

## Why the Iraqi People Rebelled

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# THE MILITANT

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### Ambassadors of Ill Will



To counter the rising opposition in Latin America against U.S. economic and political domination, the administration has sent two special envoys of "good will" to South America in the last four months. One was Vice-President Nixon shown in center of picture at left. It was taken at dinner given in Washington for the vice-president and his wife, following their trip to Latin America, where he was met with "Go Home Nixon!" demonstrations. At right is Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the president's brother, who made a less-publicized visit last month.

## UN Group Says A-Bomb Fallout Perils Mankind

The need for an immediate halt to nuclear tests was underscored by the Aug. 10 United Nations report which found that even the smallest amount of radiation exposure is a menace to present and future generations.

After a two-and-a-half year study, the 15-nation United Nations Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation unanimously concluded: "Radioactive contamination of the environment resulting from explosions of nuclear weapons constitute a growing increment to worldwide radiation levels. This involves new and largely unknown hazards to present and future populations; these hazards, by their very nature, are beyond the control of the exposed persons. . . . Even the smallest amounts of radiation are liable to cause deleterious genetic, and perhaps also somatic effects."

Such somatic (bodily) effects include cancer, leukemia, prenatal damage and shortening of life.

### ONLY THREE VOTE TO HALT TESTS

Despite these shocking findings, only three members of the committee — the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the United Arab Republic — voted to recommend a halt to the tests. India and Belgium abstained. The other ten countries, led by the U.S. and Britain, voted against urging a test halt on the specious ground that it was "beyond the scope" of the committee.

From the outset, the U.S. government was opposed to such a study being made. On Aug. 11, the New York Times revealed the text of a secret memorandum submitted in 1955 to Lewis Strauss, then head of the AEC, and dealing with the proposal for such a UN study.

Written by the late John von Neumann, then an AEC

member, the memorandum said: "I think that such a study is, in the long run, neither undesirable or avoidable, per se, but that it contains considerable elements of danger. . . ."

Assailing "present vague fears and vague talk" about the risks involved in the tests, von Neumann proposed the U.S. take the position that such risks are the inevitable price of "progress."

**UNPOPULARITY**  
Von Neumann wrote further: "The really relevant point is: Is the price worth paying? For the United States, it is. For another country, with no nuclear industry and a neutralistic attitude in world politics, it may not be. . . . A certain amount of international un-

popularity is therefore unavoidable for us, and we will have to accept it as part payment for our more advanced industrial position."

Von Neumann's the-people-of-the-world-be-damned attitude to radiation hazard was carried into the UN committee by the U.S. representative, Dr. Shields Warren.

Several months before the present report was released, Warren said: "My feeling is that if we are to make use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we must learn how to control such hazards as may be proven to be associated with strontium 90 and other radioactive isotopes. That one phase of the problem is the carrying out of tests."

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### New York Reaches Out To Friends Throughout the Country To 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 .....

## NEW LEBANESE HEAD WANTS MARINES OUT

### Socialists Flay Use of GI's Abroad

#### Mideast Policy Hit by Lamont And McManus

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Aug. 13 — Corliss Lamont and John T. McManus, Independent-Socialist candidates for U.S. Senator and Governor, have reiterated their demand for withdrawal of U.S. troops from foreign soil. In a statement, Aug. 11, they jointly challenged major party candidates "to repudiate the new Eisenhower doctrine for the world."

The socialist candidates charged that "President Eisenhower's recent declaration about 'indirect aggression' implies that American troops might be used to suppress national liberation movements anywhere and everywhere."

Meanwhile, supporters of the Independent-Socialist ticket have secured nominating petitions in 50 upstate counties in the first two weeks of the drive to put the slate on the ballot. Twelve thousand signatures are needed with a minimum of 50 from each of 62 counties.

**NYC VOLUNTEERS**

Many of the signatures have been obtained by volunteer crews from New York City. Petition gatherers have taken time off from work or sacrificed vacations to travel throughout the state to put the drive across. Several thousand petitions have been gathered in the western part of the state by supporters of the ticket from the Buffalo area who are getting the work done at a rate that is sparking the entire statewide campaign.

In Syracuse, Poughkeepsie and several other upstate areas, local supporters of the ticket are gathering petitions and aiding New York City crews in their areas, providing them with lodging and joining them in the signature collections. In one area, a group of Farmers Union members are actively aiding the drive.

While there remains a substantial amount of work to complete the upstate goal of getting double the amount of signatures of registered voters required by law, the campaign committee has now also opened the drive to secure thousands of petitions in New York City.

Petition drive director Muriel McAvoy has announced that city campaign headquarters at 799 Broadway will be open nightly as well as all day Saturdays to dispatch volunteer petitioners in groups to various

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#### To Speak Against A-Tests



Harold A. Davies (left) leading left-wing Labor Member of British Parliament and Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel scientist and foe of nuclear tests, will share platform at Los Angeles rally at Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles, Friday, Aug. 22. (See story page 2.)

### 350 in Los Angeles Discuss Socialist Election Policy

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 10 — Well over 350 people of differing political tendencies gathered in the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Hall to hear Vincent Hal-

linian report on the New York United Socialist Conference, where he was a keynote speaker. Hallinan also spoke on the prospects for united socialist electoral action in California.

"One of the most important things facing the socialist movement today is the United Independent-Socialist ticket in New York," Hallinan said. "If they do get a good vote it will give a tremendous impetus to the socialist movement in this country."

#### SPONSORS

The meeting was chaired by Leo Gallagher, veteran labor attorney, and sponsored by a group with various political backgrounds. Sponsors included Charlotte Bass, Reuben W. Borough, Carl Feingold, Martin Hall, George Jones, Herbert Rosenfeld, Judge Edward P. Totten, and Mike Zaslow.

Hallinan told how at one time he had been approached by some Northern California Democrats to run for U.S. Senator. He said one reason the proposal came up was that, in the manner of capitalist parties, they wanted someone who could "pay his own way." He rejected the idea because the

(Continued on Page 2)

### President-Elect Chehab Says Troop Withdrawal Is "Foremost Aim"

AUG. 14—All Eisenhower's pretexts for his brutal military invasion of Lebanon have blown up in his face. According to an Aug. 5 Associated Press dispatch from Beirut, President-elect Chehab "wants U.S. troops to get out of Lebanon." Chehab said that withdrawal of the troops was "foremost among our national aims." His stand is in direct conflict with Pres. Chamoun, who asked Eisenhower to send in U.S. troops to prop his tottering pro-imperialist regime and who wants the troops to stay.

But it isn't only the pretexts that have exploded. It's also the policy of military action to crush the revolutionary struggle of the people in the Mideast that isn't working out too well. The presence of U.S. troops in Lebanon and British troops in Jordan have served to cut off the U.S. and British governments from any popular support in that part of the world.

To cover up brutal imperialist deeds and mass Arab opposition to the U.S. government's intervention, President Eisenhower presented a six-point program in the UN General Assembly offering the people of the Mideast "a regional economic development plan to assist and accelerate improvement of living standards of the people in these Arab nations." The State Department has talked of offering maybe \$100 million for such a project.

#### GOING, GOING . . .

What brought about Eisenhower's sudden show of concern for the living standards of the Arab people. As a Scripps-Howard dispatch from Washington, Aug. 9 observed, "We've lost Iraq; in effect, we've lost Lebanon; Jordan's pro-West will fall when British troops leave. Saudi Arabia's gone neutral; Kuwait is flirting with new Iraqi regime and Nasser. Israel has failed to give 100 percent support to American-British position. Eisenhower Doctrine has gone down the drain, and what's left of Baghdad Pact no longer serves to link Arab states with Turkey, Iran and Pakistan in defensive alliance against Russia."

W. H. Lawrence, Aug. 12, reported "United States military intervention has backfired politically in Lebanon. The presence of troops there has served in a curious way to weaken friends of the United States and strengthen the Lebanese Opposition." (N.Y. Times)

No one doubts that when



DULLES

U.S. forces are compelled to quit Lebanon, the former President, Camille Chamoun, will have to go with them. U.S. troops have made his position even more untenable than it was when the Lebanese civil strife began last May.

Ever since the May 10 revolt began in Lebanon, the U.S. has pressed in vain for full use of the Lebanese army against Chamoun's opposition. As Lawrence noted "Probably the closest the Lebanese army has come to fighting . . . was against U.S. Marines . . . when they began to fan out from landing beaches . . ."

"Lebanese tanks, reported to be under order to fire, commanded the roads down which the Marines would move. It was a touchy interval until General Chehab was persuaded by U.S. Ambassador Robert M. McClintock to give orders that the Americans would not be resisted." Now the same Chehab is president-elect and wants U.S. troops out.

