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## McManus Opens Radio Campaign For Socialism

(The following is the text of a radio speech by John T. McManus, giving his views on the 1958 election campaign in New York. McManus is Independent-Socialist Party candidate for New York governor. The speech was delivered Sept. 24 over Station WNYC, New York City. — Ed.)

Good afternoon, New York neighbors. First, I want to thank WNYC for this opportunity to talk to you. I am the candidate for governor on the ticket of the Independent-Socialist Party, nominated by the petitions of nearly 27,000 voters throughout our state.

The Independent-Socialist Party is a brand-new political party. It has no connection with any other political party, on or off the ballot. New parties must obtain their place on the voting machine by obtaining the signatures of at least 50 voters in each of the 62 counties of our state, with a grand total of at least 12,000 in the state as a whole. So you see, my running mates and I have been nominated by many more than twice the necessary total required by the law.

I am a newspaperman. I have worked at the newspaper trade since I was 16, starting as a copy boy on the New York Times some 37 years ago. I worked my way through college as a reporter. Since those days I have chased fire engines, covered crime stories, strikes, and the evictions and hardships people suffered in the Great Depression of the 30's. I have been a political reporter, a movie and drama critic, a radio and television editor, and now I am one of the publishers of a weekly newsmagazine called the National Guardian.

But this is enough for now about myself, except that I was born in our city of New York, in what we used to call Manhattanville, up around 119th Street and Morningside Park, 54 years ago. And except for four years at college in Marietta, Ohio, I have lived in our city and state all my life, and now am a resident of Montrose, up the Hudson near Peekskill.

### Why We Are Running

As a newspaperman, I learned years ago that a good reporter tells you the who, what, when, where, how and why of the story. I want to tell you, then, who the candidates of the Independent-Socialist Party are, what they stand for, when and where the new party was formed, and why we are running for public office in the 1958 election. I have already told you how we won our nominations — by nearly 27,000 petition signatures gathered all over the state during the summer and filed with the Secretary of State in Albany on Sept. 9.

Let me begin with the why of our story — why are we running for public office — for governor, lieutenant-governor, attorney-general, comptroller and United States senator — in the 1958 elections.

There are three principal reasons why we are running for these offices: The first reason is that we all stand for peace. We challenge the brink-of-war policies of John Foster Dulles and the Pentagon; and we well recall that the Cold War of the last twelve years, and the grim hot war in Korea in 1950, occurred under a Democratic administration in Washington with the participation of John Foster Dulles.

Today the two old parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, have war programs which are almost identically alike, and the Liberal Party leadership has endorsed the Democrats' program in our state.

These parties offer the voter no way to cast a vote for peace. We of the Independent-Socialist Party offer you that opportunity. (Continued on Page 2)

## N.Y. Socialists Enter Suit for Ballot Rights

NEW YORK, Sept. 25 — Vigorously combatting an all-out Tammany effort to deprive it of its ballot place, the United Independent-Socialist ticket has shifted its campaign into high gear. The first city-wide rally of the ticket will be held Tuesday night, Oct. 7, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West 48th Street. In addition to the candidates, the rally will feature James Aronson, editor of the National Guardian, and Myra Tanner Weiss, 1956 Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The ticket's socialist platform received its first major radio presentation yesterday with a speech by gubernatorial candidate John T. McManus over station WNYC. (See text this page.) Earlier in the day McManus appeared on the widely viewed Dave Garroway show.

Meanwhile, the Independent-Socialists have thrown their maximum resources into the battle to defend their ballot status against the Democratic Party attack. On Sept. 9, they had filed nearly 27,000 nominating petitions, almost 15,000 more than legally required, and containing well over the minimum of 50 signatures required from each county. Despite this, the petition was promptly met by three challenges that will be ruled on by Tammany boss Carmine De Sapio in his function of Secretary of State.

### COURT ACTION

A hearing on the challenges will be held Monday, Sept. 29. On Sept. 22, attorneys for the Independent-Socialist Party won an order in the State Supreme Court that will automatically assure court review should De Sapio rule against the party.

The Tammany machine has also moved to deprive the Socialist Labor Party and Communist party leader Ben Davis, People's Rights nominee for the State Senate, of their respective ballot rights.

The hearing on the Davis petition was held Sept. 22 and the Board of Elections promptly disqualified him although he had filed nearly double the 3,000 petitions required. The ruling was vigorously denounced to (Continued on Page 3)

## Criminal Silence In China Crisis

An Editorial

Opponents of war all over the world are grateful to the British workers for insisting that the Labor Party use its strength to restrain the U.S. government in its war gamble in Asia. It was their pressure that led Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell recently to declare that the party could not support or participate in any war to preserve Quemoy for Chiang Kai-shek.

By the same token, opponents of war everywhere are outraged that the American labor leaders have not combatted Dulles' brinkmanship near the Chinese mainland, but have maintained a shameful silence.

Meany, Reuther, McDonald and the rest of the top union bureaucrats show their utter bankruptcy by this silence. They cannot claim that it is prompted by indifference on the part of American workers. For the entire American people is vitally concerned.

The New York Post correspondent in Washington, Robert G. Spivak, reported on Sept. 23 that because of the war crisis mail is pouring in to Congressmen and in running five to one against any use of GIs in defense of Chiang's claim to Quemoy and Matsu.

But is it necessary to cite evidence of the anti-war feelings of the American workers before the labor officialdom speaks out against the big business gamble with war at Quemoy? What possible interest could the American working people have in backing China's former dictator and his hopes of returning to rule the Chinese mainland? When the Chinese people threw Chiang Kai-shek out of their land, U.S. big business lost profitable investments. But what profits did American workers get or want to get from the exploitation of Chinese labor?

Only recently, George Meany, AFL-CIO president, in describing the position of American labor today, said, "The scene of battle is no longer the company plant and the picket line. It has moved into the legislative halls of Congress and the State legislatures."

Very true. But what kind of political battle will be fought by labor with a program that goes along with the present program of the big business rulers. To work for defeat of anti-union legislation is not enough. Labor must have a political program to meet all the other vital needs of the working people. High on the list must be the question of peace. It is for peace that the American people are yearning. They want an end to war, war threats, war budgets, war debts, war taxes and war repressions.

It is time that the labor movement became the spokesman for the American working people's desire for peace.

## British Labor Will Not Fight in Quemoy War

SEPT. 24 — "It would be criminal folly to risk a third world war" over Quemoy and Matsu, off-shore Chinese islands, Hugh Gaitskell, right-wing leader of the British Labor Party said last week.

The Sept. 22 N.Y. Post reported that Gaitskell "warned that the Labor Party could not support, still less participate, in any way to maintain and defend Quemoy for Chiang Kai-shek."

Gaitskell apparently expressed the majority sentiment of the British people. A Reuters' dispatch from London said his "stiff criticism of America's stand . . . has received the backing of London newspapers, including some who generally are lined up against the labor chief."

British diplomats openly express their fears that the United States might bomb the Chinese mainland with atomic weapons.

Drew Middleton reports from London in today's New York Times that "the serenity with which British officials have viewed the foreign policy of the United States has cracked to the extent that anxieties about nuclear bombing have been discussed openly." He quoted British diplomats as saying "a third operational nuclear explosion that the world had known [the Hiroshima and Nagasaki explosions were the first two] would break a 13-year-old cessation of the use of such weapons and create a new and dangerous world situation."

Fears of A-bombs in the Chinese conflict are not baseless. The Sept. 22 N.Y. Post editorially ridiculed Madame Chiang Kai-shek's claim that mainland Chinese "are praying for a rain of atomic liberation." Still she told television audiences, Sept. 21, "I knew of a person, one of the refugees who came from the mainland, and he told me, he said the people of mainland China were saying: Why doesn't the government of the Republic of China [Chiang's Formosa regime] use nuclear weapons on the mainland?"

The British people can find little reassurance in the fact that Madame Chiang and her husband are hopelessly out of touch with China. For Madame Chiang is not out of touch with Washington. A United Press International report from Washington, Sept. 23, said that the U.S. has threatened that "if Quemoy were about to fall, this country would unleash Nationalist bombing raids on Red mainland artillery positions."

Furthermore, "American jets would join the attack." This is an open threat of atomic war. Almost all commentators acknowledge that the U.S. government is making a conscious "gamble" on war or peace in its negotiations with China. Washington is driving for a hard bargain which many believe the Chinese cannot possibly grant. The U.S. government used all its influence today to prevent the issue of a seat in the United Nations for the People's Republic of China from being debated in the General Assembly this year. This but further increases the war danger.

## Settles at Ford



Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers Union, is seeking a settlement with the GM and Chrysler Corporations. Auto workers are exerting pressure by strike action against the two companies.

## Electrical Union Adopts Shorter Hours Demand

By Gordon Bailey

The Independent United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union made a shorter work week with no reduction in pay its major immediate goal at its 23rd annual convention held in New York over the Labor Day weekend.

The program for the shorter week with no loss in pay was embodied both in a resolution on legislation passed by the convention and in demands presented to the three biggest employers of UE members. The resolution called for amending the Wage-Hour Act to shorten the legal work week to 35 hours and increase hourly rates so as to make for no reduction in weekly pay. It called for time-and-one-half to be paid after 35 hours.

