invoke war."

#### UPHOLD STATUS QUO

With the pretext of Soviet "military aggression" discarded, the new U.S. policy openly pledges this country to war against revolution. The State Department is openly committing the military might of the United States and the lives of the American people to maintain the status quo of colonialism, feudalism and capitalist exploitation, no matter how repugnant that might be to oppressed people everywhere. And in view of the instability of oppressive regimes and their susceptibility to revolutions, the pledge to resist "indirect aggression" is an absolute guarantee of war—at least as far as Dulles can deliver on it.

William Stringer, chief Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 5, expressed his dismay at the prospect of debating this policy on "indirect aggression." He pointed out, "Some of Moscow's sinuous aggressing, however, is desperately difficult to pin down, to isolate. The USSR, for instance, wins friends by loans, trade treaties, scholarships. These cannot be outlawed."

"And when the delegates get right down to cases," Stringer continued, "although Egyptian-Syrian arms may have played a small role in Lebanon, and Egypt's example spurred the Iraqi revolution, still the hand of Moscow was very indistinct and distant. In fact, the street mobs [the workers] and many intellectuals of the Middle East regard the Soviet Union as

friend and champion. Charges of 'indirect aggression' will not be very persuasive in that simmering area."

Stringer calls it "surpassing strange" that Dulles hasn't unveiled a constructive program for the Mideast. And certainly it must be strange to those who, like Stringer, believe in U.S. State Department propaganda about peace, freedom and progress. Big Business isn't engaged in a world power struggle for the welfare of humanity. The capitalists operate internationally as they operate at home—strictly for profits.

#### IMPERIALISM

Many of the U.S. government's defenders undoubtedly feel that Washington has made a series of the most stupid blunders conceivable, all leading to the present untenable position of the United States. But, if blunders they be, they were inevitable. Imperialism is organic to American capitalism, and sooner or later big business' drive for world domination had to show through the propaganda lies.

Revolution: the struggle of people everywhere against poverty, backwardness, exploitation and tyranny—this has always been the enemy of U.S. imperialism. Now the Big Business government in Washington has said so openly. It has declared itself and shown itself ready to go to war to insure its profitable domination of other lands.

The real aims of U.S. imperialism stand exposed for all the world to see. But also visible is the deteriorating position of the imperialist powers, their inevitable, approaching defeat. The very first use of U.S. armed might against "indirect aggression" has availed the imperialist powers nothing. The United States has been compelled to recognize the new regime in Iraq. It is already being asked to leave Lebanon by president-elect Chehab. And the status quo in Jordan can last only until British troops are forced to leave.

#### FINISHED POLITICALLY

An Aug. 4 Scripps-Howard dispatch from Amman bluntly said, "King Hussein here in Jordan and President Camille Chamoun in Lebanon are finished politically, veteran Middle East diplomats agree. The question now is how to keep them alive." Chamoun hasn't been out of his palace for 87 days. And King Hussein "would be a dead man if British troops were to leave Jordan."

The United States and Britain have unquestioned military might in Lebanon and Jordan. Yet they find themselves in hostile lands. In the imperialist camp, in nearly complete isolation, are luxury-loving rulers, former puppets of the West, who cannot live among their own people in safety.

The U.S. is confronted with the choice of using its military might to slaughter the Arab masses or find a compromise with nationalist leaders who, only yesterday, were treated with contempt.

But even a temporary compromise will not hold back the growing tide of revolution. The State Department knows this. This is the imperialist dilemma. As was the case in China, the revolution is too popular to be crushed without an inconceivably bloody war. Yet compromise with the nationalist leaders of the Arab masses is steadily weakening the imperialist hold on the Mideast.

Nationalist leaders like Nasser of Egypt are pro-capitalist. They aim at certain reforms within the imperialist structure and are ready for accommodation with the imperialist powers. But the Arab masses have different objectives. They justifiably blame their poverty and misery on the imperialist nations that ruled them for centuries, either directly or through tyrannical feudal lords. Liberation from foreign domination, they know, will stop the flow of profits out of the Arab countries into the pockets of the imperialists. And that will be the beginning of their emancipation.

#### MASSSES COME TO SEE

A July 23 N. Y. Times dispatch from Baghdad, revealed how deep-going the revolution in Iraq is: "They came by the hundreds today, the humble, the curious and the vengeful, to see the despoiled house of a fallen Premier. They came to satisfy themselves that Nuri as-Said, the Premier, . . . was

really dead. They came from villages and suburbs, in black Arab robes and flowered frocks, in baggy pants and crisply pressed suits.

"Some asked how many of them could live in this yellow brick mansion beside the Tigris. They were convinced that they had paid for what Nuri as-Said had enjoyed."

"Son of the dog," a village woman cried as she stood in the large central hall.

"All this came from the blood of the people," said a serious young student."

The downtrodden have risen. It is they whom the imperialists fear and hate. One of the first promises that the new regime in Iraq gave to Western diplomats when it came into being was that arms would not be distributed to the people. But revolutionary pressure from below was too great. This promise was one of the first to be broken.

On Aug. 2, the day that the U.S. granted recognition to the new regime, the Iraqi Council of State announced a new decree for the formation of "popular resistance forces" to be attached to the Defense Ministry. Volunteers, both men and women, will be trained and armed as an auxiliary force to the army. In this way the people will acquire the means to defend their interests and deepen the revolution.