These conditions dictate to U.S. policy makers that Eisenhower and Dulles stop snarling for a while and put on a more benign, even humanitarian, appearance.

### Court Acquits Arthur Miller Of 'Contempt'

AUG. 12 — Opponents of the witch-hunt achieved another partial victory last week when the United States Court of Appeals in Washington reversed the conviction of Arthur Miller. In 1956 he was convicted of contempt of Congress because he refused to answer questions before the infamous Walter Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the political affiliations of his past friends.

The Court unanimously held that Miller had not been warned sufficiently by the Committee of the risk of contempt if he refused to answer its questions. Thus he was absolved of the penalty of a \$500 fine and a thirty-day suspended jail sentence on narrow legal grounds.

Editorially commenting on this the Aug. 10 N.Y. Post declared that the Appeals Court ducked the real issue. "It did not rule on Miller's right not to inform on others. Instead it reversed the conviction solely because the committee dropped

(Continued on Page 4)

## Profiteers Blame Inflation on Workers

AUG. 12 — President Eisenhower, once more, has used his high office to pressure the American workers to forego wage increases. At his Aug. 6 news conference the President warned labor that the American consumer "is going to rebel in a big way, and there will be real trouble . . . if labor is not 'very, very careful about this whole problem of pushing wages each year above those rates that imply or show the increases in productivity.'"

The Committee for Economic Development, an organization of leading businessmen, also warned that "the nation's very survival hinged on curbing inflation," N.Y. Times, Aug. 10. In this outfit's view, a main cause for the malady has been that "wages were rising at a faster rate than labor's productivity."

#### \$288 BILLION DEBT

Eisenhower hit at the working class as a major factor in the inflation on the same day that the U.S. government broke two old records in inflationary spending. On Aug. 6 the House of Representatives voted to raise the national debt ceiling to its highest point in peacetime history, to \$288 billion.

This sum is second only to the high of World War II. And on Aug. 6 a House-Senate conference committee voted the biggest peacetime war budget in history. Practically splitting the differences between Senate and House "defense" bills, the conference voted Eisenhower \$39,602,827,000. All this — despite an expected deficit in the budget of an estimated \$12 billion.

To blame labor for inflation that is cutting into the living standards of all Americans is monstrous in view of these

government moves. As the N.Y. Times reported, Aug. 10, government spending on all levels, Federal, state and local, has increased more than 80% in the last eight years. Eisenhower is a poor economist if he seriously looks to increased wages to explain inflation while government spending spirals even higher.

An Aug. 7 editorial in the Wall Street Journal states the case accurately. Pointing to the federal deficit of \$12 billion, the Journal editors say, "Fed-

eral deficits of this size . . . are the real source of inflation."

Those who claim wage increases cause inflation paint a picture of prosperity and progress for all if labor will just key its demands to increases in productivity. This view completely ignores the fact the bosses aren't doing much about increasing productivity — despite technical possibilities.

**BUSINESS OUTLAYS CUT**  
Business outlays in new equipment in this quarter are

expected to run about 20% below that of a year ago, according to the Aug. 10 N.Y. Times. The capitalists are unhappy about the return on capital already invested and are cutting expansion plans.

Finally, the argument that wage increases cause price increases was spiked by the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, headed by Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.) Findings of the Subcommittee about the steel industry, whose yearly price increases affect the entire economy, were reported by Kefauver in the June 28 Nation.

Kefauver wrote: "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."

In 1957, increased labor costs resulting from a July wage and benefits increase added somewhere between \$2.50 to \$3.00 per ton of finished steel. But the July 1957 price hike amounted to \$6 per ton. 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.

### Recession Hits 1 in 4 Families

A national survey of unemployment made by Michigan University's Survey Research Center showed that one in four families suffered terrible economic loss through unemployment or shortened work hours from mid-1957 to mid-1958.

Counting unemployment insurance benefits as income, 12% of the unemployed families covered in that survey estimated their losses at \$2,000 or more, 25% lost between \$1,000 and \$2,000 and another 25% lost between

\$500 and \$1,000. As unemployment was most widespread among families with incomes of \$5,000 or less, those who could least afford losses suffered most.

"There have been from 13 to 15 million Americans unemployed part time during the last ten months," reports Peter Edson, NEA service writer, Aug. 12. "About 11 million of them have been unemployed five weeks or more."

Wage and salary payments



## "We Don't Back Harriman"

By Harry Ring

On my way home the other night I stopped in an East Side gin mill for a quiet beer. A couple of stools away, two fellows were having a big political discussion. They were both supporters of the Communist Party, and they were arguing about two articles in the Worker in which William Albertson gives the position of the Communist Party on the New York elections. One fellow's name, I gathered, was Max and the other's, Stanley. The argument went something like this:

Max: "I see the Party's supporting Harriman for Governor." Stanley: "Supporting Harriman? Where'd you get that idea. Didn't you read Bill Albertson's two articles explaining the Party's position?"

Max: "Sure. That's where I got the idea."

Stanley: "You couldn't have read them very carefully. He comes right out and says we're not endorsing Harriman."

Max: "Sure, I know. We tell Harriman we're giving him our endorsement and he tells us what we can do with it. But I got the articles right here. Albertson gives the high sign right in the first article where he says Rockefeller's defeat for New York Governor would be hailed by the colonial peoples as a defeat for American imperialism."

Stanley: "Oh, sure. We're for defeating Rockefeller at all costs."

Max: "That's what I'm saying. We're for Harriman — who else is going to beat him?"

Stanley: "You still don't get it. Look, it says here. 'Today, we do not support Harriman, critically or otherwise. We just refuse to come into clash with the Labor and Negro people's movement by placing a candidate in opposition to their main choice at the present time.'"

Max: "You mean we're against being against Harriman?"

Stanley: "Look, Max, just because we're against Rockefeller, that doesn't automatically mean we're for Harriman."

## Don't Back McManus

Max: "Oh, you mean we're going to support Jack McManus on the independent-socialist ticket?"

Stanley: "Hell, no! Those guys are way out in left field, talking about socialism and everything. Besides, didn't you read where Albertson says their running 'could guarantee the election of Nelson (Middle East) Rockefeller'?"

Max: "You mean we're against McManus and this socialist ticket because it might hurt Harriman's chances?"

Stanley: "No! No! All we're interested in is campaigning on the issues — like withdrawing the troops from Lebanon and stop A-tests."

Max: "So then tell me, Stanley, who do we vote for? When a guy gets in that booth, he can't pull down the lever over an issue."

Stanley: "That's right. We have to make every candidate take a stand on these issues."

Max: "So what are we belting ourselves out for? We know already. Rockefeller and Harriman are for keeping the boys in the Mideast and for keeping the tests going. McManus is for bringing the boys back home and for stopping the tests. So if we're going to campaign on the issues like you say, I guess we have to support McManus instead of Harriman. Besides, Albertson says we'll give some kind of 'conditional' support to Lamont on the socialist ticket for Senator. By the way, does that mean we'll go out and help get the petitions to put him on the ballot?"

## Support Liberal Party

Stanley: "Not as far as I can see. Like Albertson says, we give him some support after he gets his petitions in. Besides, our big job is to put the heat on McManus and the others to get out of the race."

Max: "You mean so we can support Harriman?"

Stanley: "Look, do I have to draw you a picture? We're not supporting Harriman! Besides, in this campaign we're backing the Liberal Party."

Max: "Oh? Who are they running?"

Stanley: "Harriman."

Max: "So like I say — we're backing Harriman."

Stanley: "For God's sake, Max, Albertson says right here, black on white, 'Does this policy mean an endorsement of Harriman and the Democratic Party? Nothing could be further from the truth.'"

Max: "Who does he think he's kidding?"

## King Campaign Group Replies to "Worker"

CHICAGO, Aug. 12—The Steering Committee of the United Socialist Campaign here sent an open letter today to the Editor of the Worker answering allegations in the Aug. 3 issue about the Rev. Joseph P. King campaign in the Second Congressional District. A story from Chicago in the Aug. 3 Worker said: "He [Rev. King] has repudiated Trotskyite attempts to smuggle State-Department-like anti-Soviet propaganda into his campaign."

The Steering Committee's letter says in part:

"... No such propaganda has appeared in the United Socialist Campaign. The Socialist Workers Party has worked and is continuing to work diligently to get the United Socialist ticket on the ballot."

"Nothing has been smuggled into our platform. There are no state department agents, nor anyone in the campaign who is anti-Soviet. ... Rev. King wrote his own platform, and inspects or rejects anything sent out in his name. You give the impression that you are in agreement on several points in the United Socialist program then proceed to make an unwarranted attack against the campaign and the candidate."