In negotiations with General Electric, Westinghouse and Sylva Corporation the UE proposed that the work day be reduced by a half hour beginning September 1958 with no reduction in weekly pay, and that the workday be reduced another half hour starting September 1959, again with no loss in weekly pay. Under this schedule the 35-hour week would be established in these corporations by September 1959, while those few plants that are today working a 37½-hour week would be down to a 32½-hour week.

### HEAVY UNEMPLOYMENT

Because of heavy unemployment in the electrical industry — GE and Westinghouse alone (Continued on Page 4)

## Reuther Makes Many Hidden Concessions To Forestall Fight

DETROIT — The agreement arrived at Sept. 17 between Walter Reuther and the Ford Motor Company covering 100,000 United Auto Workers members involves the least gains in the entire history of contracts negotiated between the union and any of the "big three" auto corporations. The agreement was signed on the basis of an understanding arrived at in advance by Ford, General Motors and Chrysler, and is expected to set a pattern for the industry. When the improvements over the previous contract are balanced against the negative aspects of the agreement, hardly any over-all gain for the auto workers appears.

The Ford agreement will cost the company about five cents an hour more than the previous contract. The modest positive features of the settlement which are a far cry from the imposing — but characteristically vague — program outlined by Reuther at the April UAW convention, are as follows: (1) Pension benefits will be increased. (2) There will be minor improvements in shift-differential, Saturday and jury-duty pay. (3) Most skilled workers will receive an eight-cent hourly increase.

That, believe it or not, is the package of gains — as far as can be determined from what has been made public about the agreement. The remainder of the small, but well advertised, improvements come from funds already allocated to Ford workers from previous negotiations. Thus the severance-pay provision, through which a worker with 30 years' seniority will draw about 1,200 hours' pay and a two-year seniority worker will get 40 hours' pay upon being permanently laid off, does not cost the company an additional penny, since the money will come from the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit trust fund.

Sub PAYMENTS This is also true of the improvement in SUB payments, now raised to a straight 65% of take-home pay in conjunction with unemployment compensation. Falling in the same category are the extensions from 26 to 39 weeks of SUB payments in those states which have the 39 weeks of unemployment compensation, and the provision for paying workers on short weeks 65% of 40 hours' take-home pay.

Little attention has been paid in the daily press, or in the glowing comments of Reuther, to the significance of the length of the agreement — three years, which is a violation of a UAW convention mandate to hold contracts to two years. If there were to be a boom in auto in the next period, auto workers would have lost an opportunity to make significant advances. If — as is more likely — the auto industry remains "recessed" or outstrips its market again in the course of another year or two, the problems of auto workers will not be answered by the terms of this contract.

### SUB PAYMENTS

The contract doesn't meet the needs of the present either. For example, Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, stated that he doubted that laid-off workers with five and six years of seniority would ever be called back to work at the River Rouge plant. There is no provision in the new contract for such workers. In addition, the bases for calculating both the cost-of-living and "annual improvement factor" increases remain the same for the next three years. Under these provisions, the workers will now receive a ten-cent per hour increase. But it would have taken at least a 25-cent per hour increase just to make up for the loss in purchasing power suffered by the average employed auto worker since February, 1957, due to loss of overtime and inflation. (See May 26 Militant.) Inflation, of course, is getting worse all the time and productivity is in (Continued on Page 4)

## Convention Doesn't Cope With Steelworker Needs

By Myra Tanner Weiss

SEPT. 22—Two funerals were conducted at the United Steel Workers ninth constitutional convention held in Atlantic City last week. The first one took place on the opening day of the convention as President David J. McDonald buried his old theme song about company-union peace.

For almost six years McDonald ran the steel union on the theory of "mutual trustfulness," and "people's capitalism." McDonald insisted that Karl Marx and his concept of the class struggle were old hat. But in his opening address to the delegates, he had to report that the steel companies had "betrayed" him, that the "vast majority" of steel bosses were intent on destroying the union and that the labor movement now faced a fight for its very existence.

From McDonald's opening speech, it would seem neces-

sary to devote the entire convention to solving the two major problems of the steel workers—how to beat company-inspired campaigns for anti-labor legislation and how to solve the problem of 250,000 totally unemployed steel workers and an additional 150,000 partially unemployed union members.

Instead, the rest of the convention time was taken with speeches of vote-hungry capitalist politicians and smashing the remains of the Dues Protest Committee for the greater consolidation of the McDonald regime.

### MOCK COFFIN

It was in the course of this latter job that the second funeral took place. As an organ played a dirge, a mock coffin bearing the initials of the Dues Protest Committee was carried through the hall followed by about 100 McDonald stooges with placards reading, "Weed Out the Traitors," "Dual Unionism Must Go" and "Expel the Phonies Now."

This mock funeral occurred minutes after Senator John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) proclaimed McDonald's convention as a model of union democracy. It was followed with passage of a resolution calling for trial and expulsion from the union of the Dues Protest leaders, headed by Donald Rarick, who last year polled more than half the votes given McDonald in a contest over the union president's \$50,000-a-year job.

About 700 of the 3,500 delegates at the convention are reported to have been past or present supporters of the Rarick group. But only two delegates voted against the expulsion resolution. In part this was due to the lynch campaign organized by the McDonald machine. In his opening address (Continued on Page 4)



# ... McManus Opens Socialist Radio Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

ity. Later, when I refer to our platform in detail, I will explain our program for peace and you can judge for yourself whether it is a reasonable program, and one which the other parties might readily accept if they were not committed to war policies.

The second principal reason that the Independent-Socialist candidates are running in the 1958 election, is to offer the New York voter an opportunity to cast a vote for social change in our state and nation. That's where the word Socialist comes in, in our name. There is a hyphen in our name — Independent-Socialist, a dash separating the two words.

The hyphen or dash indicates that we are a coalition of independents and socialists — socialists of many differing persuasions, and independents who belong to no socialist grouping, but who believe that a program of social change — a program of planned economy — must be developed if our state and nation are to be rescued from the eternal recurrence of the life cycle all of us know so well — the cycle of war, economic boom, and then deep depression or recession, which the private enterprise system has proved unable to prevent.

My running mates and myself do not belong to any of the socialist groupings in our state — we are all independents — but we believe that if we are given the opportunity, we can bring together the best thinking of all those dedicated to various programs for social change — for a planned economy — and at some time in the future present to the voters a United Socialist Program — a program to end wars and depressions and make available to all a happy, healthy, abundant life for the generations to come.

## Aim for Ballot Status

This brings me to the third principal reason why the Independent-Socialist candidates are campaigning for your vote on election day. If a minimum of only 50,000 voters in our state — 50,000 people throughout our state who are independent voters — cast their votes for our candidate for governor — that is, for myself, John T. McManus — the Independent-Socialist Party will obtain a permanent place on the ballot and will be able to carry our program to the voters in future elections by the mandate of the voters themselves. Remember, we are running now by petition, the petition signatures of over 26,000 New York state voters — and even as I talk to you today, our petitions are being challenged by a representative of the Democratic Party from New York City, by Tammany, and by a Republican from Rochester.

The two challenges, one from a Democratic representative, the other from a Republican, are identical in specifications. They have both chosen ten counties upstate, where signatures to petitions are hard to get, and have fine-combed the petitions in those counties for clerical irregularities and other technical flaws. But we, too, in advance of filing our petitions, went over them with infinite care. We know that we obtained at least the legal minimum, and in many cases three, four and five times the legal minimum of 50 voters' signatures.

The signatures are honest, and are the result of honest, hard work by crews of supporters who gave up their vacations and weekends to carry our petitions all over the state, to the Great Lakes and up to the Canadian border, and into the Adirondacks and the Catskills and to the fruit and dairy farm counties of our state. The voters were able to reach signed our petitions eagerly. They were eager to put a Peace Party on the ballot. And exactly 26,481 people signed up to nominate us.

The fact that representatives of both the Republican and Democratic parties have challenged our overwhelmingly sufficient petitions on technicalities, indicates the length to which the old parties are going to try to prevent 27,000 people of our state from nominating a peace ticket, and to prevent you, the voter, from having the opportunity to cast a vote for peace and abundance on Election Day — and in consequence to deny you the right to place on the ballot for future elections, a party devoted to peace and abundance.

## Freedom of Choice

The essence of democracy is freedom of choice. You do not have freedom of choice when you are forced to choose between the war policy of the Republican Party and the war policy of the Democratic Party. That freedom of choice is your right. It is your protest medium, if you want your vote to register dissent from the old-party policies; it is your winning medium if enough people vote along with you, for a world without war and economic hardship, without race discrimination, and for a bright future for your children and all children to come.

