

# Internal Politics Not 'Invasion' Cause Laos War

While the kept press of U.S. Big Business screams about "Communist aggression" against Laos, a study of the known facts reveals that the outbreak of guerrilla fighting in that Southeast Asian country is but a new development in a long-simmering internal political struggle.

U.S. Congressional hearings and magazine articles before the present crisis gave ample evidence that the government of Laos had little support save among the small circle of businessmen and politicians enriched overnight on U.S. "aid" funds in a corruption spree equalled only in South Korea and South Viet Nam.

That this situation continues at present may be seen even in the articles of so ardent a purveyor of the State Department line as Frank Robertson, Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Laos. His dispatch of Sept. 1, for example, is interlarded with such revealing remarks as: "A surprisingly large percentage of the population has little confidence in the government... half the population is made up of tribal people who have received little or no recognition or help from the government... slow but sure deterioration..."

## VIOLATE GENEVA PACT

The present outbreak of civil war in Laos stems from the U.S.-inspired violation of the 1954 Geneva treaty ending the war in Indo-China. As in Viet Nam (France had carved up its Indo-Chinese colony into Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos in an attempt to defeat the independence movement), the northern provinces were held by revolutionary forces, called Pathet Lao, while the South was under control of the French-backed feudal and capitalist elements. The Geneva agreement provided for an international control commission to prevent a military buildup by either side in Laos and for "integration" of the representatives of the northern provinces into the Laotian government and its soldiers into the Laotian army.

But this agreement ran coun-

ter to Washington's decision to make the small country a military bastion and jumping off place for a possible war with China and North Viet Nam, both of which it borders.

## DOUBLE CROSS

The "integration" of north and south Laos ordered by the Geneva treaty finally took place were held and the Pathet Lao was allowed to form a political party and was given two cabinet posts. But that summer by-elections for 21 seats in parliament were held and the Pathet Lao and its allies won a majority of them. Washington and its Laotian puppets, terrified of the Pathet Lao being voted into power at the next general elections, decided upon a campaign of repression. The Pathet Lao ministers were thrown out of the cabinet, then, along with other party leaders, put into prison.

Last February the Laotian premier declared that since his government had complied with the provision for "integration" of the Pathet Lao, it was no longer bound by the Geneva treaty and the stipulation of an arms freeze. He thereupon kicked out the international control commission, composed of representatives of India, Canada and Poland, whose job it was to report any arms build-up. Washington quickly followed through with a pact and poured weapons and military "advisers" into the country. These U.S. military personnel all wear civilian clothes and outnumbered at least four times the military mission permitted the French under the Geneva treaty. The Laotian army is the only army in the world, aside from the U.S., whose cost is borne entirely by U.S. taxpayers.

The Wall Street Journal (Aug. 25) points out the U.S. Seventh Fleet "couldn't dock in landlocked Laos, but it could fly bombing missions and bring its Marine contingent from carriers."

# Congress Hands Bosses New Club Against Labor

## Teamsters Strike Wins 2-Year Pact

Striking members of San Francisco Teamsters Local 85 today voted to accept a two-year contract that provides them with an immediate wage increase of \$2.40 a day and other concessions. Approval of the pact ended a 24-day walkout that began when the local membership defied their officials by rejecting a proposed three-year contract providing a \$10 weekly wage increase.

The new agreement has been approved by truckers employing some 2,800 men. Members of the California Trucking Association who employ another 1,200 men were expected to ratify the contract later today.

## MONEY GAINS

The \$2.40 wage increase will be retroactive to July 1. An additional \$1.80 increase will go into effect July 1, 1960. This means that in the second year of the contract the men will be making \$4.20 a day more than now as against \$4.00 in the offer they voted down.

The men had demanded that a one-year contract include a \$2.50 increase. Most of the fringe benefits they had pressed are reported included in the new agreement.

In addition to eliminating certain wage differentials and job classifications for platform men, the pact provides for improved vacation benefits and a ninth paid holiday — the driver's birthday. Sick leave benefits were also improved and a uniform grievance procedure established. The total package represents a gain of about \$2.80 a day in the first year, according to local president Joseph Diviny.

The end of employer resistance came after Local 85 picketlines were extended to long-haul terminals in Oakland and other East Bay shipping points. Although they were already saddled with the three-year pact rejected by the members of Local 85, East Bay, teamsters respected the picketlines, and the major truckers were shut down tight.

Local 85's strike action originated with a rank-and-file which refused to buy a long-term agreement that would afford no real protection against rising living cost and automation job losses. The officialdom moved into the leadership of the strike only after they recognized they could not get the men back on the employers' terms. Rank-and-file spokesmen won places on the strike committee.

# Independent-Socialists Discuss 1960 Outlook

By Harry Ring

The United Independent-Socialist Committee of New York has called a conference of independents and socialists to discuss what role they should play in the 1960 elections. At the same time the UI-SC opened the discussion with a presentation of the views of several members of its administrative committee in the summer issue of the UI-SC Newsletter.

The conference will be held at the Fraternal Clubhouse in New York City, Sept. 26 and 27, and will be open to all independents and socialists. Invitations to present their viewpoints on 1960 have also been sent to the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and Socialist Labor Party. The conference will be a consultative one intended to guide the UI-SC in reaching a decision on what role it will play in the elections.

The UI-SC is the continuation committee of the Independent-Socialist Party, an electoral coalition created in 1958, that contested in the New York gubernatorial election. The Socialist Workers Party was the only established political party in the electoral coalition which also included former leaders of the defunct American Labor Party and prominent supporters of the weekly National Guardian.

In the present Newsletter discussion, 11 of the 18 UI-SC administrative committee members present their views on the issue of 1960.

John T. McManus, 1958 ISP candidate for governor and general manager of the National Guardian, believes that socialists and independents do not have the forces to run a presidential ticket in opposition to the two major parties and that given certain nominations

## WOULD BACK STEVENSON

If Nixon's Democratic Party opponent should be Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy, McManus would favor opposition to the nominees of both major parties.

But if Adlai Stevenson is nominated by the Democrats, "even against an opponent other than Nixon," McManus would favor Stevenson. "I believe Stevenson has matured so as to be a potentially constructive candidate for 1960," says McManus.

Murry Weiss and Tom Kerry, two members of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, outline their attitude toward the 1960 elections in a brief statement: "We have been, and are now, emphatically in favor of independent socialist political action as against all forms of coalition politics involving collaboration with or support of candidates of the

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## South African Women Battle Cops



South African women are sparking a campaign of militant opposition to racist oppression. These are part of the 1,500 women who fought back with sticks against armed police attacking their demonstration in Ixopo Aug. 20. The women demonstrated against a new increase in the poll tax.

# Chinese Government Admits Statistics Grossly Overstated

By Daniel Roberts

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party admitted Aug. 26 that the production figures for 1958 it had released last December had been badly exaggerated.

The CP scaled last year's grain-output total downward from 375 million to 250 million metric tons. This crucial statistic had thus been overstated by 50%.

Steel production was listed as eight million instead of eleven million tons. The three million tons involved were those produced by primitive backyard furnaces and were dismissed as "requirements of rural areas."

Cotton production totals for 1958 were reduced from 3,350,000 to 2,100,000. They had been overstated by 60%.

All targets for 1959 were drastically revised downward inasmuch as they had been set as percentage increases over last year's inflated figures.

## GAINS STILL IMPRESSIVE

However, as Tillman Durdin notes in the Aug. 30 New York Times, "In spite of the statistical shakedown that has occurred, Communist China has an im-

pressive production record and this year's gains will in fact represent a further big economic advance." (Last Jan. 1, Durdin indicated that the increase in China's 1958 grain harvest over 1957 was probably closer to 25% than to the 100% figure that the Peking regime was then boasting about. He noted that even a 25% increase was a remarkable achievement. According to the CP's newly revised figures, the increase was 33%.)

Besides deflating their 1958 claims, the Chinese CP leaders appear also in past weeks to be easing the forced-march pace of agricultural production maintained last year and to be relaxing still further the semi-military character of life in the rural peoples' communes. Changes in that direction began at the CP's Central Committee meeting last December.

"Reports of the trend toward moderation have come from mainland publications, from commune members who have come here from China and experts on China here," writes Tillman Durdin from Hong Kong in the Aug. 20 N.Y. Times.

"It is noted that operations within the communes have been decentralized... Today sub-

ordinate production teams, which roughly correspond to pre-commune collective farms, have wide latitude to act on their own... "Eating in mess halls has been made voluntary, it is reported... The result has been that in many communes the only persons still eating in the mess halls are Communist officials, unmarried persons, childless couples who do not want to cook at home and workers temporarily assigned to duty away from home... "There are still nurseries for small children but these are used mostly when the mothers [are] working. The children are taken home at night."