REV. JOSEPH P. KING

"Unity is a necessity for the success of the United Socialist ticket. Such accusations as the one you make tends to divide and weaken the campaign. This plays right into the hands of the Democratic and Republican Parties. We truly hope this is not your aim."

"We call upon all of your members who are honest and sincere about the struggle for socialism, the struggle for Negro representation, the struggle for independent class political action and are opposed to the H-bomb testing. ... to demonstrate this by joining and actively participating in the United Socialist campaign to send Rev. Joseph P. King to Congress in the Second Congressional District."

## Every Test Kills

By Linus Pauling  
The Nobel prize winning scientist speaks out against the nuclear bomb tests.

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# Can the 'Summit' Achieve Peace?

By George Lavan

Even though Soviet Premier Khrushchev finally turned down what it seemed until the last minute he was going to accept — a "summit meeting" within the UN Security Council, a summit meeting still remains the central foreign policy demand of the Kremlin. What Khrushchev blasted in his letter of rejection to President Eisenhower was not a summit meeting as such, but the kind the U.S. State Department has prescribed, that is, one within the 11-member UN body which is packed with U.S. allies and client states and with the ruler of Formosa, Chiang Kai-shek, "representing" China.

For those who believe that if only a summit meeting could be arranged then the cold war would end or its temperature change to the point of dispelling the ever-present danger of World War III, the logic of Khrushchev's refusal should have been irrefutable: U.S. imperialism was making a "real" summit meeting impossible by all the hindering conditions it set and would not even guarantee that the heads of the Big Four or Big Five could get together by themselves except perhaps to have a "courtesy" lunch.

Nevertheless, so great has the relief in a summit meeting as a panacea for peace become, there was a noticeable regret in pro-summit circles that Khrushchev hadn't accepted Washington's proposal regardless. Those whose pro-summit sympathies spring more from a pacifist than a radical political background are inclined to lump Moscow's recent rejection



KHRUSHCHEV

with Washington's long-standing reluctance as "proof" that neither really wants to negotiate a settlement.

Among those advocates of the summit who have a radical political background, some are inclined to blame the rejection on China's intransigence; while even for the majority who intellectually accept the refusal as fully justified there is a wistful feeling that perhaps something would have been gained for peace even at such an unpromising "summit."

In this country advocacy of a summit meeting as the way to peace is pretty much confined to radicals, pacifists, and members of anti-H-bomb organizations and the restricted circles they at present directly influence. The smallness of the movement is the obvious result of the terrorization and regimentation of American thought by the witch hunters, the bi-partisan foreign policy of the Democrats and Republi-

cans and the Big Business monopoly of the press, TV, etc. But abroad the situation is different. In Great Britain, West Germany, Scandinavia, Japan and throughout Asia and Africa, there is mass sentiment, expressed often by big parties, such as the British Labor Party, for a summit meeting. Indeed it was largely the pressure of this sentiment on those governments and through them on Washington that forced the latter to bring forth its UN "summit" proposal.

## HOPES FOR PEACE

Why is there such popular demand for a summit meeting? What hope does it express? It is noteworthy that many of these people, unlike Americans, had personal experience of bombings during the last war. They can readily visualize the holocaust that H-bomb war would mean.

Moreover the agitation by the Communist and other leftist parties as well as popular feelings of friendship towards the USSR and China have directed anti-war feeling into pro-summit channels. Underlying the whole is mass feeling that another World War III must somehow be prevented; that the danger of war springs from the bellicose attitude of the U.S., which threatens not only the Soviet bloc but the colonial revolution. "If only the rulers of the U.S. and the Soviet Union would get together and make peace," is the form that this anti-war feeling takes.

By their unceasing demands for a summit meeting the Soviet leaders have succeeded in showing the world that they are for a negotiated settlement

of tensions, while the adamancy of the U.S. leaders has demonstrated that they are for the continuation of the international tensions. But useful as this may have been in showing who stands where, the question remains whether a summit conference would bring peace.

There is no magic that will be worked simply by getting the big power heads-of-state to a meeting. If a settlement is arrived at it will be because the imperialists find it to their interest at the time to make some sort of deal with the Soviet Union and China. But they will not suddenly discover that at a summit meeting. They will have known that before and will have begun arrangements for the settlement beforehand by the usual diplomatic channels or will go willingly to a summit meeting. It is precisely because U.S. imperialism believes that it can get more at present from a policy of military threats and refusal to negotiate a general settlement of the cold war that it refuses to go to a summit meeting.

World-wide sentiment for such a meeting may force Washington to a tactical accommodation. It may agree to go to the summit but with the determination to reach no settlement there. Then each side would try to prove to world opinion that the other had frustrated world hopes for the inauguration of a period of peace. Though the U.S. would cite the Kremlin's crimes, real (Hungary, the anti-Yugoslav campaign, Nagy, etc.) and imaginary, the Soviet leaders would be able to cite much

## Just a Bit of Tomfoolery

That their brutal crushing of the Hungarian revolution is an embarrassment to the Kremlin rulers themselves is revealed in the following remarks of Marshall Voroshilov at Brussels Fair reported in an Aug. 14 AP dispatch. "What a beautiful . . . country," said Voroshilov about Hungary. "But such foolish things have happened there. Some people have called it counter-revolution, some called it revolution. I think it was just foolishness. Here in the West they raised a big fuss because Imre Nagy was given too harsh a sentence. Perhaps it would have been possible not to give Imre Nagy such a harsh sentence because he was just a fool. Nagy never helped us, never raised a finger to help us. He was not a real Communist."

more effectively the crimes and bellicose intent of imperialism and would win the day as far as affecting world opinion was concerned. That is why the U.S. State Department at present (and particularly while its troops were occupying Lebanon) had such aversion to a summit meeting. It has no intention to negotiate a general settlement and the summit would therefore become a glorified debate with the U.S. in the loser's position.

To think that popular sentiment around such a demand as a summit meeting could force Washington into more than a pretense of negotiating, that is, force it into actually abandoning foreign policy which its imperialist interests at present dictate, is sheer utopianism. A good example of this may be seen in Great Britain where there is tremendous peace sentiment. Such sentiment cannot budge the government on the hated U.S. rocket bases. It would take strike action and class struggle rising to such a pitch that the capitalist government felt actually imperiled

(Next week—Part Two: Role of Kremlin)

## ...Independent-Socialist Ticket

(Continued from Page 1)

areas of Manhattan. In addition, community groups are being established in the boroughs. Those wishing to collect petitions with local groups in their own neighborhoods are asked to phone campaign headquarters for information at GR 3-2141. Volunteers are also needed to help with the huge clerical job of processing the petitions. The work is being done at 799 Broadway every day and evening except Sundays.

## FINANCIAL NEEDS

With this substantial amount of petition work remaining to be done, the campaign committee has been hard pressed for the funds which are necessary for the drive even though all canvassing and clerical work is being done on a volunteer basis.

Last week the campaign committee mailed out a financial appeal to ten thousand people throughout the state. A similar appeal to supporters of independent socialist political action across the country was made through advertisements in the National Guardian and the Militant. (The committee also placed the advertisement with the Worker, but it was not published.)

In a statement today, Elinor Ferry, who has been sparking the committee's fund-raising activity, said: "In our appeal last week, we explained money was urgently needed to provide the volunteer petitioning crew with technical material, literature, gas, oil, food and lodging."

"Monday morning, we waited anxiously to see what the return mail would bring. You can imagine the joy when we saw letters coming in with enclosures of one to ten dollars for



On board S.S. Liberté, world-famed historian W.E.B. Du Bois signs nominating petition offered him by John T. McManus, Independent-Socialist candidate for Governor of New York. Dr. Du Bois and his wife sailed Aug. 8 for an extensive trip abroad.

a total of over \$100 on the first day's returns. Later in the morning, two New York supporters of the ticket came into the office to help out—one with a \$10 contribution, the other with \$25. Yesterday, another batch of returns came in. We don't have the totals yet, but it looks even better than the first day."

"Just as inspiring for us as the badly needed cash were the many wonderful messages of solidarity accompanying the contributions. Here's a letter from a supporter up in Elmira

that the staff really enjoyed reading."

The letter read: "I have looked over your independent-socialist slate and I feel it's a really tremendous selection of candidates. I was in the ALP throughout its lifetime and I'm familiar with all the names. It is indeed encouraging that we have such fine people working for a truly progressive party for the state and nation. I am at present enrolled in the Liberal party, although my interest in it is virtually nil. I enrolled Liberal because I could

not bring myself to enroll Democratic, even though it seems in some ways the Democrats are more liberal than the Liberals."