Alarmed Washington officials, according to E. W. Kenworthy, N. Y. Times, Aug. 6, "believed that the Iraqi revolution may not yet be concluded and that a fight for power may be in the making between 'moderate nationalists' and 'Pan-Arabic Nasser nationalists.'"

If the right-wing leaders stage a second coup to prevent arming of the people, would Dulles call it an "indirect aggression"?

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## THE MILITANT

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## Oil Imperialism

Two years ago Secretary of State Dulles held a secret meeting with the representatives of major U.S. oil companies with foreign holdings. The press was not informed and no records were supposed to be kept. But one eager beaver from Socony-Vacuum took notes, which he should have burnt in all good sense but instead put into his company's files as a memorandum. When the Senate Anti-Trust Subcommittee later happened to subpoena the company's files, the memorandum came to light. According to it, Dulles told the oil companies that nationalization of oil properties abroad (even with compensation) would call for military intervention. The accuracy of a recent N.Y. Times headline (July 18) may thus be appreciated. It was: "WEST TO KEEP OUT OF IRAQ UNLESS OIL IS THREATENED."

The State Department stands ready to defend the profits of the oil cartel with the blood of American soldiers. What are these profits? In an anti-trust suit initiated in 1952 and still pending in the courts, it was estimated that it costs 20 to 30 cents to produce a barrel of oil in the Mideast. The oil cartel charges the consumer anywhere from \$1.75 to \$2.16, reaping up to 700% profit. On these super profits the American oil companies pay almost no U.S. taxes, for a 27% depletion allowance reduces the oil companies' taxes to a tiny percentage of normal rates.

Thus the oil companies load on the backs of the taxpayers the expense of guarding and extending their private properties abroad. They extort from oil

consumers all over the world unconscionable profits through monopoly control. Sen. Hennings of Missouri estimates these profits at \$3 billion a year. A good part of these super-profits are underwritten by the American taxpayers for millions of Point Four and other foreign aid funds are used to buy oil.

So long as a group of seven British and American oil companies own and control over 90% of the world's oil, the industries of the world will be held up to ransom; the U.S. taxpayer will be subsidizing the cartel, and all civilization will be imperiled by the threat of war.

Nationalization of the Mideast oil fields would give the Arab peoples control of their own resources. It would break the price monopoly and benefit all consumers. It would remove the chief cause of conflict in the Middle East; and greatly reduce the threat of World War III.

Nationalization of the oil companies in the United States would free the American consumer from the exactions of the oil trust and bring the cost of gasoline, natural gas and other petroleum products down near the cost of production.

Furthermore, nationalization of the American oil industry would break the enormously powerful influence of the oil companies over the State Department. No longer would "gun-boat diplomacy" with jet bombers and atomic arms be practiced by Washington for the benefit of oil millionaires to the peril of mankind.

## Democrats Thought of It First

The Republican Party was swept into power in 1952 because many Americans blamed the Democrats for Truman's reactionary "police action" in Korea. Now the Democrats can be expected to utilize Eisenhower's invasion of Lebanon for some hot campaigning in the coming months.

Capitalist politics are so divorced from the real world that the debate will go on in all seriousness despite the fact that foreign policy has been bi-partisan all along. Republicans supported Truman in Korea. And the Democrats have gone along with Eisenhower in Lebanon.

Even Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, in advancing a new cause for war, "indirect aggression," didn't have to invent any new terms. In March of 1950, Dulles' Democratic predecessor, Dean Acheson, demanded that the Soviet Union "cooperate in efforts to prevent indirect aggression across national frontiers."

"Indirect aggression" of course is revolution. And the two capitalist parties are equally anxious to keep revolutions from starting and to crush them when they begin.

When U.S. troops were landed in Lebanon, Truman declared his full support of this military move of the Eisenhower administration. After all, Truman never hesitated on the brink. He dropped

the atom bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima—after Japan had sued for peace. He rushed troops into Korea to prevent Koreans from ousting U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee and unifying their country.

When the Democrats disagree with the Republicans on foreign policy, aside from political expediency, it is usually on the grounds that the Republicans are not strong enough in their anti-Sovietism.

Last December, after the Soviet Sputnik flew into space, Eisenhower shrugged off a Soviet offer of peace negotiations. Senator Mansfield (D-Mont.) criticized the administration because it failed to spell out "the sacrifices the people will be required to make in the years ahead." Senator Sparkman (D-Ala.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, complained that "the President and Secretary of State do not paint a picture of great urgency."

Last year Adlai Stevenson thought Eisenhower should have accepted a peace negotiation with the Soviet Union. Not because Stevenson wanted genuine negotiations to liquidate the cold war. He was alarmed that the Soviet Union was winning the propaganda war for peace and wanted to counter the trend with a show of peace talks. He said, "Russia stands today in the eyes of the majority of the members of the world's population as . . . more peaceful than we are."