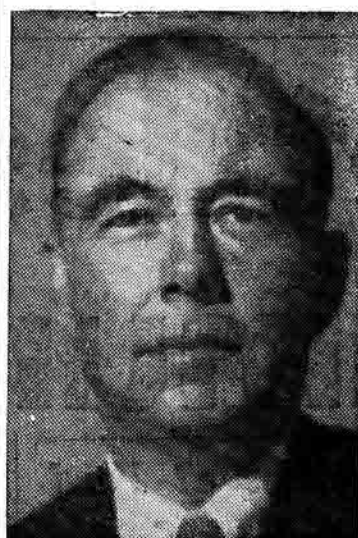
Now I would like to introduce to you my running mates — not in person, I'm sorry to say, but with my own biographical sketches.

Our independent candidate for Lieutenant-Governor is Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, an educator whose father and mother were both educators in our city before her. I must point out to you, before going on, that Dr. Rubinstein is the only woman candidate in the running for top New York State office. Women are said to compose 51% of our population, but it seems as if no woman can ever invade the top ranks of the old parties when it comes to political office — and whereas the Liberal Party might be expected to want and to nominate woman candidates, the leadership of that party has consistently followed the Democrats and endorsed their statewide nominations.

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein was for 18 years the principal of the Robert Louis Stevenson School in New York City. She was long active in the fight for better child care. She taught philosophy at New York University from 1929 to 1932. She was a charter member and former state vice-chairman of the American Labor Party, an ALP candidate for Congress in the special election in 1949 and editor of "I Vote My Conscience," a compilation of the speeches and writings of Vito Marcantonio with whom she was long associated. She is an authority on English literature and author and compiler of a classic work on English literature, "From Shakespeare to Shaw."

Our Independent-Socialist candidate for Attorney-General is the only farmer on the state tickets, but he is also a lawyer of

## New York Ticket



Above, Corliss Lamont, Independent-Socialist Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York. Shown standing in Albany with nominating petitions are (from left to right) Independent-Socialist candidates Scott K. Gray Jr. (for Attorney General), Dr. Annette Rubinstein (for Lieutenant-Governor), Hugh Mulzac (for Comptroller), and John T. McManus (for Governor). At extreme right is Henry Adams, co-chairman with McManus of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee. The stack of petitions bears 26,481 signatures of New York State voters. Twelve thousand are needed to qualify for the ballot. The De Sapio Democratic Party machine is seeking to keep the ISP off the ballot on rigged technical grounds.

long-standing in Albany and the Capital District. He is Scott K. Gray Jr., who practiced law for 25 years in Albany and Troy, N.Y. and now runs a 106-acre fruit farm in Stuyvesant, N.Y., overlooking the Hudson River. He was long associated as legal counsel for trade unions in the Albany and Troy area, and active in civil liberties and in the legal defense of foreign born persons threatened with deportation. He was assistant and then counsel for the United States Senate Committee on Small Business from 1942 to 1946 and is a former American Labor Party candidate for Congress.

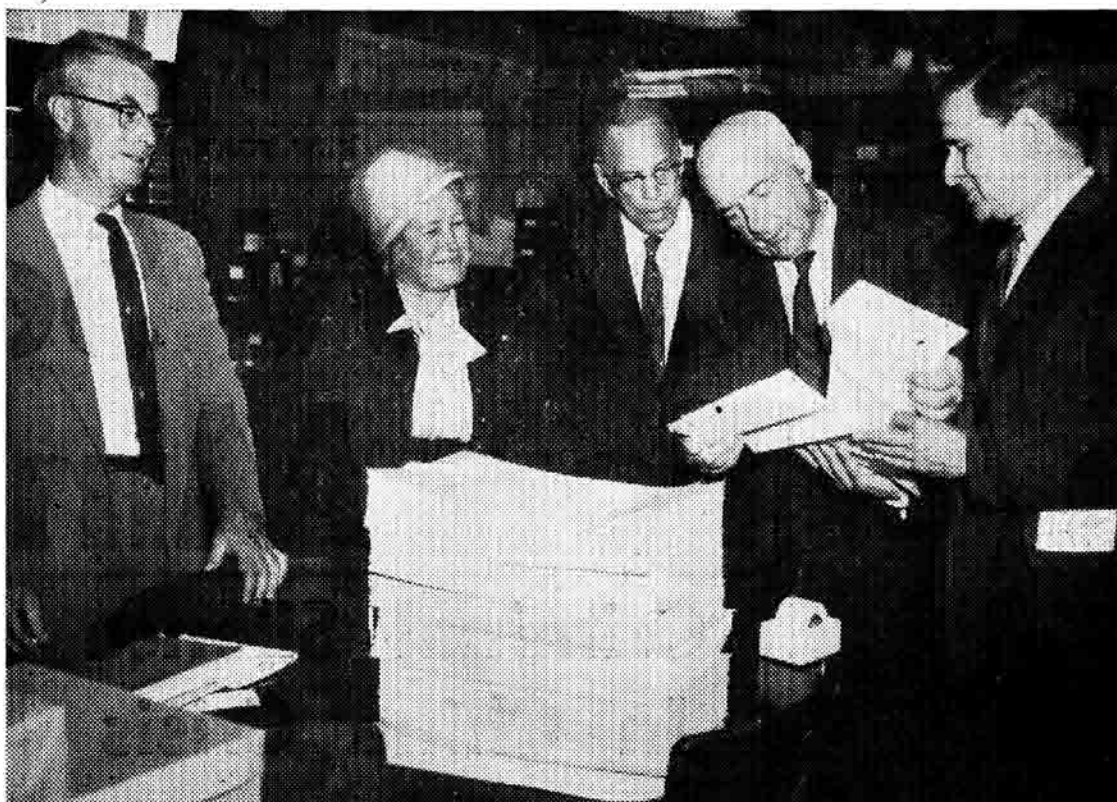
The only Negro candidate on any state ticket to my knowledge is our candidate for Comptroller, Captain Hugh N. Mulzac of Queens. Negroes and other colored peoples constitute one-tenth of the population of our state, and a far greater percentage of the population of New York City. Yet, strange to relate, the old parties have never once, in their whole histories, found a Negro — or any individual other than a white male — to be worthy of nomination to top state office.

Let me tell you a little more about Captain Mulzac, who is an old acquaintance of mine, going back to his wartime days as a sea captain in the U.S. merchant marine. Captain Mulzac was the first Negro to command an American merchant vessel. From 1942 until 1947, he commanded the Booker T. Washington, a war-time Liberty Ship which sailed with an integrated crew. Captain Mulzac started his 45-year sea-going career as a seaman and fought a long fight to end discrimination against Negro merchant marine seamen and officers. Since 1947 he has headed a travel agency and developed his talents as an artist. He is now an artist of great talent whose paintings have had many showings.

Captain Mulzac has been American Labor Party candidate for Borough President of Queens and for New York City Councilman from Queens. He was born in St. Vincent, British West Indies, in 1886 and was naturalized in 1918. He is the father of four children, has nine grandchildren and is a resident of Jamaica, Queens County.

When our candidate for United States Senator, Dr. Corliss Lamont, was an undergraduate at Harvard he wrote a book called "You Might Like Socialism." He believed then, and has never lost the belief, that the future of peace in the world depended on friendship and understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although he has been a frequent critic of the USSR, especially on the matter of civil liberties in that country, he was one of those who urged recognition of the Soviet Union before this was granted 25 years ago this coming November, and today stands as our country's leading advocate of a policy of peaceful coexistence with the world of socialism.

Dr. Lamont is a foremost Humanist philosopher and lecturer on that subject at Columbia University. He is the author of many books, some dealing with the Soviet Union. In collaboration with his wife, Margaret Lamont, he published last spring a



Above, Corliss Lamont, Independent-Socialist Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York. Shown standing in Albany with nominating petitions are (from left to right) Independent-Socialist candidates Scott K. Gray Jr. (for Attorney General), Dr. Annette Rubinstein (for Lieutenant-Governor), Hugh Mulzac (for Comptroller), and John T. McManus (for Governor). At extreme right is Henry Adams, co-chairman with McManus of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee. The stack of petitions bears 26,481 signatures of New York State voters. Twelve thousand are needed to qualify for the ballot. The De Sapio Democratic Party machine is seeking to keep the ISP off the ballot on rigged technical grounds.

pamphlet entitled "To End Nuclear Bomb Tests" which includes his correspondence with high American and Soviet officials which began with letters Jan. 18, 1958, to leaders of both countries pleading for the unilateral suspension of nuclear bomb tests.

Long active also in the fight for civil liberties, Dr. Lamont has himself won two important court victories in this field. In 1955 he won a unanimous Federal Circuit Court decision in support of his resistance to the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy whose committee had cited him for Contempt of Congress. This decision grew out of Dr. Lamont's refusal to answer certain questions before the McCarthy committee in 1953, a refusal based on a charge that the committee's interrogations violated the First Amendment privileges of citizens.

Early this year Dr. Lamont won a passport after a long legal fight with the State Department. Court rulings in both cases have helped re-establish basic rights of American citizens. Dr. Lamont's political career includes cooperation with and support of Henry Wallace in the Progressive Party campaign of 1948. As an American Labor Party candidate for United States Senator in 1952, he received 104,702 votes in New York State.

