

The Prospects For Peace

An Editorial

For the lords of Wall Street, the presence of Premier Khrushchev in America — the first time a Soviet head of state has visited here — is a bitter pill that they are doing their best to swallow gracefully.

They sought to strangle the Soviet Union at birth through blockade and armed intervention by their government in Washington. The U.S. was the last major power officially to recognize the Soviet Union — 16 years after the Russian Revolution.

During the brief World War II alliance between the U.S. and the USSR, big business was already preparing the cold war it has conducted against the Soviet Union for more than a decade.

Today, powerful anti-imperialist and anti-war pressures from all over the globe, as well as the Soviet Union's technological advances, have forced Washington to ease up on its war drive. That was the meaning of President Eisenhower's decision to agree to discussions with Khrushchev — a decision that hundreds of millions of people all over the world, who have lived so long with the fear of war, have greeted with expressions of immense relief.

But the question remains: Are we seeing the liquidation of the war danger or merely its temporary abatement? Will the war fever flare up again at a moment's notice?

The answer to these questions lies in good measure with what the American people do about the cold war. The present relaxation of tensions opens the door to their further intervention on behalf of peace.

On the other hand, there should be no illusion that the men of Wall Street and the politicians they control will genuinely seek peace in their talks with Khrushchev.

The capitalists and their twin political parties have not really been converted to peace, no matter what their spokesmen say at this moment. They have been dragged back from the brink of war. The job now is to keep them from returning to the brink.

Need Concrete Measures

A genuine liquidation of the cold war dictates certain measures that the American working people should demand the government take immediately.

● First, Washington should quit stalling on an agreement to end atomic tests. The lethal explosions must not be allowed to resume.

● Second, talk of a durable peace is meaningless so long as American bases encircle the Soviet Union. All U.S. military installations abroad should be scrapped and all troops withdrawn from foreign soil.

● Third, Soviet proposals for East-West trade, based on long-term credits, should be accepted. Such trade would hasten improvements in the living standards of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. At the same time it would provide additional jobs for American workers who are still a good way from the goal of full employment.

● Finally, negotiation of trade agreements and long-term credits must not be confined to the Soviet Union. The People's Republic of China ought also to be included. China remains a target of America's cold-warriors despite the "thaw." The attack on China should cease, and the Peking government should be recognized immediately.

Laos Regime Hedging On Proofs of "Invasion"

By George Lavan

The UN "fact-finding" committee hand-picked by the U.S. has arrived in Laos to report on the alleged invasion of that country from North Viet Nam. But the "fact-finders," pliable as they are to U.S. wishes, will be hard put to find any evidence of an "invasion" in the Laotian civil war.

Before the "fact-finders" had boarded their planes, the puppet government of Laos began announcing that the "Viet Namese reds" must be withdrawing because they were no longer to be found. Moreover, the propaganda in the U.S. press that the government of Laos had captured Viet Namese officers and soldiers and other "proofs" of intervention were admitted to be cock-and-bull stories.

The New York Times correspondent in Vientiane, capital of Laos, wrote on Sept. 13: "Briefings have noticeably played down the activities of North Vietnam in the conflict. This has led some observers to believe that Laotian political tacticians were creating a background that would soften the blow if the United Nations committee's report on intervention by North Viet Nam was negative. One military attaché said there had never been tangible proof of open participation of regular North Viet Namese troops in Laos. He added that all evidence presented had been hearsay."

In a dispatch from Laos, entitled "UN Will Find Little Red Invasion Evidence, Much Political Turmoil," the Wall Street Journal (Sept. 10) asks, "Why did Premier Phoui Sananikone issue what may prove a premature call for help when evidence of foreign invasion is so scanty?" An answer he suggests is that the Laotian army wants "complete annihilation" of the Pathet Lao, the opposition movement inside Laos.

The same article speculates that if the UN or U.S. sends troops to Laos "they could be deployed in Southern Laos to keep order, thus freeing the Royal Lao army to concentrate on engaging the enemy in critical northern areas . . . United

President Signs Equal Time Curb

Radio and TV time for socialist opponents of the Republicans and Democrats, never ample, was curtailed even further when President Eisenhower signed a bill Sept. 14 exempting various types of programs from the equal-time provision of the Federal Communications Act. The Act requires that if time be given one candidate for a public office equal time be granted to all other candidates for that office. The new exemption would cover "news-type" programs, including newscasts, documentaries, interviews and on-the-spot coverage of news. Broadcasters have admitted that they would use the exemption to bar minor candidates from the air.