# Hugh N. Mulzac — Fighter for Human Rights

By Harry Ring

Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller on the New York Independent-Socialist ticket, lives in the second-floor apartment of a small two-family house on a quiet street in Queens. For the last ten years his hobby has been painting and the walls of his apartment are lined with his work. To this unprofessional critic they indicated genuine talent. The largest and most striking of his oils is a scene at sea with two ships—an old-time sailing bark and a World War II liberty ship.

The bark, he explained, was a Norwegian ship, the "Aeolus." It was the first ship he sailed on. That was in 1906, when he was twenty and had just left his native British West Indies. The liberty ship is the Booker T. Washington, the last vessel he sailed.

Captain Mulzac was skipper of the Booker T. Washington. He was the first colored man to sail an American merchant marine vessel as captain. His history-making commission was won Oct. 27, 1942, after decades of fighting to sail with the master's license he held since 1920. He commanded that ship until 1947 when he had to undergo an operation. Before he got back, Captain Mulzac was screened out of the merchant marine by the Coast Guard as a "security risk" and hasn't sailed since.

"It's been in these last ten years since I got screened that I took up painting," the 72-year-old seaman explains. "It was the first I ever had time for a hobby." Captain Mulzac's hobby reveals a good deal about the man. On one wall is a stark painting of men at their back-breaking labor in a mahogany lumber camp. But over his desk is a lovely gaily colored Trinidad street scene. "That's Frederick Street in Port of Spain," he said. "I haven't seen it since I left home and I painted it from memory. People who have been there recently told me it really looks like Frederick Street except there aren't any more donkey carts. So I took out

## They Sailed in Complete Harmony



Captain Hugh N. Mulzac is shown with part of the integrated crew of the Booker T. Washington, the war time liberty ship that he commanded for five years. His commission was a historic breach in the merchant marine's policy of "white captains only."

some donkey carts and put in some cars."

### ALP CANDIDATE

Captain Mulzac hasn't conceived the last ten years just to painting. During that time he ran for the New York City Council from Queens on the American Labor Party ticket and in 1953 for Borough President, polling 15,000, the highest vote won by the ALP in Queens. For the past several years he's been in the forefront of the fight against maritime screening as chairman of the Seamen's Defense Committee.

That fight is still going on, he said, even though the courts ruled that the Coast Guard must return the seamen's papers they illegally lifted. "We're not only fighting the Coast Guard, but some of the union leaders," he explains. "Some of these union leaders are trying to do what the courts said the Coast Guard can't do. In the National Maritime Union, men who have gotten their papers back still aren't permitted to register at the union hall. That's

the kind of union leaders we've got."

What made him decide to accept the independent-socialist nomination?

"You've got to stand up against these people," Captain Mulzac replied. "They say we have two parties to choose from, but it's really one party with two names. We have nothing. Why shouldn't we be able to stand up against them?"

"Dulles is the real ruler of this country and he's selling it down the river. The United States never had so many enemies in its history as today. In South America, they spit in the face of the Vice President. These people don't like the policies this country is trying to fasten around their neck like a yoke. They're just not going to stand for it."

"And things are just as bad here. We have a depression and yet we refuse to trade with the Soviet Union or even to recognize China. We have assembly lines that turn out cars bumper to bumper. Thousands of them are standing in Detroit

while other countries want and need them. Our merchant fleet—the biggest in the world—is standing, idle with nothing to carry."

"And when I see the treatment of the colored people, it's heart-rending. I fought all my life in this country against it. I helped open up the merchant marine when I sailed the first integrated ship. We had 18 nationalities on the Booker T. and we showed the world that white and colored can work and live together."

"Now you've got the atom bomb. I feel very badly—I didn't do it myself—but I feel badly because my country was the first to use it on human beings. I know the whole world is watching us. They feel if we used it once we'll use it again. But the world will never survive if they start it again."

"How do I feel about running on a socialist platform? I've always had a socialist point of view. That's one reason they called me a 'security risk.' The whole world must have a socialist form of gov-

ernment. All these years we've lived under the capitalist system and all it has brought is war and destruction. If we don't have a war we have a depression. We have these capitalist overlords who control the government. They support kings and dictators against the people in other countries to keep the people from a life of goodness."

"I think the colored people of the world are going toward socialism. They see there must be a change. Socialism is sweeping the entire world. Nothing can stop it."

### HOPES FOR UNION BACKING

Discussing the situation in the unions here, Captain Mulzac said, "I hope we get a response from the union members because of the way the government is playing up the racketeering issue for anti-union purposes and Knowland is pushing the 'right to work.' And then you have these labor leaders yielding to these people. I don't believe we should have racketeering in the unions. But these Senators aren't interested in racketeering. They want to get government control of the unions."

"I know most of the union leaders will probably support the Democrats. But that's got nothing to do with us. We have some of the worst union leaders. They're like what the colored people call 'Uncle Toms.' They're not leaders—they're betrayers and we shouldn't pay any mind to them."

As we wound up the interview, and I was putting my notebook away, Captain Mulzac said: "There's one more thing that's very important. We have got to educate the people about this 'lesser-of-two-evils' business. That's one of the things that helped lick the ALP. People come to me and say 'We can't vote for a socialist party because it will help put the Republicans in.' Others say it will help put the Democrats in. The people have got to be educated on this. They have to support the party they believe in—the party that fights for them."