"The income for commune members has, for the most part, reverted to the system of labor points used in the days of the collective farms... Labor points are awarded on the basis of output and are collectible in food... "The private plots have reappeared. Commune members may now have whatever land they are able to cultivate in their spare time... "There is said to be less emphasis on operating local industries in rural communes," because of last fall's campaign to

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# First Union-Curbing Bill Since Taft-Hartley Law Approved by Democrats

SEPT. 3 — On the eve of Labor Day, Congressional conferees reached agreement on a union-crippling bill embodying virtually all the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin measure passed by the House of Representatives, Aug. 15.

The agreement, when ratified by both houses and signed by the President, will place new shackles on labor's right to organize and strike besides those contained in the Taft-Hartley Act. The new fetters outlaw such vital adjuncts of the unions' economic struggle as the secondary boycott and the refusal to handle "hot cargo." In addition, through the so-called "bill of rights" for union members, the government gains greater scope for interference in labor's internal affairs.

The Taft-Hartley law was passed in 1947 by a Republican-dominated Congress. Anti-labor legislation was also being promoted by the Truman Administration at the time. (For instance, in his 1947 State of the Union message, Truman called for outlawing "secondary boycotts.") However, the labor leadership pinned the blame for anti-union legislation exclusively on the Republicans.

The union leaders rejected the idea of building a labor party and continued to back the Democrats who promised to amend the Taft-Hartley law in labor's favor if not to repeal it outright.

Last year, the Democrats won their biggest majority in Congress since 1938. It is this Congress that is set to pass the first anti-labor measure since Taft-Hartley.

The Democratic conferees who on Sept. 2 voted for the final form of the anti-union bill include such highly touted "friends of labor" as Senators Kennedy (Mass.), McNamara (Mich.), and Randolph (W. Va.)

## THE GREAT COMPROMISER

Kennedy authored a "mild" first version of the union-curbing law in the Senate last January, then accepted stiffer amendments under pressure from Sen. McClellan (D-Ark.). The stiffer version passed the Senate 90 to 1 last spring.

When following President Eisenhower's public intervention last month, the House passed the even harsher Landrum-Griffin bill, Kennedy presented a new compromise between the Senate bill and Landrum-Griffin. As the

## Negro Registration Declines in South

The number of registered Negro voters has declined in five Southern states since 1956. The Southern Regional Council has completed a survey of voting conditions for Negroes in the South. The Council finds that white violence and intimidation following the U.S. Supreme Court desegregation ruling in 1954 is the cause for the drop. "Negroes in parts of the South now feel they run a greater risk in trying to register than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944."

"In the eight states where SRC was able to obtain reliable figures," reports the Council "the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,026,827 as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845." In some areas Negroes were purged from the polls and in others they "were confronted with threats, slowdowns, evasions, and outright refusals."

Aug. 31 Wall Street Journal reported, the compromise "embodies the restrictive provisions of the House bill with few exceptions."

"Consequently, the Senators will not be choosing between a 'weak' bill or a 'strong' bill. Essentially, they will be deciding whether the final measure will bear the Kennedy or the Landrum-Griffin label. Mr. Kennedy, a front-running candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, would like to have his name on the measure."

The final version resulted from a further compromise with Landrum-Griffin.

Passage of anti-labor legislation is part of a stepped-up class war that big business is currently waging against labor. Other manifestations of it are the arrogant stand of the steel and railroad corporations in their bargaining demands upon the unions and the threat of the Eisenhower Administration to use Taft-Hartley machinery to bust the steel strike.

# They Voice the Bitterness of the Negro Ghetto

By George Lavan

The past month has seen the launching of a hysterical and hypocritical campaign by America's big business press against Negro nationalist groups in this country and especially against the religious movement calling itself the Muslims. A "Special Report" in Time Magazine (Aug. 10) notes with satisfaction that the Muslims are under FBI and police surveillance.

The press campaign has already incited violations of the Muslims' civil liberties. In Indianapolis the group was locked out of a hall rented in advance and warned by a police official of possible prosecution. In Birmingham a seller of the cult's newspaper was arrested as were two local Muslims who went to the police station to try to get him released. If the press campaign against these Negro nationalists continues, there is the grave danger that it will lead to violations of their rights.

The campaign is hypocritical because it is being carried on in the name of combating race hatred. Both Time Magazine, which has never distinguished itself for crusades against race hate, and U.S. News and World Report, the most anti-Negro of the important journals in this country, put the preaching of hatred of whites at the head of their charges against the Muslims. The police claim to be acting in the interests of racial amity.

## 'DEFEND' RACIAL AMITY

What precisely is Negro nationalism and just what do the Muslims stand for?

The basic premise of black nationalism—and it has recurred a number of times in the history of the Negro people in this country—is that the colored minority can never gain true equality from the white majority. The conclusion is drawn that Negroes can achieve a life of decency and dignity only in a separate society.

In their theories various nationalists have placed the location of such a society in a 49th state of the U.S., in the black belt of the Deep South or by going "back" to Africa. The

Muslims, mixing their nationalism with religion, are not so specific, but as is typical of religious movements looking forward to the millennium, they content themselves with prophecies about the downfall of white civilization, which at present they set for 1970. The baiting press campaign intimates that they will then try to overthrow the U.S. government.

The Muslims declare they adopted Mohammedanism because it is against racial discrimination whereas Christianity was imposed on the slaves by their masters and on the colonial peoples by the missionaries and imperialists.

Moreover, the cult takes all the stereotyped charges of the white-supremacists against the Negro and turns them around, accusing the white man of being "the greatest drunkard, greatest seducer, greatest murderer, greatest adulterer, greatest deceiver on earth." Jim Crow in reverse is used to keep whites, including white reporters, from their services—which has infuriated the press and TV news companies.

The religious mumbo-jumbo

of the movement has been ridiculed in the press accounts. But these same big business papers and magazines show their class and race bias when they fail to see anything ludicrous about the mumbo-jumbo of the Pope, Archbishop of Canterbury or Billy Graham.

## PRODUCTS OF DESPAIR

What is noteworthy about all Negro nationalist movements in American history is that they are products of despair of ever winning justice from America's white majority. The greatest mass movement of the Negro people, that led by Marcus Garvey between 1917 and 1924, erupted in a period when all classes of the white population appeared irrevocably hostile to Negroes.

The historically-destined ally of the Negro people—the white working class—even in the North seemed hopelessly hostile, for bitter competition for jobs and housing often sparked race riots. Furthermore, white workers were at that time overwhelmingly unorganized, the tiny percentage in unions

being led by conservative, prejudiced, craft-minded AFL labor bureaucrats.

That nationalism should have a resurgence today must come as a rude shock to those of official Negro and labor leaders whose arms are out of joint from patting themselves on the backs over the "great gains" they have won for the Negro people since World War II.

The growth of the Muslims—though it must be numbered in the thousands or tens of thousands rather than in the millions who followed Garvey—is a symptom of the deep dissatisfaction of the Negro masses with the present state of affairs, the rate of progress and the official Negro leadership.

This symptom reveals that despite the much-touted but actually meager gains, the "Brotherhood Weeks" and the "recognition" granted prominent Negroes by appointments to this or that public post, the living conditions of the average Negro have not basically altered. These living conditions are unbearable. They are a torture of intense economic ex-

ploitation, wretched housing, injustice, insult, discrimination and police brutality.

The real attractive power of the nationalists lies not in Islam, Africa or separatism. It lies in their public expression of true bitterness and anger the average Negro feels with his lot in American society. Negroes want these feelings voiced in strong terms rather than in the circumspetuous tone and polite language employed by Roy Wilkins, Lester Granger and other official leaders who temper their language to the tolerance level of the white liberals.

Another attractive power of the black nationalists in the urban centers is that both in words and deeds they show their readiness to fight police brutality. In a city such as New York there are every day hundreds, if not thousands, of instances of police brutality or insult to Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Tempers in Harlem and other large Negro communities have reached the boiling point. The Muslims' have given an ex-

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# How Fleeting the Joy Of that November Day

By George Breitman

An Englishman once expressed the following opinion about sex: "The pleasure is momentary, the posture is ridiculous, and the expense is damnable." Whatever one may think of this as a description of sex (I myself would call it distorted), I can't help feeling that it's a pretty fair description of the coalition of the union leaders with the Democratic Party. Events of the last ten months illustrate what I mean:

**The pleasure:** After the election in November the union bureaucrats are intoxicated with joy, they float rather than walk, and the only future they can see is a rosy one. Thanks to labor support, the Democrats have won almost two-to-one majorities in both houses of Congress, and the union leaders point to no less than 21 staunch "friends of labor" in the lower house alone. Songs are sung celebrating a famous victory for labor and another vindication of the policy of supporting liberal capitalist politicians rather than building a labor party.