"Enclosed is a five dollar bill to aid in your work. That is all I can spare at the moment. I will help you again later if I am able to do so."

Mrs. Ferry added: "I hope your readers will feel the same way about our ticket. Since we made our financial appeal our needs have become even more urgent. We can't let lack of money endanger the all-important fight to get on the ballot."

## Wilkinson, Braden Cited For "Contempt"

AUG. 13 — The House of Representatives today voted "contempt" proceedings against two witnesses who refused to cooperate with the Un-American Activities Committee hearing in Atlanta, July 30. The two are Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson. The witch-hunt "probe" was of white Southerners in the forefront of the fight for integration.

Both "contempt" citations are in the nature of persecution. Frank Wilkinson is chairman of Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, and went to Atlanta to observe the hearings in connection with a campaign to get Congress to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. He was subpoenaed in Atlanta when the Walter Committee learned of his presence. He is currently in Los Angeles organizing protests against the Walter committee's witch-hunting activities there later this month.

Braden defeated an attempt three years ago to railroad him to prison under a Kentucky "sedition" law. The frame-up attempt arose out of his anti-jim-crow activities.

## Unity Urged Against 'Probe'

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 5 — United action in opposition to forthcoming hearings by a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee was proposed today by the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party to the local organizations of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and Independent Socialist League.

The subcommittee, headed by Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, has scheduled the hearings for Aug. 18 in the Federal building and announced that among 70 witnesses subpoenaed are "past and present Communist leaders in Southern California."

In letters to these organizations, the local SWP organizer, Carl Feingold, urged joint counter-action "to blunt or turn back this latest witch-hunting attack."

## SF, Northwest to Hear British Laborite MP

Promoting the fight for peace and socialism, the national speaking tour by Harold Davies, left-wing Labor Member of the British Parliament, is off to an impressive start on the West Coast. In

Los Angeles, he will share the platform with the distinguished Nobel scientist and anti-bomb fighter, Dr. Linus Pauling; at a mass meeting Friday, Aug. 22, 8 P.M., at Embassy Auditorium, Dr. Pauling will speak on "The H-Bomb Menace," and Mr. Davies on "Labor, Socialism and Peace." Socialist leader Vincent Hallinan will preside.

In the Bay Area, Davies will speak at the San Francisco Independent Socialist Forum, Aug. 23, at the Scottish Rite Auditorium. The chairman will be Traver Thomas of the American Friends Service Legislative Committee.

On Sunday, Aug. 24, Mr. Davies will be guest of honor at a picnic reception at the home of the Hallinans in Ross, Monday, Mr. Davies will address the Berkeley Socialist Forum.

Hallinan will then accompany Davies for speaking engagements in the Northwest. On Wed., Aug. 27, 8 P.M., they will be heard in Seattle at the Eagles Temple, 7th Ave. and Union, under the auspices of a group of prominent local sponsors.

Davies and Hallinan will be in Vancouver, Aug. 28 and 29, and then the British MP will go to the Midwest. He will discuss "Peace and the Middle East" at a Chicago meeting Tuesday, Sept. 2, 8 P.M., at 410 So. Michigan. Sponsors of the meeting include Rev. Joseph P. King, united socialist candidate for Congress; union leaders Ernest De Maio and

Jack Spiegel; community leaders Mandel Terman and Rev. William Baird; Eugene Feldman and Perry Cartwright of the Southwestern News; and John Hamilton, president of the Washington Park Forum.

Mr. Davies will be in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Sept. 3-5, and Detroit Sept. 6-7. The membership of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Local 427, AFL-CIO, in Cleveland, will hear Mr. Davies on Sept. 9.

He will return to New York Sept. 14, and will speak in Buffalo Sept. 10-11 and in Toronto, Sept. 12-13. Announcements of meetings in Boston, Philadelphia and Newark are expected shortly.

A leader of the Victory for Socialism group in the Labor Party, Davies was an organizer of the recent dramatic mass march from London to Aldermaston, site of the British atomic weapons establishment. He is making his tour on the invitation of Vincent Hallinan and New York socialist and civil liberties fighter, Elinor Ferry.

## JOBLESS TOTAL HIGH

Pick-up in jobs has not kept pace with rises in industrial production in June and July. In mid-July, the Department of Labor reported that 89 out of 149 industrial areas still showed unemployment from 6 to 12%. Lengthening the work week preceded rehiring. Industries where there have been productivity increases may show job shrinkages despite higher production.

## Seattle

Hear

## Harold Davies

British Labor Party Member of Parliament, organizer of H-Bomb protest march on Aldermaston, author of Death Stands at Attention.

Also

## Vincent J. Hallinan

1952 Presidential Candidate of the Progressive Party.

on

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Monday, August 18, 1958

## CP Attacks the United Ticket

From the outset, the top leaders of the Communist Party sought to prevent the development of the united independent-socialist movement that is now fighting for a place on the New York ballot. Their stubborn opposition to this splendid development of socialist unity has continued despite the extensive efforts to bring them into the movement and despite wide manifestations of strong sympathy for it by members and supporters of the Communist Party.

To make matters worse, the CP leaders' opposition to the independent-socialist ticket has been carried on in a fashion far more suitable to capitalist politicians than to the workers movement. To discredit the united ticket, false charges of "aiding Rockefeller" and being "anti-Soviet" have been leveled at individuals and groupings within the campaign committee.

To slandermongering, the CP leaders now add sabotage of the independent-socialist ticket's drive to get on the ballot.

The Aug. 18 issue of the National Guardian, a paper that is completely fair to all sections of the radical movement, reports the following: "Last week's Worker, which withheld three ads submitted by the Independent-Socialist candidates, carried an article by a CP spokesman warning the ticket that unless its gubernatorial and other state-wide candidates, except for U.S. Senate, withdrew, 'we can give only conditional support to Dr. Lamont.'"

One of the three ads the Worker suppressed was an appeal for participation in the New York City petition mobilizations now under way. The suppression

and the brutal tone of the ultimatum to the ticket to withdraw all but Corliss Lamont were tantamount to an order to CP supporters not to give any help.

Despite the divisive efforts by the CP leadership, supporters of the united ticket will secure the large number of signatures necessary to get on the ballot. A magnificent job is already being done in the upstate drive and there is every prospect that the same vigor and determination will be manifest in the city-wide campaign now under way.

A further heartening fact is that numerous leading and rank-and-file CP members and supporters are already engaged in the petition drive and more can be expected to do so.

The petition drive is the battle to put socialism on the New York ballot in this crucial election. Such an effort will surely have the active support of everyone seriously determined to advance the socialist goal.

Even more elementary, but equally important, is the fact that the drive represents a challenge to the efforts of the Tammany machine to maintain a two-party ballot monopoly. In past elections, De Sapio has used his control of the state election machinery to ban the Socialist Workers, Socialist Labor and Socialist Parties from the ballot. It is necessary to assume the independent-socialist ticket will face the same arbitrary efforts to prevent it from winning a ballot place.

On this basis alone, even those who may not agree with the wisdom of running a socialist slate at this time should support the signature drive as a way of fighting for the ballot rights of working-class parties.

## The Right of Free Speech

On Dec. 8, 1941, one day after Pearl Harbor and in the midst of the jingoistic fury of that time, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Minneapolis Teamsters Union stood before a federal judge in Minneapolis and were sentenced to prison.

They had just been found guilty of opposing capitalism and its wars and advocating a socialist future for America. They were the first victims of the Smith Act which had been passed by Congress the previous year and signed into law by President Roosevelt over the protest of leading labor and civil liberties bodies.

The basic issue involved in the case was clear-cut from the outset. The 18 had been charged on two counts. The first, under a civil-war statute, charged actual conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence. The second, under the Smith Act, was confined to the "crime" of advocating ideas. The first count was thrown out, leaving the conviction based squarely on the beliefs of the defendants.

This historic first conviction for the expression of views was appealed three times to a Supreme Court largely appointed by Roosevelt. Three times that court refused to review the case despite the fact that it involved basic constitutional issues under a law being used for the first time.

The defendants went to prison and

the precedent was established for the post-war wave of convictions of Communist party leaders under the act. Now, 17 years after that first conviction, the courts are beginning to examine the issues involved and finding there is no way of squaring Smith Act convictions with the Bill of Rights.

Last week, six people associated with the Communist party won reversal of their Smith Act convictions under a unanimous decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals. The six were: Alexander Trachtenberg, George Blake Charney, William Norman, Fred Fine, Sidney Stein and James Jackson.

Basing itself on recent Supreme Court rulings, the appeals court found that the government had failed to prove that the defendants had urged people to "do something" rather than "believe in something." Or, in other words, that they had been convicted for the mere expression of views.