# ...New York Ind.-Socialist Petition Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

weekend encampment at Camp Wingdale-on-the-Lake, Aug. 15-17. In addition to speeches by John T. McManus and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, those attending will have the opportunity to hear Harold Davies, Labor Member of the British Parliament, who will speak on Sunday as the guest of the camp management.

### PROMINENT IN ANTI-BOMB CAMPAIGN

Davies is an executive member of the left-wing Victory for Socialism group in the British Labor Party. He was previously chairman for six years of its predecessor, the Keep Left group. He is of Welsh mining and farm stock, and has represented the Leak Division in Staffordshire since 1945. A prominent figure in the British peace and anti-bomb movement, he will speak at Wingdale on "Peace and the Middle East" and will give the background of the recent Labor Party vote against the Mideast intervention.

The camp management has announced that the special feature of its Saturday night floor show will be the guest appearance of the internationally famed dancer, Paul Draper. In addition to dancing, swimming and other sports, a further highlight of the weekend will be a Saturday midnight barbeque roast on the camp's beautiful new waterfront. Reservations for the weekend, including a \$5

deposit, should be made with the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y. (Phone GR 3-2141). The cost is \$20 for the entire weekend, including transportation from New York.

The weekend encampment will also hear the very latest reports of the upstate petition drive's progress, as well as the results of the first city-wide petition mobilization that will be held in New York, Wed., Aug. 13, from 5:30 p.m. on. (For dispatching centers, see advertisement on this page.)

As the campaign continues

to gain momentum, the committee's need for financial aid has grown apace. For example, it has been necessary to triple the office space at campaign headquarters. As one means of raising the necessary funds for the campaign, the committee has issued a national appeal for contributions from all those who recognize that the significance of the election fight in New York goes far beyond the state borders.

### L.A. MEETING

The first major out-of-state effort to aid the ticket has come from Los Angeles where the United Socialist Electoral

Forum Committee called a rally, Aug. 9, with proceeds to go to the New York campaign committee. Vincent Hallinan will be the principal speaker and Leo Gallagher, noted Los Angeles labor and civil liberties attorney, will chair.

John T. McManus and Henry Abrams, co-chairmen of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, today released the text of a wire being sent to the Los Angeles rally. It reads:

"Supporters of our ticket were inspired by the announcement of your meeting backing our effort to provide New York

voters with an independent-socialist alternative to the Republican and Democratic machines. We urgently need the financial aid you have so generously offered. But even more important—we see your rally not only as a splendid act of solidarity with us but as a foundation stone for similar efforts elsewhere in our country."

"Your campaign in behalf of Dr. Holland Roberts did much to spark the movement in New York. We pledge to wage a fighting campaign that will help unite independent-socialist forces both here and across the country."

### Detroit

Friday, Aug. 15, 8 P.M.  
"The FBI—Growth of a Police State" Speaker: Rita Shaw, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Attorney General, Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

### San Francisco

Hear two of the 15 authors of TOWARD A SOCIALIST AMERICA  
Hear: The Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, Minister, First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles and George Olshausen, J.D., San Francisco lawyer.  
Chairman: Dr. Holland Roberts, California educator, peace leader and recent candidate for California State Superintendent of Education.

Sunday, August 24, 8 P.M.

ILWU AUDITORIUM, 150 GOLDEN GATE AVENUE  
Admission 50 cents Better come early!  
(Copies of Toward a Socialist America available at meeting, \$1.50 at bookstores or order by mail from Peace Publications, P.O. Box 164, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N.Y.)

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## Big Los Angeles Meeting

HEAR TWO WORLD LEADERS OF THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

Noted British Labor Member of Parliament

### Harold Davies

Leader of the Victory for Socialism Group;  
Organizer of H-Bomb Protest March  
will speak on  
"Labor, Socialism and Peace"

Nobel Prize-Winner

### Dr. Linus Pauling

Leader of world-wide movement of scientists against H-bomb tests  
will speak on  
"The H-Bomb Menace"

Chairman: Vincent Hallinan

Embassy Auditorium — 9th and Grand Avenue

Friday, August 22 — 8 P.M.

Admission \$1

Auspices: Los Angeles Labor Forum

## McManus Cables Hiroshima Rally

(Following is the text of an Aug. 6 cablegram to the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Tokyo from John T. McManus, Independent-Socialist candidate for Governor of New York.)

On this 13th anniversary of date first atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima with such horrifying consequences to civilian population, we of the New York State Independent-Socialist ticket pledge our maximum effort to insure that our country may never again be branded guilty of such a terrible crime against humanity. We are working here for renunciation of nuclear weapons and dismantling stockpiles. We call for halting nuclear bomb tests which have already poisoned the atmosphere. Warmest greetings to innocent victims of Hiroshima."

## New Yorkers!

Help Put  
The Independent-Socialist Candidates  
On the Ballot  
For Peace — For Jobs

Participate in a MOBILIZATION in your own neighborhood.  
Be a Part of this historic movement.

GET YOUR PETITIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS

Wed., Aug. 13 from 5:30 P.M. on

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Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd. (at 163rd St.)

•  
QUEENS  
Paprin's, 80-21 Roosevelt Ave., Woodside (near Woodside Station, LIRR)

•  
BROOKLYN  
Hotel Bossert, 98 Montague St. (near Boro Hall)

•  
MANHATTAN UPTOWN  
Manhattan Towers Hotel, Broadway at 76th St.