## Where We Stand

Like Dr. Lamont, I too have had considerable experience as a political candidate. I ran for State Assembly once on the Democratic ticket and for governor twice as the candidate of the American Labor Party. In 1950 more than 200,000 voters cast their ballots for the American Labor Party and for my candidacy, but in 1954 the tables were turned, and the American Labor Party voters failed by a few thousand votes of the 50,000 vote requirement to keep their party on the ballot.

The Independent-Socialist Party is evidence of the hope of a core of that party's former voters to reestablish a political voice in our state, independent of the two old parties. But there is this difference: that whereas the American Labor Party did not embrace socialist objectives, the Independent-Socialist party does, in the conviction that wars, depressions and exploitation of minorities cannot be ended in an economic system run solely for profit, and not primarily for the people's benefit.

We believe that most people, deep down in their hearts, will agree with our platform, and I would like to use the time remaining to me to acquaint you with the planks in that platform.

"For peaceful relations with the rest of the world. We propose an immediate ban on tests of nuclear weapons and an announcement that the United States is willing to join other powers in dismantling its stockpile of atomic weapons by a specified date."

"The People's Republic of China must be recognized and normal commercial relations restored without further embar-

assing delay. Instead of the bi-partisan policy of waging cold war on the Soviet Union and other countries enjoying the benefits of planned economy, a policy of friendship must be adopted. . . . The bi-partisan policy of intervening on the side of reaction in other countries must be halted. . . .

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

"For realistic measures to combat the depression. We propose that the colossal armaments budget be converted into a peace budget and used for public works, including schools, hospitals, homes, highways, playgrounds, parks and other public facilities, and new TVA's."

"We likewise propose the repeal of all taxes on incomes below \$5,000. We advocate an increase in exemptions to \$1,200 for each dependent. . . . To spread employment, the work-week should be reduced to 30 hours but at no reduction in weekly take home pay. Unemployment compensation should be extended to cover all jobs, for the full period of unemployment and at the full scale of pay. The government should declare an immediate moratorium on time payments for household necessities for everyone who becomes unemployed."

"Industrial units, producing essential goods or services, shut down by private owners should be operated under government auspices as a step toward general nationalization of industry and transportation, and the institution of a planned economy in America."

"For an immediate end to Jim Crow and all forms of discrimination. America's greatest shame is continued racial segregation and discrimination almost a century after the Civil War that abolished slavery."

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

"For restoration of our Constitutional freedoms. End the government witch-hunt in America. . . . Restore the civil rights of all Smith Act victims. . . .

"Reform New York's reactionary election laws, which place unreasonable and undemocratic restrictions on minority parties seeking their place on the ballot. . . .

"Unshackle the labor movement. The Taft-Hartley Act, the so-called Right-to-Work laws, and all similar anti-labor legislation, such as New York's Condon-Wadlin Act, must be repealed."

## Socialist Perspective

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

"Planned economy in America can register even more phenomenal success. It will begin with the world's most advanced industrial plant, the largest and most skilled working class and a powerful democratic tradition. Moreover, America will not face the obstacles that hindered the Russian workers. . . . The traditions of the American people and the high development of the American economy will not only be based firmly on the Bill of Rights but will give these rights far more substance than they have ever had under capitalism."

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

"The possibilities of achievement under the rational planning of socialism, bold as they may seem, are completely feasible. To recognize this fact it is only necessary to consider the billions of nonproductive expenditures during the postwar years on wars and war preparations, the billions that could have been produced if it were not for unemployment and idle industries and the billions wasted by inefficiencies in production and distribution—enough to have provided us by this time with a productive capacity sufficient for a decent standard of living and leisure for all."

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

# Candidates in Seattle Issue Statements, Platform

SEATTLE — United on the basis of a clear-cut, militant socialist program, the United Liberal and Socialist Party is now in the thick of the state election campaign here. Four candidates were nominated at a Sept. 9 conference of socialists and independents. The nominees are Jay Sykes, prominent civil liberties attorney, for U.S. Senator; Thomas J. Barrett, an independent socialist and University of Washington student, for State Senator in the 32nd district; Jack Wright, Socialist Workers Party nominee for the City Council last spring, for State Representative in the 37th district; and Clyde Carter, an SWP member, for the State Representative in the 33rd district.

## SYKES STATEMENT

The candidates have now issued statements accepting nominations. In his statement, Jay Sykes explains why he is running on a socialist platform, though not himself a socialist, and why he has chosen the designation of Liberal.

His statement declares in part: "The United Liberals and Socialists is a coalition of socialists and those 'independents' or 'liberals' who while they do not accept the complete socialist program adopted by the party convention, can unite with socialists on the issues of war and peace, civil rights, civil liberties and the inability of the two big status-quo parties to solve these problems. . . .

"Although I do not now consider myself a socialist, I agree with much of the U.L. and S. platform and will campaign on many of these issues. My campaign and platform do not contradict the party's approach on platform and while they may

vary in some respects, are fundamentally consistent with it."

"I consider myself a liberal in the literal sense — one dedicated to freedom, equality, liberty and human rights. The fact that others like Senators Kennedy, Neuberger and Jackson and the New York Liberal Party, etc., also call themselves 'liberals' and have pre-empted and corrupted the term doesn't mean I should give it up any more than I feel that the many fundamentally non-socialists who call themselves 'socialists' should force the true socialists into abandoning that designation for themselves."

## WANTS TEST BAN

Sykes went on to a statement of the issues on which he is campaigning, including a halt to nuclear tests, scrapping of nuclear stockpiles and opposition to U.S. intervention in the Mideast and China.

Urging repeal of thought-control legislation and an end to the witch hunt, the Senatorial nominee declared his stand "for civil liberties in all countries, because what happens in Spain or Hungary or China or British Guinea or South Africa or USSR is our business."

Thomas J. Barrett, in his statement, pointed to the present intellectual thaw on the campuses and the new opportunities for the spread of socialist ideas among students. "In this campaign," he said "I will widen the crack in the ice to keep it from freezing over again. I shall do this by campaigning on this slate as a Socialist. I have been an independent for ten years but for reasons that this kind of coalition vitiate. This coalition and our agreement on the specific issues of a truly socialist platform makes possible a consid-

erable advance for socialist ideas."

## WRIGHT STATEMENT

"I shall base my campaign squarely on the class struggle and advocate to the working class the principles of socialism," declared Jack Wright. "I shall do all in my power to help defeat the vicious, union-busting Initiative 202 that Big Business is trying to put over at the polls. . . . I shall advocate a labor party based on the unions, the Negro people and poor farmers. I am proud to be a candidate of this new party. . . . It is precisely such unity of previously divided groupings that should provide a new mass party of militant socialism in America."

Clyde Carter declared, "As a worker, as a Negro and as the mother of a teen-age son, I am inspired by the emergence of the United Liberals and Socialists ticket. . . . As a veteran of many campaigns for socialism waged by the Socialist Workers Party, I am especially gratified to be involved in a broader, larger and more representative campaign of socialist unity than has heretofore been possible in the left-wing American political movement."

## FOR CHINA RECOGNITION

The platform on which the candidates are running presents a scathing indictment of the cold war organized by the U.S. government. It demands a halt to nuclear tests and scrapping of the H-bomb. It advocates "a policy of friendship towards the countries of the Soviet bloc."

"Recognize the government of China without further delay," it continues, "and offer trade and financial aid to the Chinese people in the task of modernizing their country."

At the same time the platform declares: "Our opposition

to the cold war policies of the U.S. government cannot be construed as support or defense of the bureaucratic acts of the regime in the Soviet Union or its hostility to the socialist aspirations of the people within the Soviet orbit, as demonstrated by the brutal repression in Hungary."

Demanding that the government "stop all military support to imperialist powers and colonial despots," the platform calls for withdrawal of U.S. troops from abroad, abandonment of foreign military bases, renunciation of secret diplomacy and of all military alliances such as NATO and SEATO.

Its domestic planks call for conversion of the armaments budget into a peace budget for necessary public works and social services. To combat unemployment it declares for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay and extension and improvements of unemployment benefits.

To increase and maintain full

production, it proposes: "Plants shut down by private industry should be operated under government auspices, with union contracts and management subject to election by the workers. As relief for the depressed sections of the economy and as a step toward international economic cooperation, such plants could help fill the needs of underdeveloped and planned economies through the exchange of all types of goods on a non-profit basis."

Labor planks demand repeal of all anti-labor legislation, defeat of the projected Washington "right-to-work" law, an end to use of injunctions against unions and the establishment of internal union democracy as the effective means to meet anti-labor "racketeering" investigations. Other planks commit the new party to full support of the battle for civil liberties and civil rights, an expansion of the educational system and a national health insurance program.

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

"This tremendous economic development has been clouded by the destruction of Soviet democracy. But planned economy in America will not be so vulnerable. It does not face the difficulties inherent in a backward country surrounded by a hostile world. It will begin with the world's most advanced industrial plant, the largest and most skilled working class and a powerful democratic tradition. This will assure a social structure as politically democratic as it is economically advanced."