These extremely welcome court decisions represent setbacks for the witch hunt. The decisions will also be recorded by history as definitive proof that from the first time the United States government conducted prosecutions under the Smith Act it was framing up innocent people who dared to exercise the right of free speech.

# Iraqi People Open "War on the Palaces"

By Myra Tanner Weiss

"War to the palaces! Peace to the cottages! Death to misery and idleness!" This battle cry of the Communards of Paris nearly a century ago is today the battle cry of the people of Iraq. A revolution of the poor against the rich is in progress. U.S. charges of "Soviet plots," "Nasser plots," "infiltrators," "indirect aggression," — these will not conceal the popular revolution that has begun.

The U.S. and Britain hurled their military might into Lebanon and Jordan to counter a new surge of the Arab people. Both have since recognized the new Iraq regime, but neither is happy about the change. However, from the point of view of the people of Iraq, it is difficult to see how any change could be for the worse.

**INFANT DEATHS**  
Poverty and tyranny are all the people of Iraq have known under the rule of King Faisal. According to the Aug. 10 N.Y. Times, one-fourth of all Iraq's babies die at birth. Another 25% never live to reach the age of five. And those who survive, carried about on the shoulders of their mothers, look like "sick little monkeys, pale, unwashed."

In contrast to these figures of misery and grief, the "reliable ally" of the U.S. and Britain, King Faisal, before his death, was looking forward to occupation of a new \$20 million palace. It was to be complete with swimming pool, outdoor theatre, casino, tennis courts, Italian gardens, an artificial hill overlooking Baghdad, a 12-car garage, four houses for European members of the palace staff and air-conditioned quarters for the servants, not to mention for their masters.

To keep this luxury amidst such hunger and misery the King could not tolerate democratic expression of opposition. All political parties were banned. And the jails were filled with those who had dared to lift their voices in protest.

"War to the palaces!" — So far at least war has stopped on Faisal's palace. The new regime does not yet know what



Revolution, Leon Trotsky wrote, is the entry of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny. Here Egyptian youngsters are seen taking a hand in the Arab revolution as they celebrated withdrawal of French and British troops from Suez Canal Zone a year and a half ago. Twelve and thirteen-year-olds took part in fighting against the imperialists.

it will do with the partial construction. But the new 32-year-old chief of Iraq's development program, Fuad Rekabi, July 27, said that he had halted work on the palace "and ordered construction of 360 houses in a village that was ruined by floods last year." The village housing project at Saadiya, near Baghdad, "will be under way in a few days and will be completed . . . within a few months."

The new regime has issued decrees cutting the rents on

dwellings and some shops by 10-20%. Decrees were also issued to cut the price of bread, cigarettes and other consumer items. A limitation has been placed on the landlord's share in the harvest.

In the past, powerful sheiks, holding vast tracts of land "paid no taxes at all," according to a report by Homer Bigart in the Aug. 8 N.Y. Times. Mohammed Hadid, the new Minister of Finance, said, "it would be too difficult to get the sheiks to pay income

taxes, so he proposed, instead, taxing their land until the new regime puts through its land reform program."

A new five-year plan is being prepared for Iraq by the new regime. Hadid said it will "stress first, agricultural reform and expansion; secondly, industrialization; thirdly, housing and social reforms."

Of course, these are only promises, made under pressure of the revolutionary mass on whom the nationalist leaders must depend for protection against the imperialist powers. They are promises, furthermore, that cannot and will not be kept under the limited perspectives of the pro-capitalist nationalist leaders.

### CHINESE EXPERIENCE

On a capitalist basis no undeveloped country in the world has yet succeeded in accomplishing more than a token agricultural reform, let alone industrialization. Only in China was the power of the feudal land-holding class broken. And only in China has significant industrialization taken place. Both were made possible thanks to a complete break with the imperialist powers and the organization of a planned economy.

The new Iraq leaders, like Nasser and other Arab nationalists, have made it amply clear that they have no intention of moving against capitalist property relations. Iraq's Finance Minister Hadid said the objective of the new regime was a welfare state based on "practical socialism." Economic policies, he said, would be "less socialist" than those of the British Labor Party—which means no socialism at all.

Hadid, furthermore, gave new assurances to the imperialist powers that the Iraq Petroleum Company, owned by U.S., British, Dutch and French oil companies, would not be nationalized. This means that huge oil profits, the equivalent of about half of Iraq's national income, will continue to flow out of Iraq into the pockets of the imperialist powers.

The new Iraq leaders promise "the progress that the rev-

olutionary people are fighting for. But they will not initiate the social change which alone can make that progress possible. Still the story is far from finished. The revolution is only in its first stages. And the imperialist powers, themselves, can be relied upon to drive the revolution toward more fundamental change.

Again China is instructive. The Chinese Communist Party, under Stalin's domination, was ready to operate as an oppositional party in a coalition regime with Chiang Kai-shek. It had no immediate perspective of a social revolution. It limited its policy to defeat of the Japanese imperialists.

### CP FORCED TO ACT

The arrogance of the imperialist powers and their puppet, the Chinese dictator, made such a compromise impossible. For self-preservation the Chinese Communist party was forced to culminate the national revolution for independence with a social revolution, involving fundamental changes in property relations.

Will the imperialist powers drive the nationalist leaders of the Arab revolution onto the path of social revolution? They have already forced the pro-capitalist Nasser into a defensive bloc with the Soviet Union. Yet there is a great gulf between the pro-socialist Communist Party of China and the pro-capitalist forces gathered in Nasser's camp. The Arab people, while supporting these nationalist leaders as long as they are ready to resist the imperialists, will still have to forge their own parties to realize the social progress for which they are fighting.

"War to the palaces" has begun under the leadership of pro-capitalist leaders like Nasser of the United Arab Republic and Kassem of Iraq. But "peace to the cottages" and "death to misery and idleness" will be won only with the transformation of the nationalist or pan-Arab revolution into a socialist revolution. Those nationalist leaders who stand in the way of this necessary transformation will be pushed aside.

## 2 Peru Trotskyists Face Trial for Opposing Nixon

Two leading members of the Trotskyist Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Peru have been indicted as the principal leaders of the demonstrations against U.S. Vice-President Nixon last May 7 and 8.

A May 11 Associated Press dispatch from Lima, capital of Peru, carried by the Latin American press but apparently not sent by AP to U.S. newspapers, announced: "Ismael Frias Torrico, 28, described as the leader most responsible for the outrages aimed at U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon last Wednesday in this city has been arrested and is being held incommunicado, according to information from the police authorities . . ."

"They further state: 'There is sufficient evidence about the activities of Frias Torrico in the outbreaks at the Plaza of the University of San Marcos and at the Plaza San Martin for us to have brought the case today to the Minister of the Interior who has consigned

Frias to trial, accused of instigating the insulting acts against Nixon and the United States.'"

It was subsequently revealed that the Peruvian police had also arrested Juan Palacios Leon, another leading Trotskyist, and a number of Communist Party members. The June issue of Peru Popular, the organ of the Lima section of the Peruvian Communist Party, contained a letter, which all the political prisoners both POR and CP, had signed and succeeded in getting out. This joint letter described the inhuman conditions to which they were being subjected, how a trial was being prepared secretly and their own unshakable determination to struggle in a united front for the economic and social progress of Peru.

In addition to the joint letter, Peru Popular also published a letter from Frias and Palacios which among other facts disclosed that along with 30 other prisoners they were locked up in a cell measuring

six by four meters (slightly more than 18 by 12 feet), without ventilation and only artificial lighting.

As the maltreatment of the political prisoners became known throughout Latin America, protests began to multiply. For example, a group of deputies in the Argentine Parliament demanded of Peruvian President Manuel Prado that all the political prisoners be freed; in Mexico a number of writers and artists lodged similar demands; in Chile the Central Labor Federation made similar representations to the Peruvian government.

### HUNGER STRIKE

At the end of June the authorities released the two POR leaders on bail after they had staged a hunger strike. Though the Prado regime is one of the most abject in South America in its toadying to the U.S. State Department, it undoubtedly felt the pressure of the foreign protests as well as opinion in Peru where the population overwhelmingly

sympathizes with the anti-Nixon demonstrators. Moreover, the solidarity of the POR and CP members in jail and the hunger strike could not have helped but have its effect on the authorities. It is as yet not clear from the information available whether the other prisoners were released before Frias and Palacios or after; or whether, indeed, some are still being held. The only indictments brought and the only ones the government apparently plans are those of the two POR leaders.