•  
MANHATTAN DOWNTOWN  
United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee Office  
799 Broadway (at 11th Street), Second Floor

Petitions are also available now every day except Sunday at the campaign headquarters, 799 Broadway, from 10 A.M. to 9 P.M. Phone GRamercy 3-2141.

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For reservations, write to: United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y. or Call GR 3-2141.

## New York Reaches Out...

To Friends throughout the country

... TO HELP PUT PEACE ON THE BALLOT OF OUR STATE

Last June in New York City a United Independent-Socialist Electoral Conference brought together more than 500 New York progressives—independents and socialists of all persuasions.

The Conference voted to seek to place independent candidates in the field for U.S. Senator and the top state offices to speak and work for peace, jobs, civil rights and liberties and for the consideration of socialist alternatives for America's future.

Our candidate for Senator is Corliss Lamont, our state's leading advocate of peace, civil liberties and East-West understanding. Our state candidates are John T. McManus for governor; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein for lieutenant-governor; Scott K. Gray, Jr., for attorney-general; and Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac for comptroller.

We reach out now to friends throughout the country to help us put these candidates on the ballot. As this appeal is written, volunteer crews are traversing our state from New York City to the far reaches of the St. Lawrence River, on the Canadian border. They will go to the industrial cities and the lumber camps of our forested Adirondacks. They must collect a required 12,000 valid signatures—at least 50 in each of the state's 62 counties and the rest at large.

We appeal to you, to your friends and shopmates and all who share your views, to help us with this historic task.

Funds are urgently needed NOW, to keep our petition crews moving throughout the state. They must complete their task this month—in August. Petitions must be filed the first week in September. There is no time to lose. Please help us now, as quickly and generously as you can. Your help can assure that peace will be on the ballot in our state and nation this year.

To: United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee  
799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

I enclose \$..... to help put Peace on the Ballot in New York State.

Name .....

Address .....



# 'Captain from Koepenick'

By Trent Hutter

One day in 1906, an elderly German shoemaker, unable, much as he tried, to get work or a residence permit in any community because he had repeatedly been in prison for minor forgeries and similar transgressions, bought a second-hand captain's uniform, ordered a few soldiers he saw in the street to follow him and "arrested" the Mayor of Koepenick, a suburban town near Berlin, seizing the cash available at City Hall. Later he gave himself up and returned the money, of which he had spent only a few marks.

Naturally, this incident created a sensation. It was exploited politically by the Social-Democratic opposition and by numerous liberals. A man in an ill-fitting uniform, rather unmilitary-looking and with flat feet, too old to be a captain on active service under normal circumstances, the ex-convict Wilhelm Voigt, had succeeded in completely intimidating the top official of a town close to the capital. This official was himself a reserve officer and had a knowledge of the law that ought to have prevented him from believing he could be arrested by an officer without a warrant pretending to act under secret imperial orders!

Such was the prestige of the uniform in Prussia, that the sight of a "captain" and a handful of soldiers with fixed bayonets made a mayor forget the law and his rights! Voigt had often observed the adoration in which the Army was held, the sheep-like discipline of many Germans; and upon it he based his superb hoax. All Germany laughed. Emperor Wilhelm the Second, who did not lack a sense of humor, granted Voigt a pardon, and for his remaining years, the shoemaker lived quite comfortably, receiving gifts from various admirers.

Thirty years ago, Carl Zuckmayer, a distinguished German dramatist, wrote a hit play about this true story. Two movie versions were made before Hitler came

to power. Then Zuckmayer had to seek refuge abroad. Now the third film version—in excellent color this time—produced in Germany two or three years ago, is being shown in New York; and it is definitely worth seeing, one of the finest German post-war pictures, realistic, witty, faithfully reproducing even smallest details of life in pre-World War I Germany, with first-class actors in each part, above all Heinz Ruehmann, one of Germany's greatest actors, as the "captain." Helmut Kaetner, one of the best German directors, is to be congratulated on this masterpiece.

Great comedy generally is close to tragedy insofar as it is another way of dramatically showing man's errors and folly.

The figures of great comedy, too, either represent those errors, or they are victims of other people's errors, of the world's folly. Thus, Voigt, the man without a job, without a residence permit or passport, not allowed to stay anywhere nor to emigrate, the sin of his youth unforgiven by Society, his life hopelessly enclosed in a vicious circle, is actually a tragic figure. The very culminating point of his life, so extremely hilarious, provoking the laughter of 60 million Germans including the Emperor, also was the symptom of a tragic distortion of human values in the age of imperialism, of militarism and the absence of solid democratic traditions in the German bourgeoisie.

This is the way Zuckmayer saw his comedy. This is the way Kaetner has produced it. And this is the way Heinz Ruehmann plays the role of Voigt. The admirable actor fully understands and feels the ex-convict's tragic comedy; and so marvelous is his embodiment of the little shoemaker and false captain that we forget he is acting. No wonder he received Best Actor awards at the Berlin and San Francisco film festivals!

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## Socialist Candidates in Mich.