But the time of rejoicing is brief. Comes the dawn, or Congress meets in January. The filibuster is retained, civil rights are scuttled. The unemployed get the cold shoulder. Health, welfare and education are swept under the rug. The liberal Democrats gripe a little but continue to accept the leadership of the conservative Democrats, and the conservative Democrats confine themselves to legislation that will not be vetoed by a conservative Republican. By April there is a terrible taste in the union leaders' mouths as the Senate adopts the anti-labor Kennedy-Ervin bill, 90-1, with all the liberal Democrats voting for it.

**The posture:** Next is the turn of the House of Representatives. For a short time the labor leaders nourish the hope that it won't be able to reach agreement on what kind of anti-labor bill to pass. But Eisenhower puts on a little heat and liberal Democrats on the House Labor Committee scurry to join with the conservatives to assure that the issue will go to the floor. The union-backed Shelley Bill is voted down in a hurry, 245-132; at

least 89 "friends of labor" have been lost in the shuffle between November and August. The "friends-of-labor" column shrinks still more when the Landrum-Griffin "killer" bill is passed, 303-125, and the Powell amendment to ban racial discrimination in unions is swamped, 215-60.

Without working class support the Democrats would be a small minority outside the South. The union leaders mobilize money and manpower to elect them and give them a huge majority. But while the union leaders pay the piper, they do not call the tune. Their relation to the Democrats is not that of master or equal; at best they are regarded as very junior partners, and usually they are treated like poor and distant relatives. Their posture is that of a beggar — on their knees, hat in hand, voice subdued and expression pitiful. What makes it so ridiculous is that the labor movement puts the Democrats in power and can put them out by forming a labor party that will run its own candidates for office.

**The expense:** Now they sit there on their haunches, counting their teeth to see how many are left. They are "stunned" and "confused": What happened to all their friends? Why are they treated so harshly after all the trouble they took to appease the McClellan committee by splitting and weakening the labor movement? Is there no gratitude in politics? Apparently not. The Democrats take union support for granted because they feel the union leaders have "nowhere else to go" — except toward a labor party, a path they renounce.

Millions of dollars and millions of votes — and in return, the Taft-Hartley Act; a decade of promises to repeal it never kept and never meant to be kept; and now one or another variant of the Landrum-Griffin Bill, which will further weaken the unions' ability to organize and protect the workers' conditions. If the expense isn't damnable, it surely is excessive. And what makes it worse is that the union leaders want to go on paying it indefinitely. And will, until the members of the unions rise up and put a stop to it.

# Class Struggle vs. People's Front in '60

By Murry Weiss

The viewpoint advanced by John T. McManus in the current debate on socialist policy in the 1960 elections (see story, page one) will undoubtedly meet with astonishment and disappointment from many who supported the Independent-Socialist ticket in the New York 1958 elections.

Those who supported the I-SP ticket were keenly aware that it represented a necessary break with the electoral policy of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. That policy calls for supporting the cold-war, witch-hunting capitalist politicians in the name of "cooperating with the labor movement."

I-SP backers — especially those who were either independents or members of the CP — were subjected for months to the CP leadership's accusations of "sectarianism," "collusion with anti-Soviet Trotskyists," and "giving objective aid to the Republican Party." They heard all the CP arguments in innumerable private, semi-public and public debates during the last part of 1958, but remained I-SP supporters despite this. In the process, they acquired a certain familiarity with the respective viewpoints. They learned who were the leading exponents of class collaboration on the one side and of independent socialist political action on the other.

I-SP supporters regarded McManus as a banner bearer in the fight for socialist opposition to the capitalist parties and as a vigorous foe of the policy of burying the radical movement in the Democratic Party graveyard.

### McMANUS SWITCH

Now I-SP supporters will encounter many (though not all) of the arguments that were used to attack their campaign from McManus himself.

In the current issue of the Newsletter published by the United Independent-Socialist Committee, McManus proposes "the introduction of guerrilla tactics into American politics." Since such tactics are "flexible" by their very nature, he offers a series of variants that range from opposition to both Republican and Democratic nominees to endorsement of one of the two parties.

McManus says he would like to see some independent expression on the ballot in 1960 and cites the advantages of such an expression by reference to the I-SP campaign in 1958. "However, such advantage wherever available must inevitably be weighed against the necessities, under some circumstances, of independent-radical collaboration with labor and liberal forces on certain immediate objectives which may arise in 1960."

of the Democratic Party still refutes the "lesser evil" theory, and she favors continued socialist opposition to both Republicans and Democrats.

### HITS 'LESSER EVIL' IDEA

She has reluctantly arrived at the conclusion that there will not be sufficient forces available for a 1960 united independent-socialist campaign and adds: "In the meantime—and whenever we are strong enough to next run candidates for office — I feel we should stress, to a larger degree than heretofore, the solutions that socialism has to offer the tangled problems of our time. We must increasingly speak as socialists."

Irving Beinin, treasurer of the committee, opposes a 1960 campaign on the grounds that it would not be a "serious intervention in the political life of the country." He favors political activity on the Congressional level.

Morris Goldin, one of the co-sponsors of the 1958 independent-socialist conference, also opposes a presidential campaign and favors Congressional contests. His statement has the concurrence of Babette Jones, member of the Activities Subcommittee of the UI-SC.

"In Goldin's views, socialists 'must have a continuing interest and stake in the political developments in the two major parties. We cannot be indifferent as between a candidate who is a consistent fighter for peace as against one who is a warmonger.'"

But support to "major party" candidates by socialists will be ineffective, he says, unless it is supplemented by independent socialist campaigns.

Elinor Ferry, member of the UI-SC Finance Committee, says the 1958 campaign "was worth the effort and I hope we repeat it in 1960." She argues that socialists cannot effectively resist the cold war and witch hunt by supporting "H-bomb liberals" who "have supported in varying degrees all of Dulles's disasters."

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**Labor Politics**  
"Which Way for Labor: Democratic Party or Labor Party?" by Murry Weiss.  
Bulletin No. 3 of Marxist Studies. 22 pp. 25 cents.  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N.Y.

### Democratic Party 'Statesman'



Adlai Stevenson (left) and ex-President Harry Truman meet the press. An undeclared contender for the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination, Stevenson has largely confined recent political utterances to the need for convincing the people of the world that it is the U.S. and not the Soviet Union that seeks peace. Yet Stevenson is a member of the Democratic Party's National Advisory Council which has consistently raked the administration's giant arm program as "inadequate."

into a direct rejection of an open bid for power by monopoly capital."

What accounts for McManus' startling change of front from 1958 to 1959? Closer examination of the question will show that McManus' change is really not as startling as it might appear. He has radically revised his conclusions. But he is operating now as then with the same basic method. During the 1958 campaign, McManus never regarded opposition to the capitalist party candidates from the standpoint of Marxist class struggle principles. He viewed the 1958 race as an opportunity to propagandize against the bipartisan cold war and the witch-hunt in the specific 1958 New York gubernatorial setting: between Harriman and Rockefeller he preferred to support neither. But he avoided generalizing.

He refused to champion "coalition" politics if he saw no difference between the two capitalist party candidates in a given election or series of elections. But he also refused to denounce "people's frontism" in general. His method was eclectic then as now.

True, in 1958, under the impulse of a revolt in the section of the radical movement formerly dominated by the Communist Party against the unsavory results of playing Democratic Party politics, McManus broke in practice with people's frontism. But a practical step that is not followed by a clarification of its principled meaning can always give way to the opposite practice at the next turn of events.

### INFLUENCE OF LIBERALISM

Method and principle is decisive in the long run, despite all the sneering of the empiricists

nates the coalition. It foists its program of bolstering capitalism on the bloc. Electoral triumphs for the alliance invariably bring considerably less than peace and progress and, indeed, soon bring their opposite.

Finally, the people's front ends in catastrophe and demoralization for the working class. This has been witnessed in Germany where the Social Democrats had their chance with the people's front (they called it the Iron Front) and it brought about the tragic debacle of Hitler's victory, the physical destruction of the workers' organizations, the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Communists and Socialists and millions of Jews, and the clearing of the way for World War II. The people's front policy, which is only another name for class collaboration in politics, led to other tragic defeats of the working class, in Spain, Austria, France, and Italy.

### AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

In the United States the people's front policy played its ruinous part in preventing the emergence of a labor party during the upsurge of class struggle in the Thirties. Instead of fighting for a labor party the leaders of the CP and the SP joined with the labor bureaucracy in the terrible crime of herding the American workers into the party of the "good" capitalist Roosevelt. We are still beset by the consequences of this betrayal of socialist and working class interests.

Of course, when the CP in the U.S. tries to act as if it were in a coalition with the "good" section of the capitalist class the results, especially at the height of the cold war, are often comic as well as tragic. Moreover, as the comic-tragic results accumulated, the revulsion that a class-conscious worker feels for sup-

With this article we are opening a discussion on the various points of view that have been presented by members of the United Independent-Socialist Committee on socialist policy in the 1960 elections. The summer issue of the UI-SC Newsletter contains articles on this question by members of the Committee. Copies may be obtained by writing to the UI-SC, 799 Broadway, New York City. The Militant will welcome comment from readers on this discussion. —Ed.

porting his class enemy at the ballot box begins to gain expression.

This is what happened in 1957 and 1958 in the American Communist Party and it was helped along by the deep crisis the CP experienced after the Khrushchev revelations. Under these circumstances, a number of prominent figures like McManus began to voice this general dissatisfaction among members and sympathizers of the CP and the conditions for a break with people's front politics and the adoption of Marxist class struggle politics were at hand.

It is necessary, however, to recognize that, in the whole crisis of the CP and its former periphery, only a very few individuals made a thoroughgoing break with the method as well as the practice of class collaboration in politics as it was inculcated in the radical movement by the CP over the past three decades.

That is the reason why McManus, who fought the CP's line in practice in 1958, is now searching once again for a political savior in a witch hunting, Jim Crow-ridden, cold-war of capitalism.

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## When Socialism Caught America's Imagination

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## ... N.Y. Independent-Socialists

(Continued from Page 1)  
two capitalist parties.

"We favor the idea of a united independent-socialist campaign in the 1960 election, for many of the reasons given in other statements in this issue... favoring such action and for additional reasons which we hope to elaborate in the further course of this discussion."

(The SWP has announced that if the forces are lacking for a united socialist presidential ticket it will run its own slate.)

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein,

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THE MILITANT

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Vol. XXIII—No. 36

Monday, September 7, 1959

Should We Now 'Like Ike'?

According to the old saw, one should not look a gift horse in the mouth. Evidently this is how the National Guardian, an independent weekly that has fought the cold war since its inception, feels about the current diplomatic moves of the Eisenhower Administration.

Discussing the forthcoming Eisenhower-Khrushchev visits, the Sept. 7 editorial column of the Guardian proclaims "This Ike We Like."

The editorial quotes a press statement by Eisenhower to the effect that a president who fails to pursue the "discovery" of a road to peace "ought to be condemned by the American people."

To this the Guardian editors say: "May he have the full power of the people of this nation and the world behind him in the pursuit of this discovery."

This reversal of the Guardian's long-standing and well-justified suspicion of the Administration's foreign policy moves illustrates precisely what the State Department hopes to accomplish with its present diplomatic turn — namely, the political disarming of the opposition at home and abroad.

The invitation to Khrushchev marks an easing of the cold war that will be joyfully welcomed by everyone who fights for peace. But it is a fatal political error to assume that the administration's moves stem from Eisenhower's "discovery" of the virtue of abolishing war.

The present diplomatic turn is the expression of a stunning defeat for U.S. imperialism—a defeat inflicted by revolutionary masses across the globe.

World War II was not yet ended

when the U.S. began organizing for World War III — the war against the Soviet Union. But the plans for a new global holocaust collided with a revolutionary upsurge. The Chinese revolution, the setback in Korea, the sweeping Asian and African movements for national independence, the growth of anti-war and anti-U.S. sentiment in Europe, manifestations of peace sentiment at home and, finally, the spectacular growth of Soviet technological power combined to disrupt the big-business war timetable.

Foreign policy architects were compelled to recognize that a major diplomatic turn was required or else the U.S. would become dangerously isolated in a world that increasingly recognized that Washington was the source of the present danger of atomic war. To better prepare for ultimate war, it was first necessary to try to recoup the "peace banner." A year ago Dulles and Eisenhower began to map the current diplomatic line.

We cite these basic factors behind the current "thaw" not merely in the interest of historical and political accuracy. A vital point is involved. International opposition forced American imperialism to withdraw from the brink. But it will surely return to that brink again if and when it feels its hands are freed. Only continued political opposition to big business and its two-party spokesmen can restrain and finally defeat them.

To suddenly paint the militarist Eisenhower as a genuine spokesman for peace, as the Guardian editorial does, can only help to disorient the real anti-war fighters.

New Truce in Nuclear Testing

The easing of cold-war tensions has produced one tangible concession to the people of the world. On Aug. 27 Washington announced it would extend its present suspension of nuclear tests until the end of the year. Great Britain will follow suit. American atomic explosions were scheduled to resume Oct. 31. Within 24 hours of the U.S. announcement, the Soviet Union said it would refrain from atomic tests as long as the Western powers do.

The issue of a permanent ban is expected to be on the Eisenhower-Khrushchev agenda. New data about the damage to human health from radioactive fallout underscores the need for continuing to organize a world wide popular movement demanding that the tests be stopped forever.

Since the end of World War II, 205 nuclear devices have been exploded — 131 by the U.S., 53 by the USSR and 21 by the British.

Last May the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy held a four-day public hearing intended to prove that the fallout risk is a minimum one. Despite its efforts to conceal the real extent of the danger, the committee has confirmed at least some of the facts previously revealed

by independent scientists.

In a report made public Aug. 24, the Congressmen continued to insist that exposure to radioactive fallout is still "relatively small" as compared to natural radiation. But they admitted that every single radioactive particle absorbed by people is dangerous because "any dose, however small, produces some biological effect."

At the same time the committee reported that if tests are continued on the same scale as in the past five years the "permissible" limit of strontium 90 absorbed in human bones will soon be reached. Strontium 90 causes leukemia, bone cancer and mutation of the genes.

The committee also acknowledged that the government had been incorrect in its insistence that radioactive fallout is distributed in a thin, even layer around the globe.

Actually more than twice as much strontium fallout has concentrated in the Northern Hemisphere as in the Southern Hemisphere. The committee also confirmed that the fallout is descending twice as fast as officially estimated. This increases the extent of human exposure to such short-lived but deadly nuclear products as iodine 131.

The NAACP's Little Rock Suit

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has filed suit against the Little Rock school board in behalf of a number of Negro students. When schools reopened there on Aug. 12 only five of the 61 applicants were chosen to integrate Central and Hall High Schools. Two of those rejected, Thelma Mothershead and Melba Patillo, were among the "Little Rock Nine" who entered Central High School under a federal court order in 1957.

"Unless legal action were undertaken in behalf of these students, their rights — already determined — would have been waived," said Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP. The 1957 court order established that "school officials were to allocate children to the high schools on the basis of attendance areas," Wilkins continued, "... and officials were not to change the original plan without prior approval of the court." He said the suit, instituted Aug. 8, was for the purpose "of discovering whether or not the original plan had been followed" by the school board.

But something new has been added since September 1957. Last November the U.S. Supreme Court backed down from its earlier school desegregation rulings and upheld Alabama's "school placement" law. The Alabama law makes it possible to segregate Negroes by using a whole series of qualifications none of which have anything to do with race — at least on the face of it.

The trend since the November ruling among segregationists seems to be "if you can't fight integration, you can con-

tain it." Because of strong pressure from white parents who favor the preservation of the public school system, many racist officials in the South have decided on token "integration," using the Alabama "pupil placement" method.

Thus U.S. News and World Report, often a spokesman for the Southern ruling class, now declares that "School integration is a problem of declining size. Schools are considered 'integrated' if one Negro is admitted among hundreds of whites. 'Token' integration is the new pattern. 'Pupil assignment' is the means of assuring token integration. Assignment of pupils is governed by multiple standards. . . . Burden of proof then rests upon the pupil to prove that race was a factor in assignment to a school. . . ."

On the one hand this constitutes a retreat for the racists from their "massive resistance" stand. On the other hand it marks a setback in the struggle for genuine integration.

Furthermore token compliance is still combined with outright defiance of the law. Six of the 17 Southern and border states have no integration at all. Prince Edward County in Virginia — a state which has integrated less than 1% of the Negro school population — has abolished its public school system to avoid integration of any kind.