The Prado regime is on the horns of a dilemma: to appease Washington a trial is needed; on the other hand a trial will be exceedingly unpopular in Peru. Seemingly for this reason, it was decided to limit the punishments to the two Trotskyist leaders, who, in addition to their parts in the anti-Nixon protests, played important roles the month before in the nationwide strike of the Federación de Choferos (taxi, bus, truck-drivers union), especially in Cuzco where union-led "Peoples Militias" maintained order while the police and troops were confined to their barracks because of the people's hostility.

### NEWSPAPER ATTACK

The Peruvian journal Vanguardia (May 17), which takes an extremely pro-imperialist position, carries an article on the indictments which is composed half-and-half of scurrilous and vituperative blasts at the Trotskyists and blasts at the Prado government for not being bold enough to conduct a mass trial. The following are excerpts:

"This trial [of Frias Torrico and Palacios Leon] will be used by the whole opposition. It will belong to all who participated in the preparation of the violence. The pair of Trotskyists will be presented in court as villains, but they will leave as heroes. They came in as accused but they will rise from the bench as accusers . . . Their lawyers will have the opportunity to speak from the front pages of Peru's newspapers if only they wisely use a little moral courage. The investigation of this infamous trial will give them rich material to make the mighty tremble, including doubtless the government . . ."

"The Trotskyist Ismael Torrico and his jail-mate Palacios Leon will appear as actors in a drama with authors, impres-

arios, prompters and several actors. Everyone shall enter the dance. Torrico ranted and insulted in the Plaza San Martin and should be convicted. He will be. But Orestes Rodriguez Campos, Humberto Arenas, Barrientos Lingán, Alberto Franco Ballester, said the same, more or less, in writing. What they wrote on the eve of the 'Day of Infamy' [Nixon's phrase for the demonstration] and the day itself is graven in the morning newspapers . . ."

"Palacios Leon incited by writing and speaking in coarse and grotesque language. Exactly the same was done by the Social Progressive Intellectuals, although in language that was more contrived. The difference is one of form. At the bottom the Marxism of Torrico and Palacios Leon is the same as that professed by the Social Progressives, the organizers of Accion Popular, the leaders like Carrero Checa y Hoke, and even the ferociously anti-capitalist Christian-Democrats.

"The allies are many and numerous.

"The Trotskyists . . . now have a trial that will become a real 'barbecue.' In a democracy justice can't convict and condemn a Trotskyist for a crime and leave in freedom a Christian Democrat, a Belaundista [the Partido Accion Popular is led by Fernando Belaunde], who are just as guilty of the same crime . . ."

The reactionary author of the above-cited article has a certain logic. If engaging in the anti-imperialist demonstrations against Nixon was a crime, then not merely the two Trotskyist leaders but thousands of Peruvians should be indicted. Moreover, if the indictment were to include those who by pen or word of mouth prepared the "atmosphere" or who afterwards rejoiced in the affront to the slippery politician representing Wall Street, then the number of the "guilty" would include practically the whole population of Peru less the Vanguardia author and a few other hirlings of Yankee imperialism.

### Political Economy Illustrated

By Eric (James Erickson)  
25 cents  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

## Japanese Unions Fight Offensive of Employers

**TOKYO, Aug. 7** — Since July 1957, the Japanese economy has been in a depression. Only 64% of its productive capacity is in operation now. Also since July 1957, the workers have been on the defensive. There have already been two great struggles — that of the National Railway Union and that of the Teachers Union.

The National Railway Union strike took place in summer and fall of last year. This union does not have the legal right to strike. Nevertheless, in spring 1957, it struck for a higher wage, and many union leaders were fired from their jobs. The Nigata local of the NRU then struck for eight days in June demanding that the discharges be rescinded. But the leadership of the NRU forbade the strike and finally accepted the discharges. This was a severe defeat for the working class.

The Teachers Union struck in late fall. It is one of the biggest and strongest unions in Japan, and the government has made every effort to weaken it.

**SUICIDES**  
Last fall, the government began a campaign for a system of examining efficiency in edu-

cation. Under the system, education would be centralized and the force of the Teachers Union would be decidedly weakened. The union was forced to engage in severe struggles to resist enactment of the system. Several teachers committed suicide during the course of the struggles.

The problem became a major one in Japan. Especially in the Waka-yama Prefecture, the struggle became one between the entire working class and the capitalist class. The teachers have fought for nearly a year, but 40 prefectures out of 46 have adopted the system. In this struggle, too, workers are suffering defeat.

The NRU and Teachers Union are among the largest in Japan. So these defeats represent a serious danger for the Japanese labor movement.

Now we can foresee a third big struggle in the near future. That involves Tauro (the coal miners' union). It is also one of the biggest and strongest unions in Japan. But coal-mine owners are preparing large-scale discharges, because they are going to adopt mechanization of the mines. The industry will be revolutionized and will

need far less workers — especially experienced miners.

Tauro is a very well organized union and has experienced many long strikes of two, three and four-month duration. It is a "backbone" of the Japanese trade-union movement. Therefore the coming struggle between Tauro and the coal-mine owners will be one of the greatest defensive battles in the Japanese labor movement.

There are already many small struggles around discharges. If these can be united and linked with the continuing struggle of the Teachers Union, they can be the start of a broad working class counter-offensive against the employers.

### Book-a-Month

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# Van Cliburn's Triumph

By M. Bernz

If Sputnik shattered any comfortable capitalist picture of a second-rate Soviet technology, the recent exhibit of artistry by Soviet dancers and musicians visiting this country has been scarcely less disquieting.

When the Soviet violinist, David Oistrakh, first played in the West, some mistook him for another Heifetz, a belated product of the pre-Revolution Petrograd school of violin playing. The error was an easy one to make for experts who overlook such trifles as a revolution. But if it was immediately clear that Oistrakh played the violin as well as Heifetz, it took just a moment longer to observe that he played the music considerably better. Oistrakh thus punched a few holes in the U.S. conception that Soviet performing artists are technical geniuses but interpretative imbeciles.

However, following the Soviet artistic triumphs, a young and obscure American pianist, Van Cliburn, beat the Russians in a top-ranking piano competition in the Soviet Union itself. It was only natural, then, that the Soviet prowess should again be slightly put in question. Actually, Van Cliburn's triumph, too, was a mark of Soviet achievements.

It would be wrong to assume that Van Cliburn's victory in a Soviet pianistic competition was just a politician's trick. A phony decision at this conspicuous level would have been immediately detected and thus rendered ridiculous and

self-defeating. But even if Cliburn's success had some political foundation, it had a considerably firmer social one; for this was a success the United States music world could never have accorded him. The American scene is generally in full supply with performing artists, and its whole price and profit structure would be demolished by an indiscriminate recruiting of new talent through competitions and like channels.

Van Cliburn, then, by momentarily becoming a member of a different society, found a recognition, an encouragement, and the beginnings of a stature he would never have otherwise attained. The full truth of this unhappily may become apparent only as young Mr. Cliburn, standing upon the soil of his native America, sinks back toward the obscurity from which he came and where many other pianists of unusual talent are forced to dwell.

Perhaps of more lasting memory than Van Cliburn will be the fact that he had to be discovered by way of Moscow. That is what will tend to stick in the minds of his rivals, who even now are grousing about his "easy road to notoriety" — that is, to concert engagements and contracts. They, too, as things get tougher, may begin to look Moscow-ward. In this, more than in the warm glow generated by "An American in Moscow" — who was victorious as no American brass hat can ever hope to be — the Kremlin has turned a more durable trick than it intended.

## Economics Illustrated

**POLITICAL ECONOMY ILLUSTRATED.** By Eric (James Erickson), Philadelphia: The Rationalist Press. 25 cents. (May be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.)

Anyone, whether young or old, who is interested in fighting for socialism will find this pamphlet a treat in my opinion.

Eric makes it possible for us to see at a glance the most basic of Marx' concepts of political economy.

In the preface he explains: "Marx, for the first time proved that society operated according to laws like everything else in this very real world. He theorized that capitalism would pass away and a new and higher form of society called socialism would take its place.

"The world is moving. If one cares to understand how and why it moves one need only to open the books on Marxism-Leninism. Maybe this little cartoon booklet will induce someone to do that."

Through his cartoons, Eric shows the historical and economic development of capitalism out of primitive society, slavery and feudalism. He then depicts the inner

contradictions and antagonisms of capitalism, the causes of economic crises and unemployment, class struggle, war, and jim crow. In conclusion, he shows that socialism is on the order of the day as the only alternative to capitalist chaos.

There is one formulation in this pamphlet with which I cannot agree. That is when Eric says: "The Soviet Union was the first country to build Socialism." Private property in the means of production was eliminated by the Russian Revolution of October 1917, and a planned economy was instituted. Thus began the process of constructing a socialist order in which the Soviet people are still engaged.