EVELYN SELL, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from Michigan. LARRY DOLINSKI, SWP candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Jointly with Frank Lovell, SWP candidate for Governor, they demanded the withdrawal of all U.S. troops abroad, and an end to brink-of-war policies.



In a widely-quoted interview Dolinsky proposed replacing U.S. troops abroad with Americans with tools and knowledge. "Nothing is ever taught with a gun," he said. Before UAW Local 600 unit meetings both Evelyn Sell and Frank Lovell called for an end to H-bomb tests and the withdrawal of U.S. soldiers from foreign countries. Quoting from a letter he sent to Eisenhower, Lovell said, "Only in this way can we win the friendship of peoples throughout the world even though we may lose the 'friendship' of feudal potentates, dictators and fascist-minded rulers."

# Seattle Socialists Discuss Electoral Policy

SEATTLE, Aug. 1 — An audience of approximately 100 Seattle socialists, independents and radicals of all views participated last night in a stimulating discussion of the question "Does Independent Political Action Demand a United Socialist Ticket?" The public meeting was the second sponsored by the Seattle Chapter of American Forum for Socialist Education.

The subject of discussion had more than academic interest to all participants as Dr. Jay W. Friedman, chairman, announced a call for a conference to put a United Socialist Ticket in the field in the Washington State for the fall elections.

The three scheduled speakers were Terry Pettus, Northwest editor of People's World; Paul Bowen, acquitted Smith Act defendant; and Clara Kaye, Seattle Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

All three speakers expressed their appreciation of the American Forum for bringing representatives of different currents of the radical movement together on the same platform. They all strongly stated their belief that such interchanges of opinion were necessary, healthy and conducive to greater mutual understanding.

## PETTUS HITS JULY 4 ASSAULT

This spirit of fraternal relations was highlighted by a statement by Terry Pettus denouncing the July 4 assault organized by several local Fosterite Communist Party leaders against Clara Kaye and two other Socialist Workers Party leaders. The assault took place at a People's World picnic.

Pettus referred to the book, *Toward a Socialist America*, a compilation of essays on Socialism and said: "These authors coexist peacefully here. . . I read this book from cover to cover and it didn't blow up. Why can't we emulate its authors and discuss our differences in a fraternal atmosphere of collaboration? And at this point I want to state my unqualified

# Group in Seattle Plans United Socialist Ticket

SEATTLE, Aug. 1—Drawing inspiration from the recent launching of the Independent-Socialist ticket in New York a representative group of Seattle radicals has combined to issue a Call for a Conference on Aug. 16 to formulate plans for putting an independent-socialist ticket before the voters of this state in the fall elections.

Washington election laws require that a new or minority party hold a convention of 100 voters on primary-election day in order to place candidates in the November election. The sponsors of the conference call, headed by Dr. Jay W. Friedman, chairman of the Seattle Branch of the American Forum for Socialist Education, are convinced that the holding of a nominating convention by a united group of socialists and independents is a realistic goal.

Other sponsors include R. D. Casey, Gretchen Davis, Ronald A. Murphy, Jack Wright, Vincent Davis, Clarence C. Cable, Andrew W. Lewis, and Jay G. Sykes.

## N. Y. CONFERENCE

In a letter mailed with the call, the sponsors refer to the June 13-15 United Independent-Socialist Electoral Conference in New York City which voted to place a slate in the New York elections and say, "We are convinced that a similar devel-

opment in the state of Washington is both possible and necessary. . . . It is proposed that a platform be built on the principle of minimum agreement among the various groups and tendencies participating in the conference and the candidates designated by such a conference would represent clearly the main independent-socialist currents in our state which are devoted to peace and the consideration of socialist solutions for the ills produced by our country's social and economic system."

The call issued by the conference sponsors, who have formed themselves into a Provisional Committee for a Washington Independent-Socialist Election Campaign, reads in part: "This committee is convinced that the political alternatives to the blind alley in which the two capitalist parties have put the American people, lie in the direction of a large united socialist movement and a labor party based upon the working people. We are convinced that continual support of either the Republican or Democratic Parties can only perpetuate the

system of greed, brutality and insanity. "We are further convinced that a political organization that calls for the full employment and security of a socialist economy as against the insecurity of depressions and inflation of capitalism; that fights unreservedly for full and unconditional equality for the Negro people; that demands production of homes, hospitals, schools, medical research, etc., instead of production of poisons and deadly missiles; that seeks international cooperation rather than international war; that fights for unions democratically controlled by their members rather than by anti-labor laws and restrictions—such an organization will win an effective response from the people of our state and throughout the nation. "We therefore call upon all militant unionists, socialists, independents, pacifists, cooperators and supporters of civil rights and civil liberties in our state to attend a Conference in Seattle on Saturday, August 16, from 1 P.M. to 6 P.M. at Washington Hall, 14th and Fir Street, for the purpose of adopting a platform and designating candidates for such offices in the 1958 elections as the conference shall set forth."

# ...Faubus Landslide Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

rights." Pepper further fulminated that the high court "in many areas affecting communism, labor and other subjects, has followed the current trend in Washington of trying to invade many areas where the states have the right to exercise their authority."