Nations — or U.S. — troops might have trouble in distinguishing friend from foe among people who are peasants in the daytime and guerrilla fighters at night."

Why UN or U.S. troops sent to thwart the "invasion" might be used in South Laos while the peasants in North Laos are in revolt is further explained by the N.Y. Times correspondent (Sept. 13), who writes, "They [Laos officials] have also admitted quite openly that an uprising of the southern Lao people has been a matter of much more grave concern than is generally known."

According to Scripps-Howard reporter Henry N. Taylor, the U.S. is already committed to send troops because "a year ago the U.S. Embassy promised the premier that it would if his 'crackdown' on the Pathet Lao backed off."

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXIII — No. 38

222

NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1959

Price 10c

Khrushchev Visit Signals U.S. Retreat in Cold War

Steel Firms Hold Line For Bosses

The steel corporations remain adamant that the steel workers shall gain no pay increases, shall give up the cost-of-living bonus clause, and shall work under new rules dictated by management. This is the reason why the steel strike continues.

The workers, for their part, cannot accept such a settlement without sacrificing their future well-being and that of the rest of organized labor.

From the beginning, the steel barons were backed in their arrogant stand by all other sections of big business. The steel bosses were urged by the American capitalist class to spearhead a drive to beat down wages. Steel still holds the line for all employers.

The Sept. 14 Wall Street Journal reports that though many other industries have granted some wage increases during past weeks, "Both management and labor do agree on one thing: The steel stand is acting as a brake on even larger labor gains."

The steel barons will continue to act as a brake on labor gains until the tenacity of the steel workers, backed by the rest of organized labor, wears out their hold.

T-H THREAT

The biggest threat to the steel workers continues to be that of government strikebreaking through use of a Taft-Hartley injunction.

In a speech to the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Department, Sept. 15, Secretary of Labor Mitchell repeated his warning that he would seek an injunction at the end of September or the beginning of October. If granted, the steel workers would be ordered back to work for 80 days.

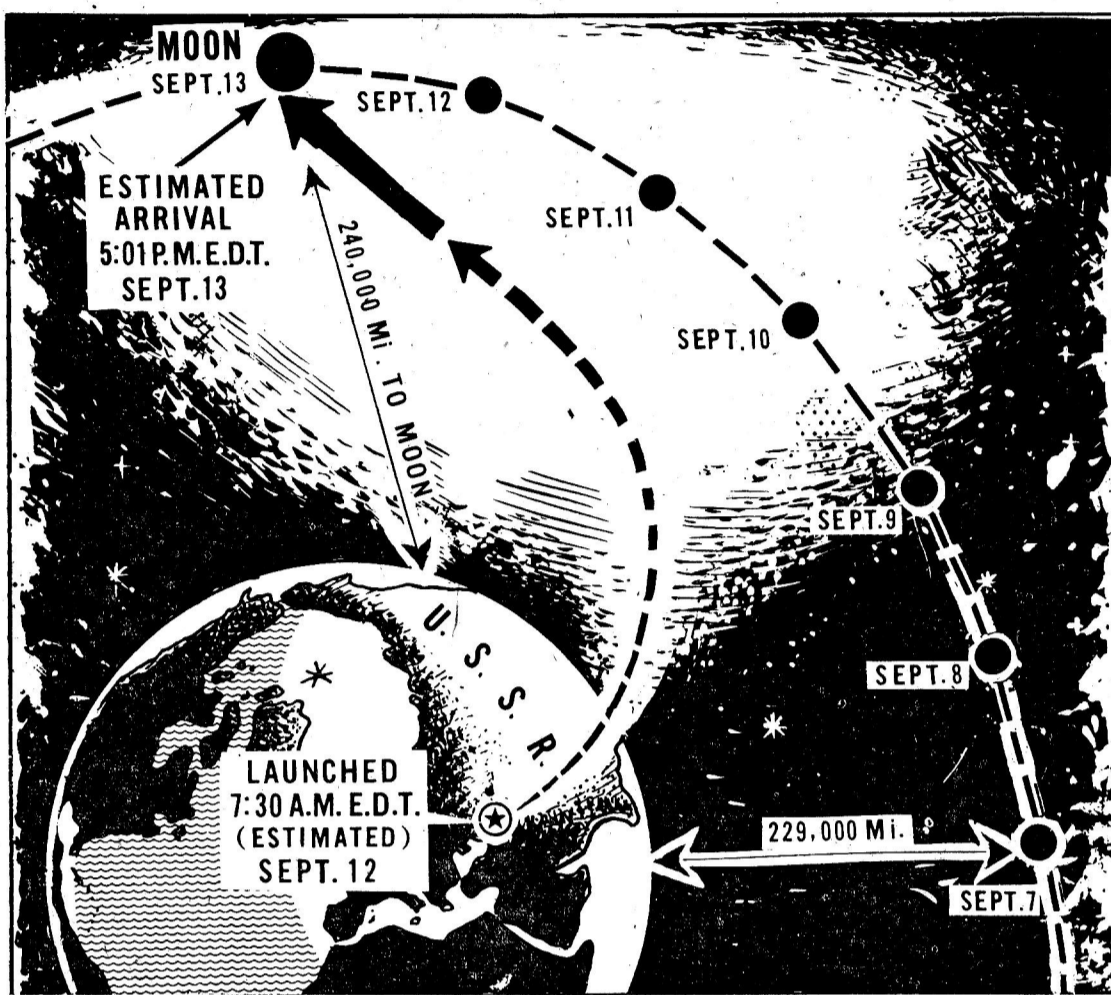
The steel workers have been out for more than two months. Their strike is beginning to be effective, as steel supplies are getting low. Pressure within the capitalist class can be expected to mount for a settlement of the strike. If the workers don't yield, the corporations can be forced to abandon their arrogant stand.