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JACK WRIGHT, veteran unionist and candidate of the United Liberals and Socialists for State Senator, 37th District

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Monday, September 29, 1958

### 'Dulles Must Go!'

For millions of people across the globe, John Foster Dulles has become the dread, hated symbol of the reactionary American foreign policy that keeps the world in constant peril of atomic war. Here at home there is also a developing popular opposition to the Secretary of State and to the insane policy of "brinkmanship" associated with his name. There is every justification for the growing demand that "Dulles must go!"

A venomous enemy of the colonial independence movement, he has done all in his power to stamp out freedom aspirations in every part of the globe. He has worked with might and main to keep hated despots such as Franco, Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek in power. Throughout, his principal war target has been the USSR and China, the two most powerful anti-capitalist powers. Today, he has the world at a new brink with his support of Chiang Kai-shek's provocations against the legitimate government of China.

A cunning, coldly conscious representative of Wall Street, his evil work is consistently designed to realize the aim of conquest of the world by U.S. big business. And he has willingly accepted the "calculated risk" of world destruction inherent in that mad imperialist dream.

Operating in an arena where bi-par-

tisanship prevails, Dulles has energetically promoted the cold-war launched by the Truman administration. This underscores the utter hypocrisy of the Democratic Party's high command, which now seeks a vote-getting advantage from the popular anti-Dulles sentiment.

A case in point is the recent criticism of Dulles by Dean Acheson, secretary of state under Truman. It was Truman and Acheson who hurled us into the Korean "police action" in order to preserve the Korean peninsula as a U.S. beachhead against China. And the basis for the present war crisis in the East was laid when the Truman Administration helped foist Chiang on Formosa so that the island, too, could be used for war against the People's Republic on the Chinese mainland.

Dulles must go, but not to be replaced by another cold-war architect, which means by another spokesman of either Big Business party. The fight for his ouster will develop effectively as any integral part of the fight for a completely new American foreign policy — a socialist policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and China, a policy of support to the colonial freedom fighters and of opposition to tyrants everywhere. Dulles must go and the capitalist system of reaction and war must go too.

### The Seattle Ticket

The launching of a united socialist ticket in Washington State, reported on page two of this issue, is a welcome development. We greet it as the third such venture in the 1958 elections.

There are now united socialist endeavors in Chicago, New York State and Washington State. In Michigan, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Minnesota and Wisconsin, where for one reason or another united socialist tickets could not materialize this year, Socialist Workers Party candidates are bringing the message of socialism to the voters and are seeking to promote united socialist electoral efforts in the years ahead. In California and Ohio, a movement is also afoot for united socialist political action, although there will be no candidates in these states in November. All these developments give promise that 1960 will witness an impressive socialist effort nationally behind a presidential ticket.

In our opinion, the platform adopted by the united ticket in Washington is a fine statement of socialist beliefs, and we look forward to the candidates waging a hard-hitting campaign on the issues of war, civil rights, civil liberties and unemployment. We do think, however, that the ballot name chosen for the Washington ticket — the United Liberal and Socialist Party — is unfortunate.

Traditionally, Liberalism and Socialism are not allied tendencies but mortal opponents. Whenever socialists have entered into coalition with liberals, they have had to abandon their program of social change to the detriment of the working class struggle for socialism. In this country the main proponents of Liberalism are to be found in the Democratic Party where they operate as a capitalist-reform wing. The reforms that Liberalism

characteristically proposes are designed to patch up the decrepit capitalist system so as to prolong its existence.

There are, of course, individual liberals for whom democratic rights, the economic needs of the working people and the right of all nations to self-determination are not to be sacrificed for the sake of capitalist profits. Jay Sykes, the United Liberal and Socialist candidate for U.S. Senate, is one of these. He has made it clear in a statement reported on page two that he has nothing in common with the Democratic Party liberals. He believes that his principles are far better served by working with socialism than through the Democratic Party.

But individuals like Jay Sykes are the exception and not the rule among liberals. His definition of liberal principles is unique and very different from that of the garden variety of liberals. To politically conscious people, the term "liberal" doesn't carry Sykes' definition but is associated with the attempt to palliate capitalist exploitation.

It is because of this more generally recognized definition of the term "liberal" that we urge socialists — who struggle for a change of social systems as the only means of realizing peace, freedom and economic security — to avoid it in naming the united socialist endeavors. To a great many people the name "United Liberal and Socialist" will sound as if the ticket pursued self-contradictory aims and as if it did not really represent a break with capitalist politics. They will get this impression unfortunately, even when, as in the case of Washington State, the ticket is definitely part of the movement to break from the big business parties and to struggle for the establishment of a Socialist America.

# De Gaulle Seeks Yes-Vote for Dictatorship

PARIS, Sept. 20.—As France draws closer to Sept. 28 and to the referendum which will play such an important part in determining its future, political life has become more and more polarized by the fateful choice looming ahead. The past week has seen open splits in the two main center parties, the Socialists and the Radicals. The leaders of both these parties have capitulated to de Gaulle, some arrogantly like Mollet, some shamefacedly like ex-Premier Gaillard and the SP "leftist." De Gaulle, but powerful minorities have broken away from both parties, determined to campaign against de Gaulle.

None of the questions before the French people — the Algerian war, the threat of fascism, inflation — will really be resolved by the Sept. 28 vote. Nevertheless, the stakes are enormous in this referendum.

#### WHAT CONSTITUTION CALLS FOR

If de Gaulle wins a majority of "Yes" votes, the French workers will be saddled with a constitution far more reactionary and anti-democratic than the present one.

The basic governmental power would be taken out of the hands of the legislature elected by the people. Instead it would be given to a president chosen by an "electoral college" representing mainly small villages and rural areas, with a conservative majority. The president would exercise dictatorial powers simply by declaring a "state of emergency." Any hope of achieving social progress by parliamentary means would disappear. In short, the "strong-man" (Bonapartist) rule of de Gaulle would be written into basic law.

But this is only the formal side of the referendum. The crisis-ridden French capitalist class seeks to break the economic power of the workers by destroying their class political organizations and trade unions. Big business desires above all to free itself from the revolutionary threat posed continually by the Algerian war, by the disintegration of the state apparatus and by the developing economic crisis. Under these conditions democracy has become for them a costly, dangerous luxury. Indeed, beyond de Gaulle's present dictatorship, there looms the menace of fascism.

The draft constitution itself would authorize the government to outlaw political parties which do not conform to "democratic principles as defined in this constitution." Any doubt as to the meaning of this provision is eliminated by the recent declaration of the Interior Ministry accusing the "communists" of "collusion" with the National Liberation Front in the current wave of terrorist activity in France.

Meanwhile the police apparatus designed to terrorize Algerian workers in France is being continually strengthened

and developed. If the referendum passes, the police look forward to a major extension of its already vast powers of arbitrary arrest. And almost every night, fascists attack some local headquarters of the Communist Party or General Confederation of Labor without the police making a single arrest.

#### OPPOSITION

But a strong opposition to de Gaulle is present. It is composed mainly of liberals, Communists, trade unionists and independent socialists. The liberals, led by Mendes-France, oppose de Gaulle strictly in terms of capitalist democracy, and on the issue of peace in Algeria. They won 43% of the vote at the recent Radical party congress despite widespread fraud in the election of delegates.

This opposition serves a definite purpose for the capitalist class. Should a strong working class offensive force the fascists to take cover and topple de Gaulle's regime, the French ruling class would be faced with overthrow and with institution of a workers' government. Mendes-France offers a different possibility — a "Popular Front" government, which would be kept within the limits of capitalism by the presence of a capitalist party in coalition with the working class parties. This kind of a government saved French capitalism during the revolutionary crises of 1936-37 and 1944-47.

The most powerful sector of the anti-de Gaulle movement is the Communist Party, which is the biggest and most active force in the working class. But the CP leaders have undermined the party's power through a policy of class collaboration that can lead only to defeats.

The CP's campaign against

the referendum is limited strictly to the defense of capitalist democracy. The party not only doesn't offer the workers a socialist perspective but it insists on assuring its prospective capitalist allies of how "safe" it is. It even boasts that its participation in previous coalition governments helped save capitalism. It still defends its support last May of the "republican" government of Pflimlin which utilized that support to hand the power over to de Gaulle.

#### REGROUPMENT

Of the old social democracy, only the minority of the SP led by Daniel Mayer and Edouard Depreux remains in opposition to de Gaulle. This minority has finally broken organizationally with Mollet and formed the Independent Socialist Party. Together with the new Party of Union of the Socialist Left (UGS) and left-wing trade unionists, the Independent Socialists are part of a groping effort of class-conscious French workers to find a new leadership based on a program of effective struggle.

The new organizations which group militants numbering in the tens of thousands, have serious political weaknesses, remaining generally in the grip of popular-front ideas and thereby lacking a perspective of revolutionary struggle against the fascist threat. But because they represent an effort to regroup the many left independentists who have become disgusted with the policies of the old CP and SP leadership, they have the opportunity to become a center for revolutionary regroupment. Whatever the result of the Sept. 28 vote, the French working class can avert the fascist danger only by achieving such a regroupment for the bitter struggles that lie ahead.

### Students Strike in Mexico



Part of the demonstration of 80,000 students in Mexico City on August 30. The demonstrators are protesting a fare increase by the bus companies and are demanding that the city take them over. Troops answered the students' protests with tear gas and rifle fire.