While legal action against the racists is necessary and important it is not enough. Integration leaders like Mrs. Daisy Bates, who stand firm against daily harassment, must be backed up. Mass pressure of the Negro people and the labor movement must be combined with the NAACP's legal action to win the fight.

China's Communes

The Hard Struggle Against Nature

By Daniel Roberts

After slowing down plans for economic growth in 1956 and 1957, the Chinese Communist Party leaders decided to launch another intensive effort in industry and agriculture. They named this the "Great Leap Forward." In the Second Five-Year Plan to begin in February 1958, the CP leaders announced, the first three years would be the hardest. They called for the greatest possible exertions.

Mobilization of the biggest labor force among China's 650 million people was the keynote struck at the Second Session of the Communist Party's Eighth Congress in May 1958 and in articles and speeches in the following months.

Inasmuch as the communes were launched shortly thereafter as a means of carrying out what Mao Tse-tung called the "three-year hard struggle against nature," we must examine the objectives of this program, and how the communes fit into it, in greater detail.

In agriculture, the three-year hard struggle aims at permanent gains in productivity.

TRADITIONAL METHODS

Lacking food credits abroad, or the possibility of obtaining supplies of chemical fertilizer and agricultural machinery, the Chinese government has been compelled ever since it took power to restore China's traditional farming methods. As we indicated last week, these require intensive labor but are capable of producing high per-acre yields. They won ungrudging admiration from F. H. King, Chief of the Division of Soil Management, U. S. Department of Agriculture, back in 1909. King's book, Farmers of Forty Centuries, describes the traditional practices in considerable detail.

One of the objectives of the communes is to further improve these practices and speed their employment throughout China. In a visit to Ankuo County in Hopei Province last year, Elsie Fairfax-Cholmeley reports essentially on this aspect of the program. (New World Review, Feb. 1959.)

Efforts in this area "included the building of 300 reservoirs, an increase in the number of wells with mechanical pumps from 38 to 1,391, and the digging of many ponds." (The pumps she refers to are probably the traditional "chain pumps" operated by foot power and or bigger, ox-driven pumps.) "Land once waterlogged was drained. Plowing on 70,000 acres was deepened from the former five or six inches to one foot. . . . Huge quantities of green manure, pond mud, sewage and other fertilizer were amassed."

In experimental plots the earth was dug to a depth of five feet and bottom fertilizer was added at a rate of sixty tons an acre. In the spring 70,000 peasants from various cooperatives (they had not yet been merged into communes) "had banded together to deepen a river bed and build new canals connecting with farmland." In short, Ankuo, was adopting China's traditional farming methods as described in King's book.

DAMS AND CANALS

A Conference on Soil Science held last winter noted that China's bumper harvest in 1958 was "the result of careful cultivation, heavy manuring, close planting and other measures. Of these, careful cultivation and the use of large quantities of organic fertilizer were characteristic of China's farming."

Rivers, dams, canals and reservoirs have been indispensable to Chinese agriculture for 4,000 years. King estimated in 1909 that there were fully 200,000 miles of canals in China, Korea and Japan. "Indeed," he wrote, "it is probable that this estimate is not too large for China alone." In an area 175 by 160 miles in the Yangtze Delta, he estimated no less than 25,000 miles of canals.

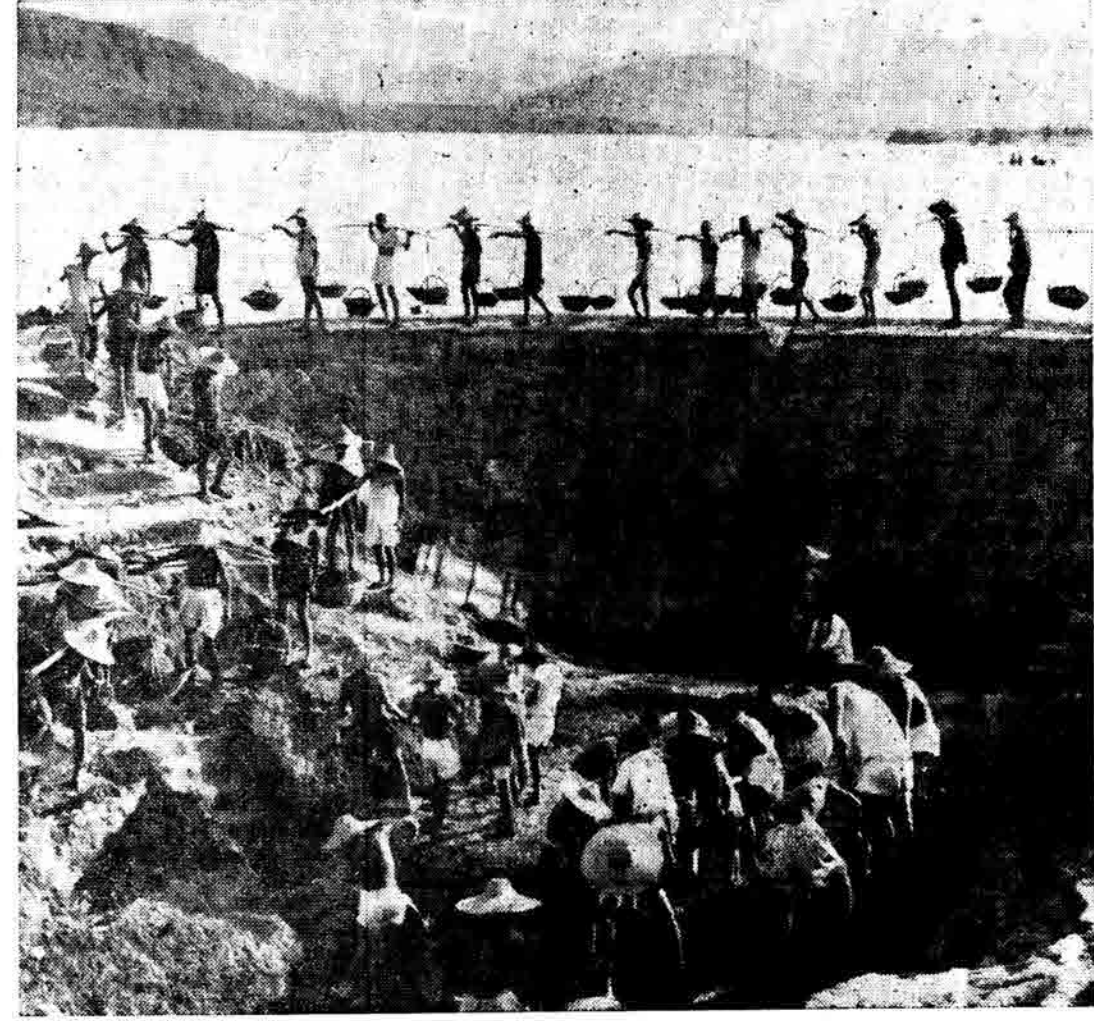
... Overstate Statistics

(Continued from Page 1) make pig iron in small "backyard" furnaces. "Not only was much of the output of these operations of unusable quality, but forcing farm dwellers to work at furnaces also disrupted harvesting and caused serious losses."

"The military character of commune organization," including militia training, "is said to have been de-emphasized."

Reports of accusations and counter-accusations in the Communist Party press would indicate that an internal struggle in the party leadership attended both the deflation of statistics and the modifications introduced in the commune program. According to Red Flag, bi-weekly magazine of the Chinese CP's Central Committee, some critics of communes within the party had dubbed the communes the result of "petty bourgeois fanaticism." In turn, the Central Committee unanimously condemned such criticism as "rightist opportunism."

The inflated figures them-



to Chinese agriculture for 4,000 years. King estimated in 1909 that there were fully 200,000 miles of canals in China, Korea and Japan. "Indeed," he wrote, "it is probable that this estimate is not too large for China alone."

Official Hsinhua News Agency reports daily about hundreds of thousands of laborers working on irrigation and water-conservation projects in different parts of the country. These include the rehabilitation of old dikes, rivers and canals that had crumbled, silted up or otherwise fallen into disuse as a result of official neglect in the decades prior to the revolution or as a result of destruction in war. (The biggest such project is the restoration of the Grand Canal, once China's principal transportation artery.) The program also includes a vast multiplication of new canals and reservoirs.