However, I do not believe that socialism has been achieved in the USSR or that it can be won until the Soviet working people remove the dictatorship of the bureaucratic caste, with which they are now saddled.

This difference aside, I consider Eric's pamphlet a fine introduction to the study of Marxian economics.

— Lillian Kiezal

VOLUME XXII

MONDAY, AUGUST 18, 1958

NUMBER 33

## Steelworkers Look to Union Convention

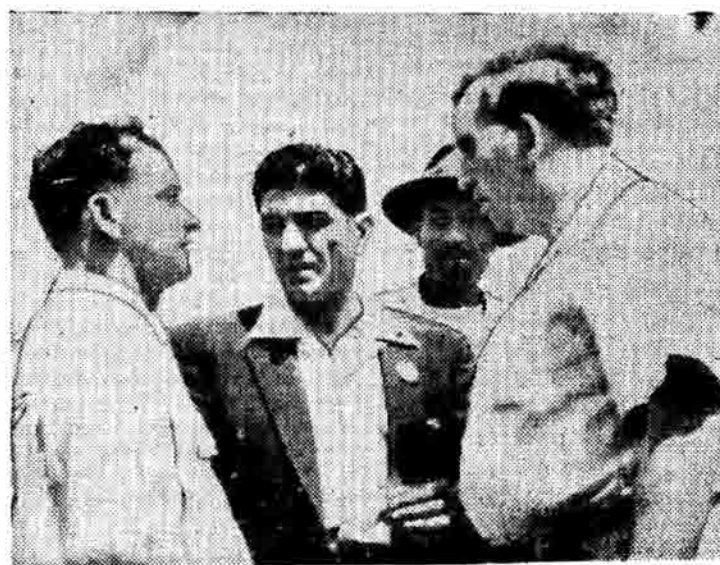
**YOUNGSTOWN** — The eyes of the steel workers in the country are turning to the forthcoming convention of the United Steel Workers of America which begins Sept. 15 at Atlantic City. They expect the union parley to come up with some answers to the pressing problems that flow from the unemployment crisis. The steel industry is still operating at under 60% of capacity, although there has been a slight pickup in the last month following the Middle East flare-up. The depression will be with the steel workers for a long while yet.

The elections in the steel locals throughout the country revealed that the workers are showing greater interest in their union and are going to have more to say in the future about how it is run and about what program it should adopt. In these elections, the steel workers tended to throw out those whom they blamed for their specific problems. Wholesale changes were made in most major locals, indicating mass discontent with the policies of the leadership. And these wholesale changes were made by the greatest participation of the members in the history of the union.

This renewed interest in the union will be reflected at the coming convention. Workers will be sending delegations that never went to conventions before. Proposals will be made that were never touched at any other convention. And the bureaucracy will be shaken like it has never been shaken in the past.

The fact that the Dues Protest movement has not been crushed, even though it has no program, indicates the weak position that the leadership feels itself in. The corps of union officeholders will undoubtedly try to make some changes in the leadership and try to find a scapegoat for its collective failure to come up with solutions to the workers' problems. The bureaucracy may even use President McDonald as the scapegoat in this fight. And in the process of the struggle for program, a new leadership will be forged — one that can give satisfactory answers to the workers' needs.

## Loses Democratic Race



Carl Stellato, center, president of United Auto Workers Ford Local 600, who lost in Democratic primary bid for Congress nomination last week. His program of 30-for-40, end nuclear tests, and repeal of Taft-Hartley and Smith Acts were too radical for party bosses and UAW president Reuther.

## ... Arthur Miller Case

(Continued from Page 1)  
The big question at one point in the hearing and then failed to make it sufficiently clear that it still wanted an answer. The important principle for which Miller risked his freedom thus still remains to be upheld on legal grounds.

The case of the eminent playwright is similar to that of John T. Watkins, a United Auto Worker organizer, who appeared before the same committee in 1954. Both discussed their past associations and activities but refused to testify about the activities of others on the grounds that they could not in good conscience do so and also that the questions were not pertinent to the committee's inquiry. They both held that they were being denied their rights under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

### NO KNOCK-OUT

The Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case struck a blow at the committee's smear activities but did not put the committee out of business, although the very reason for its existence — the investigation of certain political ideas — is unconstitutional.

"No inquiry is an end in itself," said the Supreme Court in the Watkins case, "it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress." Congressional committees can investigate providing

the information is an aid to lawmaking, said the court. But it glossed over the fact that there are certain types of laws that Congress is not even allowed to pass.

Thus the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution declares that "Congress shall pass no laws . . . abridging the freedom of speech." It would follow that if Congress can't pass a law abridging free speech, no Congressional committee is authorized to investigate political ideas.

However, nowhere has the Supreme Court stated that Congress violated the Bill of Rights when it established and maintained the House Un-American Activities Committee. And this is not surprising. For the courts, by upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act, which outlaws ideas, in effect allowed Congress to make a mockery out of the Bill of Rights.

Individuals like Watkins and Miller stand up and fight for their rights. This is important, for every victory counts. But, the resistance of individuals must be combined with mass opposition to the Walter Committee and to the thought-control legislation that is the basis of its existence. Pressure of this kind will bring to an end this Congressional witch-hunting body and restore the Bill of Rights.

## Harlem Casts Anti-Tammany Vote for Powell

**NEW YORK, Aug. 13** — Tammany Hall boss Carmine De Sapio was handed a stunning defeat yesterday when Adam Clayton Powell won renomination for Congress in the Democratic primary election, swamping his Tammany-picked opponent, City Councilman Earl Brown, 14,837 to 4,935. Already nominated by the Republican Party, Powell is virtually certain of reelection. Brown is slated to oppose him in November as the candidate of the Liberal Party which has no vote-getting strength in Harlem.

De Sapio had set out to purge Powell on the pretext that the Congressman had broken with the Democratic Party by endorsing Eisenhower in 1956. The same excuse was used by the Democratic caucus in the House to deny Powell chairmanship of the powerful Labor and Education committee, although his 14-year seniority entitled him to the post. No such action was taken against Southern Democrats who also bolted the party ticket in 1956.

To the people of Harlem it was clear that the Democratic high command was out to get Powell because he persisted in embarrassing them by raising his voice in Congress or civil rights.

At the same time, De Sapio's machine was determined to dump Powell because he built his own political machine in the community and is therefore not totally dependent on the white party bosses.

### 'MASSA CARMINE'

Sensitive to the mood of his constituents, Powell made these facts the center of his campaign. Throughout, he branded Brown and Harlem Tammany district leaders as "Uncle Toms" for "Massa Carmine." Large audiences roared their agreement as he charged that Tammany was out to get him for refusing "to stay on the plantation."

Commenting on the primary election results last night, Powell declared: "This is not the end. This is the beginning. We plan to capture the Democratic party from the bosses and Uncle Toms."

But at the same time he indicated possible support to Governor Harriman and the state Democratic ticket in November. Meanwhile, De Sapio issued a statement that he was prepared to support Powell in the general election.

Apparently aware of the thorns on De Sapio's olive branch, Powell also said last night that his forces were planning to contest Tammany-selected district leaders in Harlem in the 1959 primaries. De Sapio, he declared, "must now deal with the real leaders of Harlem."

Assuming that Powell means business about winning a voice for the Harlem community in the Democratic party — and his past flip-flops indicate this is not guaranteed — what are his prospects?

In an Aug. 9 editorial endorsing Earl Brown, the Amsterdam News blurted out some facts of life about both major party machines. Powell, it said, is "persona non grata with his party. And the cold fact is that neither Mr. Powell, nor any other Congressman who is persona non grata with his party, will ever be able to push any legislation through Congress either for the people of his district or for all the people in the nation."

### RULES OF THE GAME

Discussing Powell's eligibility for the chairmanship of the



POWELL

Labor and Education committee, the editorial said: "... no matter how many protests are raised, his party leaders are not going to give him this important chairmanship as long as he continues to play the role of the bad boy and the lone wolf. Party politics are simply not played that way."

Trying to take some of the sting off its inadvertent indictment of capitalist politics, the editorial asserts that Powell's victimization has nothing to do with his being a Negro. For "proof" it points to Congressman Dawson of Chicago, a Negro, who chairs the House Appropriations committee. But Dawson is what the white politicians deem a "good" Negro — that is, one who doesn't fight for civil rights.

Powell's smashing victory over De Sapio makes it clear the Harlem community is sick of delivering its votes to a party that has room only for Negroes who keep in their "place." But the really definitive victory over "Massa Carmine," and all he represents, will come with the building of an independent political movement outside of, and in opposition to, both jim crow parties.