## Mexican Student Strike — An On-Spot Account

(The following eye witness account of the student demonstrations in Mexico City that erupted Aug. 23 is by an American student who was there at the time.)

The militant struggle of the Mexican students broke out when the Mayor of Mexico City approved an unwarranted new fare increase for the privately operated buses in the city. After a delegation visited the Mayor and got no satisfaction on their protest against the increase, the students surrounded and took over between 350 and 400 buses and impounded about 300 of them on the campus of the University of Mexico and about 65 at Escuela Normal Superior.

On Aug. 23 they loaded into the buses and drove to the President's office at the National Palace of the Republic to present their case to him. The President could block the fare hike or, better yet, have the government take over the antiquated bus systems. However, he was not in his office. He was home resting.

#### PRESENT CASE TO PEOPLE

The students then held rallies on the plaza and presented their case to the people of Mexico City. For the first time the people began to realize that this was their affair, too, even though the newspapers gave a false picture of the issues and bandied such phrases as "hoodlums," "rowdies," "a few instigators," etc.

After the rally the students piled into their buses and proceeded in a very orderly fashion back to their respective universities. Some high school students did get overenthusiastic and began climbing on top of street cars and taking buses for joy rides. But these actions were not encouraged or approved by the commission of university students.

On the way back to the universities, the students encountered road blocks set up by the police and soldiers. The students drove right through, and of 350 buses, the police and army were able to capture only about ten. Many of the police demonstrated their sympathy for the student cause by looking the other way.

Back at the University of Mexico, where I was, the students parked the buses and stationed guards at the entrance gates. They organized defense and food brigades. They began holding meetings, took over the University radio station and began broadcasting their demands. The demands included a pay

raise for the drivers without a fare increase, nationalization of the bus lines and a guarantee of no reprisals against students or against bus drivers who aided them in taking over the buses.

#### UNION SUPPORT

Support began to come in for the action taken by the students and drivers. First there came food from people living near the University. Then came support from the electricians union, the railway union and the teachers union. These unions expressed their solidarity with the students as fighting for the interests of the people of Mexico City.

That night the students met to discuss their plans. A representative of the bus drivers' union was present to express solidarity with them and there were representatives from other colleges. A spokesman from the National Polytechnic Institute said that while there had been fierce rivalry between the two schools in sports, the students would stand together against oppression. He said that if the troops tried to enter the University grounds the Polytechnic students would rally to their defense.

#### STALEMATE

When I left, the situation between the students and the government was stalemated. While the students were getting outside support they had the problem of the police at the campus entrances blocking food and replacements from entering.

The government, however, did not try to use the police or soldiers to attack the university itself. It feared that the buses would be burned and that an attack would have deep repercussions throughout Latin America causing students in many countries to come out in sympathy demonstrations. A number of students said to me that it was a shame that the solidarity did not extend to the North American students.

Mexican tradition forbids either the army or police from entering the campus. However, the students did not place their faith on tradition or laws. They knew the government makes the laws and can change them, so they prepared for every eventuality.

The government did order the police to assault the Escuela Normal Superior but the students beat them back. Special troops, called grenadiers were then sent in but when buses were driven at them they threw their weapons in the air and ran.



These French Generals were the principal members of the military clique that forced the De Gaulle dictatorship on the French people. From lower left are pictured Raul Salan, Army Commander in Chief in Algeria, Jacques Massu, paratrooper commander, and Edmond Jouhaud of the air force.

## ...N. Y. Socialist Ticket

(Continued from Page 1)

day by the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee. (See statement this page.) The hearing on the SLP has not been held as of this writing.

It is now clearly established that the moves to disqualify all independent candidates are being made directly by the Democratic party. Three individuals challenged the Independent-Socialists and the SLP. They were Andrew Pinckney, an Albany patronage appointee of the Harriman administration; New York attorney Monroe Goldwater, a partner of the late Democratic Party boss, Ed Flynn; and Bernard Block of Rochester.

#### DEMO BIGWIGS

A check has revealed that while Block is a registered Republican, his attorney is Robert E. O'Brien, a member of the state legal committee of the Democratic Party. Pinckney, who made the original challenge but did not file specifications, is also a member of the state legal committee of the Democratic Party. According to New York Democratic headquarters, Monroe Goldwater is the chairman of that body!

Information secured by the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee also reveals intimidation of those who signed the nominating petitions. In Wyoming County investigation revealed that signers have been visited by a local election commissioner accompanied by a deputy sheriff. Several signed statements which either said that they had not understood the nature of the petition or which denied having actually signed.

In Rochester, the Democrat

### ISP Scores Ballot Ruling on Ben Davis

(The following statement was issued Sept. 25 by Henry Abrams, chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee.)

The outrageous decision of the Board of Elections disqualifying the nominating petitions of Benjamin J. Davis as People's Rights candidate for the State Senate is part of a drive, sparked by De Sapo's Tammany machine, to prevent all voices of dissent from being heard in this crucial election year.

The first such move was the Tammany effort to destroy Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. But that plot was thwarted by the Negro people of Harlem who gave a massive demonstration at the polls of their refusal to accept the dictate of the machine.

Despite that crushing repudiation of his tactics, De Sapo is now trying to deprive the Independent-Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, as well as Ben Davis, of their rightful ballot place. But we are confident that if a vigorous fight is made by all concerned this reactionary attack can also be defeated.

We pledge our full support to Ben Davis, the Socialist Labor Party and all minority-party candidates in our common fight for electoral rights. Equally important, the restrictive, discriminatory election law provisions governing such nominations must be scrapped to assure a truly free ballot in our state.

And Chronicle published the names of the 192 voters in Monroe County who signed the petition.

#### DONATIONS IN MAIL

But despite these gutter tactics, the Independent-Socialists will win substantial support in the campaign. A heartening indication of this came when an appeal for funds to defray the cost of fighting the challenges was mailed out last week. In the first two days of returns nearly \$600 in contributions was received.

And this afternoon, immediately after McManus' radio

speech, a small incident provided an inspiring preview of the support to come. A worker who described himself as a member of a transit union came into campaign headquarters at 799 Broadway and contributed \$5. He said he had just heard McManus and wanted to be sure McManus won a ballot place so that he could vote for him. "Be sure to give me a receipt," he said, "so I can show the fellows on the job I'm really supporting this ticket and not going along with De Sapo like some people in the union are telling us to."

## Why Did China Veto A 'Summit' Parley?

At the height of the Mideast crisis last summer Eisenhower proposed a summit conference of the major powers under UN auspices. Khrushchev promptly accepted. But on the eve of the slated conference he made a flying trip to China and came back with the surprise announcement that the USSR would not participate. It was obvious he had reversed himself under the pressure of the Chinese. At the same time it was apparent that the heads of the Arab states had little enthusiasm for the slated conference, as indicated by their insistence on acceptance of their own formula for resolution of the crisis.

Why were the Chinese and Mideast leaders opposed to the top level negotiations so widely regarded as the one practical road to peace? One answer is given in the discussion on "Which Road to Peace?" in the fall issue of International Socialist Review — an answer that sheds a good deal of light on one of the major stumbling blocks on the road to peace. On newsstands, or send 50 cents for a copy.

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# The Ghost of Branch One

By James Boulton

Candidate for U.S. Senator from Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE — With Mayor Frank Zeidler's resignation as national chairman of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, an era closes in the history of Wisconsin.

Zeidler himself sets the turning point in Wisconsin Socialist Party history at July 11, 1954 when the SP voted not to run its own candidates but to support those endorsed by the labor movement.

In an article in the Milwaukee Journal Zeidler recalled the stirring early days of the Socialist Party from 1904-10.

"The new party, fired with hope of economic improvement, an end to exploitation, equality among men, and a warless world of co-operative commonwealths made enormous popular gains in the next six years," he wrote.

The Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Party grew to be a power in the city. For over fifty years they elected Socialists to city office, frequently winning control of the administration. Zeidler himself was first elected as mayor in 1940.

With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 the more militant members of the SP flocked into the new Communist Party leaving the SP in the hands of opportunists and reformists. The Socialist mayors of Milwaukee retained less and less of their socialism while in public office and behaved more like capitalist politicians. "Socialist" Mayor Daniel Hoan, during his 24-year rule, used the police freely in labor disputes. Not only did striking workers fall beneath Milwaukee's police clubs, but Young Social-

ist leaflet distributors were arrested by provision of the Handbill Ordinance; hoboes and vagrants were jailed; and, finally, Comrade Joseph Kluchefsky, chief of police under Hoan, graduated to the training staff of the FBI.

In a pamphlet issued by the Socialist Workers Party here in August of 1949, and entitled "SP and Democratic Leaders Plot Unity," we said:

"The once honored Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs has reached the end of its rope. Systematically sapped of its vitality as a fighting working-class organization by crafty, compromising office-seekers, there is nothing left of socialist ideas or action in the practice of its politicians.