But the Faubus victory is portentous not only for the Southern wing of the Democratic Party but for that party nationally. "Can you imagine," wrote Roscoe Drummond syndicated Washington columnist on Aug. 3, "more than two or three Southern Democratic politicians, after noting how the Arkansas voters rewarded Mr. Faubus, supporting even as moderate a civil-rights plank as appeared in the 1956 platform . . . ?" But even that plank was so evasive that Negro and labor circles assailed it as a sell-out.

## SPLIT UNLIKELY

Some commentators are freely predicting a split in the Democratic Party in 1960 because the swing of the Southern wing to extreme racism will be too much for the Northern liberals to stomach. While this isn't excluded, it doesn't appear likely. A Southern Democratic switch to the Republican candidate is unlikely particularly if the candidate is Vice-President Nixon who has been making hypocritical but determined play for Negro support. Moreover the capacity of the Northern liberals to stomach racism should never be underestimated.

Before their Northern constituents they may make uncompromising speeches against jim crow and even along with Walter Reuther loudly proclaim, "You can't have Eastland and us too." But when the chips are down at a Presidential nominating convention or at the organization of Congress when the scent of office and patronage becomes real strong, then "party unity has to be preserved at all costs." It winds up with the Democratic Party having Northern liberals, Reuther, Eastland—and Faubus to boot.

As in the past, the political initiative rests not with the Northern liberals but with the Southern racists. It is they who will decide whether or not there will be a split in the Democratic Party, whether it will be a small split, and for how long. While Democratic Party discipline is invoked against Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, where temporary Dixiecrat defectors are involved, even Strom Thurmond, it is a different matter. Finally, the Southern Democrats are against any move that would diminish their control inside the Democratic Party for any length of time since the extremely powerful and politically profitable control of the Congressional committees depends on their Democratic seniority.

## Va. Integration Delayed 7 Yrs.

U.S. Federal Judge Sterling Hutcheson, ruling on the Prince Edward County school desegregation case, granted local authorities a seven-year delay in beginning any integration. This beats the delay granted by a federal judge in the Little Rock case by four and a half years. The Prince Edward County case is one of the five "won" in the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. Even then the case had been in the courts for a number of years. If the beginning of integration is put off till 1965, even the children of those children who "won" the suit will be going to Jim Crow schools. The NAACP is appealing Judge Hutcheson's decision.

Thus the prospects are for a further watering down of the legislative pretenses of the Northern Democrats on civil rights and even weaker 1960 campaign promises. This will be the Northern Democrats' "statesmanship" to preserve party unity.

## RACISTS PREPARE

In 1954 when the Supreme Court made its school desegregation decision there was a chance for a swift and relatively painless integration. The people of the South were not united in racist opposition. There was widespread feeling that "we knew it was bound to come some day" and "I guess we've got to obey the Supreme Court." Both Democratic and Republican Party leaderships, however, were tongue-tied and did absolutely nothing to integrate the South. The only people who prepared for battle were the extreme racists with Gov. Byrnes of South Carolina, himself a former Supreme Court Justice, as their strategist. The labor leadership did not rise to the occasion. They continued business as usual plus frequent hosannas to the effect that since the Supreme Court had spoken segregation was as good as dead.

The failure of all forces but the white supremacists to carry on effective political action on the issue resulted a year later in the high court drastically undercutting its original decision with an implementing ruling for "deliberate (i.e. slow) speed." Still the NAACP and labor leaders accepted this without a murmur of protest. Their policy still was to depend completely on the courts. The racists, however, while preparing court briefs, put their faith in political action and agitation. They soon succeeded in silencing almost all voices in the white community which were for desegregation.

The great bulk of the popu-

lation, at the time of the decision committed neither to the racists nor to those who advocated compliance, were more and more won over. The passage of state laws against integration, the Manifesto of defiance issued by the Southern members of Congress, the slowing down of integration to a crawl, finally Faubus' unpunished use of the National Guard convinced the waverers that integration can be stopped.

This consolidation of Southern opinion was made possible by events in Washington. The obvious reluctance of either the Democratic Congress or the Republican administration to take determined steps to enforce integration or civil rights foretold a Southern victory.

The Negro and labor leaders treated school integration as a legal matter to be won in court cases. It is much more—it is a political question and will be decided only by a political struggle, nationally and in the South itself. But this cannot be carried out within the present policies of labor and the Negro organizations. It requires calling the working people, the Negro people, the small farmers and all progressive elements of the middle class, North and South, out of the two capitalist parties and their formation into a new party—a Labor Party.

## Socialist Youth Beat N.Y. Cops In Court Case

NEW YORK, Aug. 4 — The Young Socialist Alliance won its fifth and sixth consecutive victories in its "free speech fight" today when charges of "littering" against two of its members were dismissed. The littering charge arose out of a leaflet distribution. James Lambrecht and Michael Margolies, the defendants, were represented by Marvin Karparkin, counsel of the New York Civil Liberties Union.

Lambrecht and Margolies issued the following statement on their trial: "We welcome this victory for the freedom of speech, press and assembly. The unconstitutional attempts by police to abridge these freedoms indicates a concerted attempt to harass socialist groups to death where they cannot proceed against them legally. Although we have beaten these capricious charges six times in the past nine months, no number of legal victories will ensure that the police will desist from their interference with our legitimate political activities. We demand that the Police Commissioner end immediately this 'war of attrition' on the Young Socialist Alliance, and that he reaffirm his directive to the force relating to the distribution of political literature."