## Calendar Of Events

### CHICAGO

Hear Harold Davies, British Labor Party MP on international tour, speak on "Peace and the Middle East." Tues., Sept. 2, 3 P.M. 410 S. Michigan, 8th Floor. Donation 50 cents.

Labor Forum Presents Eugene Feldman, Editor, Southern Newsletter, "Why the Un-American Committee Persecutes White Southern Integrationists." Serial follows forum. Sat., Aug. 23, 8:30 P.M. 777 W. Adams.

### VANCOUVER, B. C.

Aug. 28 Night Meeting, Hear Harold Davies and Vincent Hallinan at Pender Auditorium. Local sponsors include labor leaders and members of peace for the chairmanship of the

## Local Directory

**BOSTON**  
Workers Educational Center, Gainsborough Bldg., 285 Huntington Ave.  
**BUFFALO**  
Militant Forum, 831 Main St.  
**CHICAGO**  
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.  
**CLEVELAND**  
Socialist Workers Party, 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.  
**DETROIT**  
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.  
**LOS ANGELES**  
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.  
**MILWAUKEE**  
150 East Juneau Ave.  
**MINNEAPOLIS**  
Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.

**NEWARK**  
Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.  
**NEW YORK CITY**  
Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.  
**OAKLAND-BERKELEY**  
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.  
**PHILADELPHIA**  
Militant Labor Forum and Campaign Hdqrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.  
**SAN FRANCISCO**  
The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone: PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.  
**SEATTLE**  
655 Main St., MU 2-7139. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.  
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For information phone MO 4-7194.

## On Inflation

Study of price fluctuations over the past 150 years reveals a surprising long-range trend. Until about a half century ago prices tended to decline; since then they have tended to go up. What caused this shift in the long-range tendency? Can anything be done to counteract it?

In "The Deep Roots of Inflation" Albert Phillips offers tentative answers for consideration by students of Marxist economics. If you are interested in this economic puzzle, which has leading economists bewildered, read Albert Phillips' article 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.

## Stellato and Brown Defeated in Michigan Primaries

By Frank Lovell

**Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Governor of Michigan**  
**DETROIT** — The Michigan primaries on Aug. 5 delivered a sobering blow to those in the labor and Negro movements who have worked hard to reform the Democratic Party in this state.

Carl Stellato, UAW Ford Local 600 president, was defeated in the 16th Congressional District by his banker opponent, incumbent John Lesinski. Lesinski got 27,842 votes, Stellato 21,050.

In the First Congressional District, which is about evenly divided between Negro and white residents, incumbent Thaddeus Machrowicz won against Russell S. Brown Jr., a Negro state parole officer who quit his job to run. Machrowicz got 27,861 votes; Brown, 14,822.

Aside from the extremely light turnout at the polls, these votes in the First and 16th Districts are significant. They reveal the power of the Democratic Party machine, its uncompromising opposition to labor and Negro candidates not

under its control, and the debilitating effect of the party upon the labor and Negro movements in this city.

### STELLATO PROGRAM

Carl Stellato conducted a vigorous campaign. He appealed to Democrats on the basis of his record as a union leader and urged them to nominate a bona fide labor representative for the Congressional seat. He talked about some real issues of the day, in contrast to other contestants in the primaries. He called for ending atom bomb tests, urged full compensation for the entire period of unemployment, demanded legislation for a 30-hour work week.

He pledged to fight for the preservation of the Bill of Rights, and declared his opposition to the Taft-Hartley, Wal-

ter-McCarran, Smith, and Butler Acts.

None of this is what the Democratic party in power does or even talks about doing — either on the state or national level. Nevertheless, Stellato tried to identify himself with the Williams-Hart-Swainson "team" in Michigan.

The complaint was not returned. Governor Williams refused to endorse either Stellato or Lesinski. And the CIO — under pressure from Reuther who fears destroying the present balance within the Democratic party — seconded the position dictated by Williams.

### REUTHER 'KEEPS HANDS OFF'

This hands off attitude of the Reuther leadership in the Wayne County CIO council was what decided the outcome of the Stellato bid in the primaries. Lesinski, the banker-politician, is listed as "pro-labor" by the CIO because he is careful to keep a "good voting record" in Congress even if he fails to do anything else. He has always had CIO endorsement in the past.

The AFL Building Trades council, under pressure from party regulars and partly out of malice, again endorsed Lesinski.

Under these circumstances, Stellato failed to get the big vote that could have insured his victory. Working people in his district were not convinced that there was enough difference between him and Lesinski to go to the polls and vote, despite the obvious merits of Stellato's program.

The story of what happened in the First District is essentially the same. There the incumbent, Congressman Machrowicz, has a long record of disdain and disregard of his Negro constituents. The candidacy of Brown was the answer, within the framework of the Democratic party, to the dissatisfaction of the Negro community with Machrowicz.

Brown campaigned as a representative of the Negro people

in the First District. He also tried to identify himself with the Williams "team."

In this contest, like that in the 16th District, Williams declined to endorse either candidate. But the Williams machine in the Democratic party operated to elect Machrowicz, who got CIO endorsement.

In the race for major offices, the Williams "team" — Williams for Governor, Philip Hart for U.S. Senator, and John Swainson for Lieutenant Governor — received solid labor support and easily swamped the small group of right-wing Democrats identified with Homer Martin, onetime UAW president, and William L. Johnson, a former Williams associate. They campaigned against "union socialist domination."

### OUTPOLL GOP

For the first time in the recent history of Michigan politics the Democratic party far outdistanced the Republicans in the primaries. Williams received 130,000 more votes than the Republican gubernatorial nominee, Paul D. Bagwell, to win his sixth nomination.

This is considered a "personal victory" for Williams by Republican observers and commentators of the local press (all three daily papers in Detroit are Republican), and his Democratic friends hail it as a boost for his chances to win the 1960 presidential nomination.

Williams' conduct is now carefully tailored to the needs of an aspiring presidential candidate. Two recent public statements by him reveal the "statesman-like" posture he is presently cultivating. On the Lebanon crisis he proclaimed, "We should make clear to the world that the whole American nation is behind our military forces . . ." When challenged to make clear his position on current UAW contract negotiations, he declared his "neutrality" between the union and the auto corporations, adjuring that "Government can serve as the protector of the public in-

terest only if it refuses to be the partisan of either side."

Paradoxical as it may appear, the more the labor movement builds and expands the influence of the Democratic party as the major political power in the state, the less influence labor and its spokesmen have in the councils of the party and upon party candidates. This was clearly revealed by the returns in the First and 16th Districts.

The Democratic party — once the step-child of corporate interests in Michigan — is now gaining recognition as the most likely to succeed and the best able to protect the privileges of the wealthy. New pressures are at work steering the Democratic party along "proper" channels. The conservative Detroit News found that "the results of the primary are on the whole heartening," especially the victory of Representatives Machrowicz and Lesinski in their districts.

The man designated to replace Republican Senator Potter is Philip A. Hart. Part of the wealthy Briggs family, Hart personifies the real power inside the Democratic party.

Potter is the man who managed to get into the U.S. Senate six years ago through his activities on the House Un-American Activities Committee. Today Hart is reminding voters that he is no less qualified than Potter as a witch-hunter. Hart boasts that as U.S. Attorney he successfully indicted six Michigan Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act.

**WIDE GULF**  
The contrast between the proclamations and actions of candidates like Williams and Hart on the one side, and the program and position of men like Stellato and Brown on the other, clearly shows the great gulf that exists within the Democratic party between the labor movement which provides the voting strength of the party and the manipulators at the top. Those who control the Democratic party are able,

through it, to use the labor and Negro movements in the interest of the employing class to stifle every authentic voice of the vast majority of people.

The time and effort and money that went into the campaigns of Carl Stellato and Russell Brown, if used independently of the Democratic party for the election of labor and Negro candidates in the general election this fall, would serve far better to bring the real needs of the underprivileged, the underpaid, and the unemployed millions to the attention of all voters.

But this means that the labor movement would have to break its ties with the Democratic party and organize a labor party. It could then select its own candidates. It would not be either embarrassed or compromised by support of candidates hostile to its aims and purposes. And for that reason it could most certainly inspire a much larger turnout at the polls. Its chances of victory would therefore be greater. And even if its candidates were defeated in their first efforts, it is certain that the very existence of an independent labor party would exercise far greater restraining influence upon elected officers — both Republicans and Democrats — than the unions are able to exert now from their trap inside the Democratic party.

Advertisement

## Socialist Workers Party

WHAT IT IS —

WHAT IT STANDS FOR

By Joseph Hansen

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