"The chieftains of the Democratic Party can gloat over their sordid, scheming purchase of industrialist Dan Hoan, floor-leader Biemiller, and a host of others. Zeidler is next, favored by an open bid in the form of Democratic Party support in the mayoralty election. The selection of Zeidler by the chummy friends of socialism in the Junior Chamber of Commerce as a 1948 American 'find' was the pay-off; and Frank made the trip to collect his button, too.

"Genuine socialists will not be deluded by the promise of a new future in the Democratic Party. Time is rapidly running out on the Democratic Party. Only the prosperity in bloody profits of war, war's devastation, and war preparations hold this sinister gang of plunderers in office."

## 800 at New York Rally Hear British Labor MP

NEW YORK, Sept. 19 — Over 800 people filled the grand ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker to capacity tonight to hear Harold Davies, British Labor Member of Parliament, at the last public meeting of a speaking tour that took him across the United States and Canada. Sharing the platform with him were Dr. Corliss Lamont, Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator; the noted economist, Dr. Otto Nathan; and A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Independent-Socialist candidate for Lt.-Governor of New York, chaired the meeting which was devoted to the subject, "Next Steps to Peace."

Muste, who just returned from a tour of Europe which included the Soviet Union, described the Moscow demonstration in front of the American Embassy at the time of the U.S. intervention in Lebanon. There was no evidence of hate by the participants toward this country, he said, but it was clear that the people in the USSR are completely convinced that the policy of their own government is one of peace. If the Soviet government gets involved in war, he continued, it will have the backing of its people and they will see it as a continuation of a policy of peace.

### SOVIET POLICY

Hitting at the belligerent U.S. policy in regard to Formosa and the obvious U.S. reluctance to end nuclear tests, Muste said that in contrast it is not difficult to conclude that the Soviet policy is one of peace. But, he argued, the present imminent danger of war can be averted only if all powers renounce the use of force since no nuclear war can be the road to peace.

Dr. Lamont urged withdrawal of U.S. forces from Formosa as well as Quemoy and Matsu. As part of the fight to end the cold war altogether, he said, it is necessary to press for the ouster of Dulles as Secretary of State. "If peace is to come," he declared, "Dulles must go." "I don't exactly know who should replace him," he added, "but I suggest Harold Stassen, who has worked hard and sincerely for disarmament." (See Editorial, page 3.)

The Independent-Socialist nominee urged the dismantling of all U.S. bases abroad, an immediate halt to nuclear tests, recognition of China and its admission to the UN and the establishment of extensive East-West trade and cultural exchange. He called for a summit conference to achieve these aims.

Citing the stand of the Independent-Socialist ticket on the basic issues, Lamont said, "We want an economic system of public ownership and planning. Socialism will improve living standards and open the door to social progress."

Dr. Nathan told the meeting, "I am among those who are for socialism and against capitalism. I'm for socialism and the sooner the better."

But, he said, it is necessary to win the fight for peace in

order to achieve the socialist goal. The first victim of the war drive is democracy, he declared. Describing the trend toward totalitarianism which he said now pervades every aspect of American society, he pointed to the conduct of the leadership of the steel workers union at its recent convention as an example of how anti-democratic practices had extended into the labor movement.

Dr. Nathan declared it necessary to work for "an effective system of enforceable world law to abolish war and abolish it at once."

Describing the wide audiences he had reached in the course of his tour, Harold Davies told the meeting he was convinced the American people don't want war any more than do the British, Soviet or Chinese people.

Declaring his solidarity with the colonial people, who he said are correctly convinced "that their own bad government is better than a 'good' foreign government," the British Laborite said the next step toward

peace realistically demands use of the United Nations, even though it is "weak, pitiful and racket-ridden."

At the same time he sharply scored the role of his own government in the UN and declared that he intended to speak out in Parliament against the British stand of refusing to even discuss admission of China into the UN. He said he stood solidly with his party's stand of no war over Quemoy or Matsu.

Declaring the profit system the source of war, he said, "Capitalism can only give full employment when it is at war, preparing for war or coming out of war."

The audience demonstrated its appreciation of the opportunity to hear the presentation of these varying socialist views by contributing over \$600 toward defraying the cost of Mr. Davies' tour and to help make possible future similar ones by other socialist spokesmen from abroad. Mr. Davies' visit was sponsored by Vincent Hallinan of San Francisco and Elinor Ferry of New York.

## West Coast Vacation School Enjoys a Record Attendance

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — The annual West Coast Vacation School, organized by the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party, had one of the most successful sessions in its history during the first part of September. It met in a ten-day encampment at a desert oasis 70 miles outside Los Angeles. Total registration was around 200.

The dominant feature of the school was the high quality of the Marxist lectures, rounded out by speeches from a leading member of the British Labor Party and a Korean who faces deportation charges.

The school had a far-flung attractive power, both in distance and political thinking. Six people came from Vancouver, B.C. and two from Denver, Colo. Thinking ranged from the revolutionary

## Calendar Of Events

**LONG ISLAND**  
Annual Picnic, Sunday, Oct. 5 at THE SKOTEDALS' — 742 Higbie Lane; Babylon, L.I. (1/4 mile north of Sunrise Highway on Higbie Lane).

**DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN**, United Independent-Socialist candidate for Lt.-Governor.

**CAPT. HUGH N. MULZAC**, United Independent-Socialist candidate for Comptroller.

**JOHNNY RICHARDSON**, New Folkways Recording Star. Contribution: \$1.00 per person, \$1.50 per couple, children free. Food included.

From 2 P.M. on.  
Aspiciens: Nassau-Suffolk Committee for Independent-Socialist Ticket.

lutionary socialism of the SWP to the "gradual socialism" of the Labor Party, independent socialists grouped around the National Guardian and recently associated with the Communist Party and trade unionists who still support the Democratic Party.

### WARM WELCOME

Sydney Hyam, a leader of the Victory for Socialism group in the British Labor Party and a candidate for Parliament received a warm welcome as a representative of a working class which says, "We want socialism now!" On socialist strategy, though, many in the audience disagreed with him.

James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP, spoke on "American Radicalism Today."

"The Crisis in the Labor Movement: A New Split," was discussed by Arne Swaback in two lectures.

William F. Warde delivered six lectures on "The Study of American History" and two on "Humanism and Socialism."

"The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism" was discussed by Theodore Edwards in a five-session class.

Other lectures covered, "Mexico, A Personal View," "Education in the U.S. Today," "History of the Dance" and "Anthropology Today."

**RHEE OPPONENT**  
Diamond Kimm, persecuted for his opposition to Syngman Rhee, corrupt dictator of South Korea, spoke on his deportation case. Around \$50 was contributed by his audience to assist the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, which is fighting Kimm's case.

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## ...United Auto Workers Settle at Ford ...Electrical Workers Convention

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have laid off 50,000 workers — the UE bargaining conference voted for the shorter work week in place of the 15-cent pay raises already negotiated under the present contract. The UE contracts with these two companies still has two years to run. The corporations would have to raise hourly rates to maintain take-home pay under the shorter work week.

The union estimated that adoption of the shorter week would require GE to rehire 27,200 laid-off workers and Westinghouse to recall 13,000 even if production schedules remained at the present depressed levels.

Realizing that the demand for a shorter work week will be resisted bitterly by the corporations and will call for the broadest support by the labor movement, the UE notified the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the International Union of Electrical Workers (both AFL-CIO) of their proposals in advance. On Sept. 17, UE President Albert J. Fitzgerald invited the IUE (AFL-CIO) to enter joint negotiations on this issue. The IUE has a number of GE and Westinghouse plants under contract.

For the jobless, the UE convention urged the payment of unemployment benefits equal to a minimum of 75% of weekly wages for the full period of joblessness. A convention resolution also demanded a program of public works to meet the needs of the people and to provide employment.

Another resolution called for raising income tax exemptions to \$2,600 for married couples and \$1,800 for single persons; while other resolutions proposed the retirement age be lowered to 60 for men and 55 for women with benefits starting at a minimum of \$125 a month.

The Convention strongly opposed the witch hunt and other attacks on labor. In condemning the Taft-Hartley Law, the



"Even a plea of temporary insanity won't break the contract. You'll have to give the workers a raise."

McClellan Committee and the Congressional witch-hunt committees headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) and Rep. Walter (D-Penn.), the UE resolution took note of the "tragic fact . . . that the AFL-CIO leadership supports these instruments and often uses and works with them for the maintenance of their bureaucratic positions."

The arms program of the U.S. government was opposed in a resolution that called for a ban on nuclear-bomb tests, an end to colonialism and an end to "arbitrary intervention of any country into the affairs and way of life of any country."

The conventions sent telegrams protesting the beating of Rev. Luther King by Montgomery's racist police and urging commutation of the death sentence imposed on Jimmy Wilson.

In an organizational report, President Fitzgerald revealed that during the past year the Union had not lost a single plant in which it held a contract and had organized a number of new ones, bringing about 15,000 new members into the organization. For many years the UE has been raided by other unions and weakened by a general employer offensive.

(Continued from Page 1)  
creasing much faster than the 2.5% provided for in the "annual improvement factor" increase. (According to the UAW, the rate of increase has been at least 3.9% and according to the Sept. 20 Business Week, productivity is rising sharply this year.)