## "Really Beat?"

What makes the so-called "Beat Generation" act the way it does? A lot has been written on this theme, but without much clarity even from those most sympathetic to the hopes and fears of youth in the world today. This article lets the young rebels speak for themselves, analyzes their attitudes, and attempts to find the common denominator in their outlook from the Marxist point of view.

Read this sparkling article by Evelyn Sell in the summer issue of the International Socialist Review. On newsstands, or send 50 cents for a copy.

## International Socialist Review

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

condemnation of the physical attack that took place at the PW Fourth of July picnic. You have probably read the editorial statement in which the PW dissociated itself from this attack and I want to take this opportunity to make my personal apology to the victims of the hooliganism there." A burst of applause greeted this statement.

## PETTUS STAND

Terry Pettus recalled that he started his political career distributing literature for Debs. "But maybe I've wandered off the track since then and am just a liberal!" He called for rethinking and reevaluating basic questions by study of American political and labor history.

Furthermore, he said, "New York is not Washington, and we cannot mechanically apply what is necessary there, because of Tammany Hall, to our conditions which are different. Here, the Democratic Party is much freer, holding open primaries, etc." He said the Labor Party would grow out of parts of the Democratic Party and other formations, not out of an "immaculate conception."

In the discussion period, R. D. Casey, one of the sponsors of the Conference Call for United Independent - Socialist Political Action in Washington State, asked: "Mr. Bowen and Mr. Pettus, you agree in principle with the proposal for

United Socialist action. You hesitate right now for certain tactical reasons; it is just a matter of degree with you. Now tell me, please: what will it take for you to agree that the time is NOW? What will have to happen for you to agree to come along with this unity move?"

Pettus answered: "As an editor of the PW I do not feel that it would be proper for me to become associated with such a movement. Frankly there is wide difference of opinion among the readers of the paper on this question. As long as I am in the position I hold I would have to wait for greater unity of thought among the readers and supporters of the paper before I would feel it proper for me to participate in such a campaign."

Bowen said: "I will consider that the time for this move is ripe when I receive some indication from the people in my neighborhood that this is the direction they want to go. I'm just not sure this is the right time and place. . . . I just don't see the people around me as ready yet. When they move, I will."

## ANSWERS BOWEN

In her summary, Clara Kaye

discussed Bowen's answer. "In my opinion," she said, "the Negro people especially are convinced of the hypocrisy of both parties. They desperately need a new party as the only alternative to the fruitless jumping back and forth between the parties, which leaders like Adam Clayton Powell engage in."

She said that Bowen, running as a socialist candidate, would receive widespread support. "You wouldn't be isolated way out in left field because your neighbors would be out there with you! . . . You couldn't run twice as a Democrat. I know you would tell the truth as a candidate, and because of it the ward heelers would make sure you never ran again. But meanwhile you would be a captive of the Democrats, for you would be spreading the illusion, merely by running on their ticket that reforms and progress are possible on a capitalist ticket."

The audience expressed its appreciation of the panel by a generous response to the collection and by warm applause for the speakers. After the meeting, most of the audience formed small informal groups to continue the discussion.

# Oil Workers in Detroit Resist Strikebreaking

DETROIT, July 31 — Members of Local 11-456 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union have entered the eleventh week of a strike against the

Aurora Gasoline Company. Strikers have been forced to struggle on two fronts. In addition to the strike-breaking tactics of the company, the activities of the international officers have worked to hamper the struggle.

The strike began May 15, fifteen days after the expiration of the old contract. It followed many fruitless bargaining sessions with the company whose proposals would have set working conditions back many years.

The local is demanding removal of a no-strike clause and the dropping of arbitration procedure for settling grievances in the new contract. Working conditions in the plant have deteriorated to the point where gains won in past battles have been lost again. One worker said that within the eleven months preceding the strike there were 153 grievances. Prior to that, back to 1945, there were only about 145 grievances. One of the main complaints of the 350 members of the local who work for the Aurora company is that they have been forced under threat of firing to work overtime.

## POLICE ESCORT SCABS

During the strike scabs under police protection have been escorted into the plant. The company fired and sued members of the bargaining committee and a local officer.

the local in order to get its books and financial records.

## WIVES PICKET

On July 22 in a militant demonstration of solidarity, wives of the strikers formed a picket line. One of the 60 wives expressed their sentiments: "We are hurt financially; but we will stick it out with the men." Extra police were rushed to the plant. Several women complained at the police station that cops had gone out of their way to push, shove and step on them.

The wife of a local union officer was accused of throwing a rock at the car of a non-striking supervisory employee. When she was taken down to the police station, she was told that she was not under arrest. She was quizzed instead about the financial records of the union.

In this strike, as in the recent Chrysler missile plant situation in which the top leadership of the UAW helped break a militant struggle, the increasingly sharp conflict between the ranks and the union bureaucracy is clearly evident.

Automotive News reports that car assemblies so far in 1958 are running more than one million behind the same period in 1957. Through June 7, 1958, 1,879,179 cars had been turned out. In 1957, the total was 3,000,323 through June 8.