PRIMITIVE TOOLS

The tools the Chinese people must labor with are primitive. They include spades, hoes, carrying poles, wheelbarrows. Modern construction or dredging equipment is in extremely short supply. Vast concentrations of manpower on a single project must make up for the woeful lack of machinery. This is what the capitalist press refers to sneeringly as an "antihill" society. But it is the only way, under present circumstances that China can carry through its sorely needed public works program. And the achievements have been impressive — even if Peking's claims that land under irrigation increased from 31% in 1957 to 59% in 1958 turn out to be as inflated as its other economic statistics.

The most ambitious of all projects pursued by the Chinese government in its agricultural policy is to bring the Hwang Ho — the Yellow River — under control. This is a crucial project. Periodically over forty centuries the state power has attempted it. But the Hwang Ho remained "The Ungovernable," and it continued to justify its other designations, "The Scourge" and "China's Sorrow," too. Thus, in one flood in 1887, the Yellow

River killed almost one million people. And yet in other years, the North China plain through which it runs suffers drought.

As a result, in the northern areas, drought alternates with floods every five or six years. Periodic famines have been the result.

Entire armies of laborers are now at work on the program to harness the Hwang Ho. Other armies are at work on projects to harness the Yangtze and the Hwai Rivers. These are not simply old-style projects, however, for they combine hydroelectric development with water conservation and flood control. Some of the world's biggest hydroelectric stations are in construction on these rivers.

Road building and railroad construction are also vital for China, in contrast to the past when the country relied most heavily on its waterways for transportation; and the government must mobilize manpower on a large scale for these projects.

Traditionally, China's farmers — especially in the north — have been idle in winter. A major objective of the communes has been to develop activities — sideline occupations, as the Chinese CP calls them — for these periods. Revival and multiplication of handicrafts, agricultural processing, production of work implements and many public works have been scheduled during the winter months.

Again, last winter, the Chinese government organized a huge mobilization for the collection of manure and decaying vegetable matter as fertilizer and the making of fertilizer in small workshops from saltpeter, feathers, bones, hair, ashes, old leather, eggshells, etc.

It is this utilization of the peasants' previously idle winter time, as well as the scope of the irrigation projects that recently won high praise from Indian ag-

ricultural delegates for the commune program. Actually, the first year of the "hard battle against nature" began under the some 700,000 cooperatives into which the peasantry was organized in 1955-56. But these proved to be inadequate for the organization and administration of the new program.

IRRIGATION NEEDS

Irrigation projects, for instance, embraced entire regions that included dozens of cooperatives. Thousands of laborers instead of hundreds at the disposal of the cooperatives had to be shifted about either on local projects or on the national projects.

Again, some cooperatives engaged in handicrafts and agricultural processing, others did not. There were differences in terrain and soil between the cooperatives, duplication of efforts, irrational use of the land. There were wide discrepancies between richer and poorer cooperatives, with the poorer ones wishing help from the richer ones, but finding no provision for this, etc.

For the program to be carried through uniformly, bigger units were needed. This led to the merger of the cooperatives into the communes.

A number of features of the communes since their inception have undergone considerable change. The semi-military organization of labor has been relaxed somewhat as the peasants have once again been encouraged to grow vegetables in small private plots, to raise their own livestock or to engage in handicrafts for a local market on a part-time basis.

After the great exertions of the first two years of the second five-year plan, it would also seem that the pace of work will be somewhat relaxed. In any case, the hard battle has already brought permanent gains through the progress in irrigation, through organization of farming on bigger areas and through development of "sideline occupations." Whatever concessions the regime now feels compelled to make to the peasantry, the communes will be called upon to maintain the gains in productivity and extend them as much as possible in the future.

(Second of a series)

Headlines in Other Lands

Now It's Official — Khrushchev Made That Secret Speech

After three years of official pretense that it never happened, the Kremlin has officially confirmed the authenticity of Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party denouncing Stalin's crimes. The formal verification was made in a new party history released after Khrushchev publicly told the Third Congress of Soviet Writers he had made the speech. Previously, the Soviet government insisted that the text of the speech circulated throughout the world was a fabrication of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Work by Stravinsky Heard in Moscow After 30-Year Ban

Moscow music lovers gave thunderous acclaim to Leonard Bernstein and the visiting New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra after a performance of Igor Stravinsky's once controversial composition, "The Rites of Spring." The impressionist work had been banned in the Soviet Union for 30 years as "bourgeois formalism." In introducing the piece, Mr. Bernstein said it had created a "musical revolution five years before your revolution." Its first performance in Paris in 1913 precipitated a riot.

Soviet Workers Given Limited Voice in Production

The Soviet government is asking workers to help improve production efficiency, according to Paul Wohl in the Aug. 29 Christian Science Monitor. Soviet chiefs are studying methods of increasing efficiency used in capitalist production. But, Wohl adds, "More important for the time being, are Communist efforts to achieve efficiency through workers' commissions whose task it is to point out machines, technical devices, and management methods which should be discarded and to pro-

U.S. Grants Nasser \$12-Million Loan

The federal Import-Export Bank announced Aug. 24 that it is lending \$12 million to the United Arab Republic to purchase 58 locomotives from the General Motors Corp. It is the first such loan since Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal three years ago.

Negro Children Starve to Death In South Africa

South African officials say that the recent anti-government demonstrations by African women in the Durban area were "criminal and senseless actions." A dispatch in the Aug. 29 New York Times gives a somewhat different picture of why the women, armed only with sticks and stones, stood up against cops with riot guns.

Yugoslavia Has Record Crop

Yugoslavia is enjoying a record crop of wheat and rye this year and expects to harvest more than four million tons, 25% more than planned and one fifth higher than the 1957 crop which had set the previous high.

Anti-Inflation Strike By Metal Workers Hits Argentina

A quarter of a million Argentine metal workers shut down 7,000 fabricating plants Aug. 25 in a fight for higher pay to offset an unbridled inflation that boosted living costs by 50 per cent in six months. The Frondizi regime which used American tanks against striking oil and railroad workers earlier this year has decided not to meet the powerful metal workers head on and declared that it would treat the strike as a legal one. The walkout came after management flatly refused to consider a wage increase. Like the American steel barons, the bosses there have the solid support of the government in "combatting" inflation by holding the line on wages. The metal workers have traditionally set the wage pattern for industrial workers and have waged militant strike battles in the past to win their demands.

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Burma Regime To Bar Unions From Politics

The military regime of General Ne Win is moving to drive Burma unions from the active role they had played in political life. A bill being introduced in Parliament would require a union official to resign his post if he becomes an official of a party or a candidate for public office. Union officials would also be barred from speaking for candidates for office, and unions would lose government recognition if they endorsed any candidate.



## Letters from Our Readers

### Out of Wall Street's Own Mouthpiece

**Editor:**  
Last Tuesday's (Aug. 25) issue of the Wall Street Journal reveals some very interesting facts about the fighting going on in Laos.

When the 1954 Geneva Agreement was signed, it provided that the Laotian Communists should keep control of the areas that they had won, pending "integration" and "a government of national unity." When integration was finally worked out in 1957, the Communists received two cabinet posts and the right to form a legal party. They soon captured almost a third of the national legislature. The Royal Government became frightened; threw the left-wing out of the government and started to jail its leaders. It also announced that it was no longer bound by the Geneva Treaty. The Left took to the hills to start fighting again.

The Left in this country should note this as another lesson as to the fate of "national unity" and "united front" policies and also

as an answer to those in the Right-Wing who always talk of Soviet "bad faith" when they sign treaties.

G. W.  
New York

### More on Pay Of Union Officials

**Editor:**  
Since I wrote my article advocating lower pay for union and public officials, I have read Sidney Lens' new book, "The Crisis of American Labor" (Sagamore Press), in which he makes the same proposal regarding union officials. Here is how he puts it:  
"Provisions are needed limiting a union official's salary to that of the highest paid worker in his jurisdiction. That would cut the pay of men like David McDonald, George Harrison, and others by eight- or nine-tenths, but it would bring them closer to the outlook of the members they represent."  
In discussing the pay of international representatives of the UAW, my article estimated that it was about twice that of

the average auto worker. Lens says the gap is greater than that, counting all benefits and allowances: "Being on the staff of the UAW today amounts to a promotion in economic status of about 150 per cent." I think his estimate is probably more accurate than mine.

George Breitman  
Detroit, Mich.

(George Breitman's article on union officials' salaries appeared in the Aug. 31 Militant.)

### Hits Newspapers On Juvenile Crime

**Editor:**  
It makes my blood boil to read how the New York press treats with juvenile crime. Here is how the World-Telegram, for instance, recently described a young Puerto Rican charged with murder: "a pompadoured, effeminate punk known as Dracula." Of course, the paper tells the cops who probably kill or maim more people wantonly than all the youth gangs put together.