Other provisions of the settlement are just now beginning to leak out, though it is doubtful that the total picture will be known by the ranks for some weeks to come. While it is true that some gains were registered for the pensioners, the union has also reportedly agreed that it will never again ask for improvements in the pensions of those already retired, or of those who will retire prior to the time of subsequent negotiations.

According to the information so far made public, the severance payments appear to be tied to the financial standing of the SUB funds and to any amounts which may have been drawn from those funds by the individual worker. Under this arrangement, the least amount will be available when the severance pay is most needed.

One of the worst features of the contract deals with union representation at the giant River Rouge plant in Dearborn, Michigan. The agreement reduces the ratio of full-time union representatives from roughly one for every 130 workers to one for every 250, effective in one year. This is a crystal clear example of the general pattern of Reuther's negotiations since 1947. In exchange for a few cents in wage or fringe benefits, Reuther has permitted the corporations to tighten the speed-up screw more

than enough to make up for the concessions.

The pattern was made clear by a letter last week to Ford workers from the head of the corporation. He told the workers that they would have to become worthy of company concessions by working harder and becoming more productive.

"All in all," says the Sept. 20 Business Week magazine, "the settlement represented more of a victory for the company than for the union." Other company and big-business spokesmen echoed the same sentiment. "I feel particularly good about this settlement," said Ford vice-president John S. Bugas. The Wall Street Journal reports that the settlement "has been hailed as a splendid victory for the company."

Reuther has been hailing the agreement as a victory for everybody, but the auto workers know better. Despite the pleas of local and international leadership, workers in the Tool and Die, Maintenance, and Miscellaneous Units of Ford Local 600 at the Rouge plant stayed off the job for at least four days after the agreement was announced. They are seeking relief on local issues and working conditions, but the walk-outs are an indication of underlying dissatisfaction with the proposed contract. The recent wave of walkouts that have hit the "Big Three" throughout the country could not have taken place unless the workers wanted to fight back against company attacks on shop conditions. This unrest may not result in the ranks turning down the contract, but local strikes and "wildcats" will probably continue despite ratification.

## ...Steelworkers Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

the union's president called on the delegates "to rip this cancer out of your bowels." From then on, hooting, booing and threats of violence made a fair discussion of the issues impossible.

McDonald used every trick in the dictatorial book against the Rarick opposition. He accused the opposition of working "hand in glove" with the bosses, the National Association of Manufacturers, Communists and Trotskyists. Needless to say, this charge never took formal shape for such charges make as much sense as charging a man with driving two cars at the same time in opposite directions—and on different roads.

Getting down to cases, the McDonald machine charged the Rarick group with "dual unionism," a charge based on the fact that the Dues Protest Committee had exercised its democratic right to organize a group to oust the McDonald machine. The resolution to expel the opposition, with an eye on the courts, cautiously reiterated the rights of all steel workers "freely to criticize our officers, freely to run for office, freely to seek constitutional change and freely to express their opinions as to union policies." But if these rights do not include the right to organize a caucus within the union to fight for its views, whatever their merit, all the other rights are rendered meaningless. And if these rights do not include the right to dissent without mock funerals and threats of physical violence they are meaningless.

All opposition motions mustered less than 50 votes. These were: to reduce dues rates; to elect rather than appoint staff organizers; and to remove a constitutional clause against "slandering or wilfully wronging a member of the International Union." The Rarick group believed that elimination of the clause would protect the right of union members to criticize the regime.

**LACKED PROGRAM**  
The McDonald machine was able to ride roughshod over the Rarick opposition because the leadership of this group failed completely to raise the basic economic and political issues that are bothering the steel workers. Leaders of the former Dues Protest Committee had nothing new to say about unemployment. They had no program for political action different from McDonald's or different from the policy that has led to the present political offensive against labor.

The Rarick group was charged with taking its grievances against the administration outside the union and into the courts before union procedures were exhausted. It was also

charged with favoring State "right-to-work" laws. All charges, except that of court action, were denied by the accused. The convention could hardly constitute itself as a fair trial. Yet McDonald's opposition was treated as if it were not only accused, but already convicted.

The convention concluded without a serious discussion either of the employer campaign for anti-labor legislation or of the unemployment problem. In the corridors delegates discussed the question of 30 for 40—30 hours work for 40 hours pay—as a concrete demand for the 1959 contract negotiations. A resolution on this question was circulated by Local 1104 of Ohio. But from official convention spokesmen came only vague references about the need to spread jobs with a shortened work week.

A great deal of bluster was heard about defeating the campaign for anti-labor laws. But official convention spokesmen had nothing more to say about this than what has been said since the time of Gompers—reward your friends and punish your enemies. This policy in recent decades has meant a vote for the Democratic Party whose present control of Congress, with Republican help, of course, has led to labor's current dilemma.

The need to solve the political and economic problems of the steel workers will prove stronger than both Rarick and McDonald. The Rarick group met crushing defeat at the convention because it ignored these basic issues. And McDonald's victory will prove an empty one because he has no program that will solve these problems. The fighting tone of his opening speech was designed primarily for internal consumption, to consolidate his regime. It was not a serious threat to the labor-hating bosses.

With high taxes, inflated living costs and increased job insecurity, steel workers are going to demand more than demagogic speeches. McDonald knows this. The lynch campaign against the hapless Rarick group was basically a substitute for a fight against the steel bosses.

**SHAPEUP ON VIDEO**  
In Toronto a mechanized version of the hated "shape-up" method of hiring has been demonstrated at the Canadian National Business Show. In this system, a closed circuit television arrangement permits an employer to dial a number and view a prospective worker on the TV screen together with a televised record of the worker's qualifications. The worker would be unable to see the prospective employer, or even know who is looking him over.

## "No More War"

No More War. By Linus Pauling, 254 pp. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. \$3.50.

The secrecy surrounding the development of ever more powerful atomic bombs prevented the truly awesome nature of the largest bombs from becoming publicly known until the last year or two.

Horror at the knowledge that thousands are doomed to die in future generations merely from nuclear testing, a growing world wide protest movement has demanded an end to the tests.

Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate and renowned scientist has been a leading figure in these protests. In this book he explains the structure and nature of the bomb and describes radioactivity and its biological effects. He also gives a detailed answer to the Atomic Energy Commission and Edward Teller who are the principal spokesmen for continued testing in this country.

### 20 MEGATON

It is difficult to conceive of the power of the largest bombs which are measured at about 20 megatons, that is, equivalent to 20 million tons of TNT, or five times the power of all the combined explosives used in the Second World War!

Such a bomb has a core like the Hiroshima or Nagasaki bombs. But this is just the trigger which raises the temperature to 50 million degrees (hot-



DR. LINUS PAULING

ter than the sun) and sets off the combined fusion-fission outer part which employs cheaper materials like natural uranium. Russia is estimated to have materials for 10,000 such weapons and the U.S. for about 35,000.

Dr. Kellogg of the Rand Corporation has estimated that 250 ten-megaton bombs dropped on the U.S. would immediately kill 36 million and injure 57 million of which another 36 million would die within 60 days. This figure excludes death from such effects as contaminated water sources. Every area would come under some part of

the fallout pattern eliminating all escape.

All the world's geneticists agree that even the smallest amounts of radioactivity has harmful genetic effects. Any increase in radioactivity causes increased mutations, virtually all of which are harmful. If the mutation rate were to double, so would the incidence of stillbirths, dwarfism, idiocy and hemophilia.

### HARMS FUTURE GENERATIONS

The present rate of bomb testing is estimated to cause a 1% increase in the human mutation rate. While this appears small, actually the number of people affected is very large. Dr. Pauling estimates that at the present rate, every year of tests causes 15,000 grossly defective children who would otherwise lead normal lives. This excludes the effect of carbon-14 which produces a longer term though smaller initial effect. Each year of present testing will produce in all future generations an estimated 230,000 seriously defective children from carbon-14.

The view of the AEC appears to be that since more than a million defective children are born in the world every year, 15,000 more is not significant. In its campaign to minimize the effects of testing, the AEC has issued some wild statements which Dr. Pauling charitably calls "misleading." One spokesman claimed that the total fallout would have to increase a million times to produce significant results at distances far removed from the bomb site. Had the 1953 radioactive rain on Albany, New York been multiplied by much less than one million, says Dr. Pauling, everyone in the area would have died.

Dr. Pauling closes with a discussion of the petition against testing which was signed by 11,021 scientists from 49 countries. He proposes that means be set up for scientists to do research on how to achieve peace. I think, however, that the first and most important task is to take the war making power out of the hands of the powers that be and let the people vote on all questions of war and peace. The people would never vote for atomic destruction of all mankind.

—David Dreiser

## Local Directory

**BOSTON**  
Workers Educational Center, Gainborough Bldg., 295 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 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.  
**DETROIT**  
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.  
**LOS ANGELES**  
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St., AN 9-0953 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, 118 University Place, AL 5-7852.  
**OAKLAND-BERKELEY**  
P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.  
**PHILADELPHIA**  
Militant Labor Forum and Campaign Editors, 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.  
**ST. LOUIS**  
For information phone MO 4-7194.