C. G.  
New York

## Human Tom-Tom

By Herman Chauka

Miles Davis is enjoying growing fame as a jazz musician. Some think he is the best trumpet player in the business. His records are widely sold and he performs in major clubs across the country.

But Davis happens to be a Negro. So on Aug. 26 a couple of New York cops cracked his head open.

He was at Birdland, a national jazz mecca. "I had just finished making a 27-minute recording for the armed forces in behalf of selling bonds for a free America," Davis explains. "I went upstairs for a breath of fresh air."

"This policeman came along and said, 'Get off the sidewalk.' I told him I just wanted a breath of air and I was going to go inside soon."

The cop, Patrolman Kilduff, told him he was "a wise guy" and threatened to arrest him. Davis says he wasn't doing anything wrong so he told the cop to go ahead.

Kilduff began swinging at him, Davis says. A crowd gathered and seconds later detective Rolker forced his way through, blackjack in hand.

He "started beating on my head like a tom-tom — his breath reeking with liquor," Davis charges.

Charles Chambers, bass player in the Davis quintet, said: "I've never seen anything like it. The cop . . . brought down the blackjack on Davis' head like he was beating a bass drum."

Elaine Smith, an employee of a nearby bar, said: "A crowd gathered and they were say-

ing, 'Stop. Don't kill him. Don't kill him.' I saw them hit him about three hard blows." A Birdland patron, John Clark, said, ". . . the officer pulled his nightstick out and at the same time a man walked up behind Miles, caught him by the back of the coat and beat him over the head without caring what was going on."

Davis was arrested on an assault charge. The cops claim he grabbed the patrolman's nightstick. Davis points to the two patches on his head, each covering five stitches, and says: "If I had ever taken his club from him I wouldn't look like this."

Deputy Police Commissioner Arm says the cops "acted properly" but that the department will comply with demands for an investigation by President Al Manuti of Local 802 of the Musicians Union and others.

The New York Post has published a number of letters of protest. One from the noted jazz authority, Leonard Feather, branded the beating "another shocking example of high-handed and inexcusable tactics used by police. . ."

"To hit a man who is not fighting back is sheer brutality in my book," wrote Barbara Williams.

"The time seems rotten ripe for the public to demand that Commissioner Kennedy convey to his police force an elementary fact . . . namely that policemen are public servants and not self-appointed storm troopers," added Harold J. Raby.

The beating was "brutal and certainly uncalled for," declared Robert A. Gumbs of the African Jazz Art Society.

## 500 Strike Two Hospitals In Chicago

CHICAGO, Aug. 26 — Picket lines were thrown around two local hospitals today as 500 members of the State, County and Municipal Employees Union struck to enforce their demand for union recognition.

The struck hospitals, Mt. Sinai and the Home for the Incurables, have refused to meet even informally with the union, which represents the overwhelming majority of the non-professional employees.

Salaries and employment conditions of hospital workers are similar to those in New York. Indeed, a recently published study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that a substantial number of hospital workers continue to earn less than \$1 an hour.

The two struck hospitals have canceled leaves of absence, vacations and days off for professional employees. For the past week they have also been training "volunteers" to replace the strikers. Letters to employees state that the hospitals cannot afford wage increases and that no raises would be forthcoming unless additional funds were made available from charitable sources.

### PHONY CLAIM

The hospitals are also claiming that they are legally exempt from collective bargaining and that "patient care" is not an item subject to collective bargaining.

The union, of course, is not attempting to negotiate "patient care." It merely wants what other employers have been forced to grant — namely the right of workers to have a voice in determining employment conditions.

The union has agreed to sign a contract with a no-strike clause and to submit disputed issues to arbitration. But all its proposals have been turned down by the hospitals.

Support of the strike has been promised by the CIO Industrial Union Council. A request for help made to the Chicago Federation of Labor has received no reply as yet. The non-professional workers themselves are out solidly at the two hospitals.

A memorandum issued recently by the Illinois Hospital Association to all member hospitals urges them to continue the IHA policy of refusing to deal with any organization of hospital employees. The Association points with satisfaction to the New York strike where the unions did not obtain formal recognition.

The IHA claims that the union's return to work without recognition was the result of failure of the top AFL-CIO officials to provide solid support. Actually, the New York AFL-CIO gave solid support to the New York hospital strikers, and this spelled the difference between defeat and the limited victory that the hospital workers actually scored. (They won "back-door" recognition and a wage hike.)

At the same time the IHA urges member hospitals to continue to fight union recognition, it cautions them not to make their stand public in order to avoid "misunderstandings."

## They Showed the Way



Picketline scene at New York's Mt. Sinai Hospital during 46-day strike that won partial union recognition at voluntary hospitals. The strike inspired similar hospital organizing drives in other cities. Now two hospitals in Chicago are on strike. (See story this page.)

## Seattle Steel Strikers Aided by Other Unions

SEATTLE, Aug. 28 — Striking members of Local 1208 of the United Steel Workers at the Bethlehem Steel plant here are beginning to get some much needed aid from the rest of the labor movement.

The International Longshoremen's Union has been very cooperative in helping to provide part-time work for some of the men through its hiring hall. It has also provided the steelworkers with an office in its building

## Prudential Agents Picket In Newark

NEWARK, Sept. 1 — "What do you know. Insurance men on strike," said an onlooker of a huge picket-line in downtown Newark today. Although not on strike, about 4,000 agents marched in front of Prudential Insurance Co.'s home office for nearly two hours during the lunch period.

They were protesting the company's arrogant stand in negotiations. Prudential recently offered a contract without wage increases. Though six out of seven of the union's national officers recommended that the members accept it, a majority of the union nationally voted it down. Negotiations will resume tomorrow in Washington, D. C. The old contract expired July 6. Many demonstrators held that the real issue was not wages. "Prudential wants to bust us," said one picket. "They never gave up trying. We're fighting for security and that means continued recognition of our union."

The agents belong to the Insurance Workers International Union. Members from New York City came in 30 buses and cars to help their New Jersey fellow-unionists conduct the demonstration.

and calls strikers for jobs as soon as its own members and pool men have been hired for the day. About 200 steel workers have gotten some work through this arrangement so far.

In addition, the Community Service Organization of the AFL-CIO has been doing a good job of helping needy strikers obtain aid from various social service agencies. It gives information and maintains contact with such organizations as the state welfare department, the Veterans Administration, the Salvation Army and others. Since it enjoys the full support of organized labor, the Community Service Committee carries weight with these organizations and is able to get applications for aid processed quite effectively.

Instead of applying directly for such aid, members apply first to the union welfare committee and are then referred to the proper agency.

The local union has also received \$2,500 for emergency aid from the District 38 strike fund. This money is used to help out in emergency cases where relief cannot be obtained from regular agencies.

### NEGROES HARD HIT

About half the strikers here either obtained some work or are in a position where they can get by on savings. Jobs are not too hard to come by for white workers right now. But, as usual, Negro workers are hardest hit.

The situation still remains a generally tough one for the strikers and as the shutdown continues the financial pressure increases. The help given by the local labor movement has eased things but it is evident that all-out national aid is a real necessity.

### A MODERN SUBWAY

The New York Transit Authority says that 540 cars on the city subway are over 40 years old and so broken down that it's impossible to repair them.

## Florida Negroes Fight Execution In 4 Rape Cases

Florida's double standard of justice, one for whites and another for Negroes, has been upheld by the state's Board of Pardons. The Board refused, July 23, to commute the death sentence of Sam Wiley Odom, 18, of Lake County to life imprisonment. Odom is the youngest of four Negroes facing the death penalty at Raiford, Fla. All are accused of raping white women. On Sept. 16 the cases of the other three will be reviewed by the Board.

Odom's plea for clemency was opposed by Lake County's notorious Negro-killing sheriff, Willis McCall.

No white man in Florida has ever received the death penalty for raping a Negro woman. This injustice is particularly flagrant because just last June, four white men, convicted by an all-white jury of raping a Negro coded from Florida A. and M. University, received life sentences. (The militancy of the university students at that time made certain at least that the white rapists would not get away scot-free as often happens in the South when white men assault Negro women.)

The Negro people of Florida are determined that equal justice now be shown to the Negro prisoners. A petition signed by 15,324 members of the Florida State Congress of Parents and Teachers was sent to Governor LeRoy Collins, chairman of the Pardons Board, asking that the lives of all four men be spared.

The petition is part of a campaign urging all those interested in seeing equal justice established in Florida to write to the Board of Pardons before Sept. 16.

So let the Board know how you feel about the double standard of justice that spares some men and kills others according to the color of their skin. Write to Florida Board of Pardons, Gov. LeRoy Collins, chairman, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla.

### SILVER LINING

Scientists report that cancer-breeding strontium 90 is helping weather experts to track air currents.

## Calendar Of Events

**NEW YORK**  
You are invited to attend the New York State Conference on Independent and Socialist Political Action in 1960, Sat., Sept. 26, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. and Sunday, Sept. 27, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St. (Off Times Sq.) New York City. Auspices United Independent-Socialist Committee. For more information write or phone for a free copy of the UI-SC Newsletter, 799 Broadway, New York, 3. Phone Gr. 5-9736.

The Khrushchev-Eisenhower Meetings and the Prospects for World Peace will be the subject of the first of the regular Friday night forum series sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, Friday, Sept. 18, 8 p.m. at 116 University Place (Off Union Sq.) Hear Daniel Roberts, Associate Editor, The Militant.

**CHICAGO**  
"Youth in a Delinquent Society," Friday, Sept. 11, 8:15 P.M. Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams.

## Local Directory

**BOSTON**  
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 209.

**CHICAGO**  
Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.

**CLEVELAND**  
Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Wednesday nights 7 to 9. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904, University Center Station, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

**DETROIT**  
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135.

**LOS ANGELES**  
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

**MILWAUKEE**  
150 East Juneau Ave.

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

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

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

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

**PHILADELPHIA**  
Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

**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**  
1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore.

**ST. LOUIS**  
For information phone MO 4-7194.

## Notes in the News

**MOSQUITO AGITATORS** — Fourteen men working at the St. Lawrence County Farm at Canton, N. Y., walked off the job Aug. 21 after officials failed to do anything about swarms of mosquitos in the area. The 14 were relief recipients. They had been forced to take the jobs to keep from being cut off welfare under a recently enacted county law. Welfare director Lee Finley blamed the walkout on "agitators" and said the men "should spend a dollar" for their own insect repellent. They get paid a dollar an hour.

**TELL BOSS TO KEEP HIS OWN SHIRT** — The management of the Peavey Paper Mill in Ladysmith, Wisc., got hot under the collar when some workers stripped to the waist on a scorching day Aug. 20. A company official ordered them to put their shirts back on whereupon all but 25 of the 220 workers walked out in protest. Eight days later they offered to return fully clad but the company insisted that leaders of the strike be fired, so no one went back to work.

**DON'T THINK IT'S FUNNY** — The American Legion has lost at least two dues-paying members since its convention voted to reject voluntary racial integration in local units of the 40 & 8, its white-only "fun-making" adjunct. Rep. Charles C. Diggs, a Negro Congressman from Detroit, announced Aug. 28 he was quitting the Legion in protest against the decision. Two days later James L. Watson, a Negro member of the New York State Senate from Harlem, made a similar announcement.

**INDOCTRINATION COURSE** — "They told me if I was to live in Houston and the South, I would have to be indoctrinated," said Eldrew Stearnes, 26-year-old Negro law student from Michigan attending Texas Southern University. "They" refers to the Houston cops who arrested Stearnes on a minor traffic charge, took him to police headquarters and proceeded to beat him. Stearnes protested to Mayor Lewis Cutrer, who ordered a city attorney to investigate.

**WHITE WOMAN SHOTS NEGRO CHILD** — Louise Walker, a white gas station operator in Monticello, Fla., was released in \$250 bail on an assault charge last month for firing a shotgun at nine-year-old Vera Wimbley. The child had tried to use a rest room at her truck stop while her family was having a battery charged. Several pellets pierced the little girl's legs.

**TOP-SECRET DATA** — The House Armed Services subcommittee announced Aug. 21 it would take action to compel the Convair division of the giant General Dynamics Corp. to permit government agencies to examine its production-cost records on the Atlas ICBM and B-58 bomber. The committee believes that the company, headed by former Army Secretary Frank Pace, has been selected by the

aircraft industry to test whether the government can be prevented from inspecting industry books. Convair appears to have a direct stake in the fight. The U.S. Comptroller General charged Aug. 20 that it had padded a government contract to make an unwarranted additional profit of \$3.4 million. A company spokesman scoffed that the extra profit was less than 1% of the total contract amount.

**DENVER COP KNOWS WHAT UNION WORK ISN'T** — Denver City Employees Local 158 has protested use of city jail work crews to help maintain the Denver Mountain Park System. Probation officer Frank Dillon, in a reply to the protest, claimed that union labor wasn't being replaced. He said a typical prisoner project was for the men to walk barefoot in park areas picking up beer cans. "That's not union work," he said. Dillon's right about that. Union labor won the right to wear shoes a long time ago.

**GUARDIAN OF THE LAW** — Sheriff Pat Burnmeister of Greeley, Colo., was charged Aug. 28 with raping a 17-year-old prisoner in the county jail. A companion charge was made of inducing a witness to go into hiding to prevent testimony in the case. The sheriff who is still carrying on his duties, was already awaiting trial on a series of other charges. Among these were failure to report two fines collected, charging the county for use of his car when he was actually using a county car and paying his father-in-law for acting as guard on trips he never made.

**WE'LL SHOW KHRUSHCHEV** — Soviet Premier Khrushchev expressed a desire to travel from Los Angeles to San Francisco by car to see more of the country. But the State Department wants him to travel by plane. An Aug. 30 editorial in the Omaha World-Herald supports the idea of a car trip. A couple of hundred miles on the Los Angeles and California freeways, the editorial observes, "would convince him beyond all doubt that Americans are incredibly courageous people who risk their lives daily just going to and from work."

**A 'MODEL' FARM LABOR SET-UP** — Fort Lupton, Colo., boasts one of the best farm labor camps in the nation. Migratory workers harvesting beans and other crops earn about \$6 a day working under state employment office supervision. They are housed in county facilities which include 12 by 18 one-room frame cabins without running water or toilet facilities for a rental of \$4 a week. Occupancy is supposed to be limited to five per unit, but officials permit families of eight or more to move in. But apparently that \$6 a day is too steep for the farm operators. One outfit has introduced a bean-picking machine that replaces 125 men. Another has an apparatus that harvests, tops, cleans, grades, weighs, packages, seals and crates carrots in one continuous operation.

## ... Negro Nationalists

(Continued from Page 1)  
ample not only of utilizing legal procedures in police brutality cases but also of organizing resistance on the spot. This alone can have an electrifying effect upon the mass of the Negroes who are continually subject to police tyranny.

### AS BAD AS RACISTS?

But if the Muslims and other nationalists proclaim the inherent superiority of blacks over whites, aren't they in reverse just as bad as the white supremacists? This is a formal "logic" devoid of understanding. This is the kind of "impartiality" which expelled one of the Negro students at Central High in Little Rock when, after months of being insulted with racial name-calling, she turned on a tormentor with the epithet "white trash."

Of course, socialists and all other fighters against racism oppose use of such epithets and expose the falsity of all forms of chauvinism. But it is necessary to distinguish between the chauvinism of the oppressor and that of the oppressed. Toward the former there must be unyielding unremitting war;

toward the latter there must be opposition with understanding and persuasion.

It ill becomes any white person to presume to condemn, or even to argue against Negro chauvinism unless he can point to an unblemished record of fighting the omnipresent white chauvinism of American society. Black chauvinism is but a dim mirror image of white chauvinism. Moreover, white chauvinism, unlike black chauvinism, is far more than ugly words. The epithets of white chauvinism are the verbalization of brutal social realities.

Today it is indisputable that the great majority of the Negro people want full integration—economic, political and social—with the rest of the American people. Such groups as the Muslims express an understandable despair and bitterness with the present prospects and rate of progress towards such equality. This is a condemnation not of the nationalists but of the "American Way of Life" under big business rule.

While working for complete integration, while trying to build unions, a labor party and a revolutionary militant social-

ist movement on the rock of interracial solidarity, we should never make the error of lumping Negro nationalists with the white supremacists.

Socialists must try to win over the Negro nationalists—whose aim after all is freedom—always bearing in mind that the most effective argument is unceasing struggle against all forms of Jim Crow. At the same time socialists must be alert to defend the civil liberties of the Muslims and other Negro nationalists. This is a duty owed not only to the Negro struggle but to the preservation of the American people's already dangerously undermined civil liberties.

### GUTTER JOURNALISM

Editorials in the New York World-Telegram frequently plump for "decency" and "fair play." But when two 16-year-old Puerto Rican youths were arrested on a murder charge the paper scurrilously described one of them as "a pompadoured, effeminate punk," and the other as "short, skinny and ugly."