This is what Mitchell seeks to prevent through use of the Taft-Hartley injunction.

SWIFT JUSTICE

Thirty-four days after a fire eliminated water and gas and electric service in a New York tenement the fire department got around to issuing a summons to the landlord. At the same time it evacuated 52 people from the building without notice.

Soviet Rocket Hits Moon



Path of the Soviet rocket that hit the moon Sept. 13. "For the first time in history, a space flight has been achieved from the earth to another celestial body," said Tass, official Soviet news agency. The rocket was only 84 seconds off schedule.

'58 Vote No Labor Victory After All, Says Meany Now

U.S. labor leaders are making the harshest statements about the Democratic Party since the formation of the labor-Democratic coalition some 27 years ago.

Addressing leaders of the Metal Trades Department in San Francisco on Sept. 14, just three days before the opening of the AFL-CIO convention, President George Meany admitted that labor had made a big mistake in believing that it had won a victory at the polls last year when the heaviest Democratic majorities since 1938 were elected to Congress. "We soon found out that if we got any more victories like we had in 1958, that victory might ruin us," he said.

"We can't feel that because we elect Democrats we necessarily accomplish anything by trying to exercise their constitutional right," he told the metal workers. Then (shades of Sam Gompers!) he added, "We've got to elect people, irrespective of party, who recognize the contribution and value of the labor movement."

The day before Meany's speech, Louis Hollander, Chairman of the New York State

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), emerged from a joint meeting of New York labor's political education and executive committees to denounce Democrats and praise Republicans. "I confess the state CIO made a big mistake by allying itself solely with the Democrats," he told reporters. "They doublecrossed us and the Republicans ignored us."

He praised Gov. Rockefeller and New York's Republican senators, Javits and Keating, who had proved themselves "more consistent friends of labor" than most of the Democrats in Congress. "If we had given them our support, we would have had a more meaningful coalition of liberals in Washington. Instead we helped create a reactionary coalition that had things its own way."

When it became clear last month that the Democratic "friends of labor" in Congress couldn't be restrained from jamming through the new anti-labor law, labor leaders began voicing their disillusionment. Steelworkers' President David J. McDonald then declared: "I'm all through with the Democrats

... I'm sticking with my friend Dick Nixon."

The angry attacks on the Democrats "betrayal" of labor may well set the tone for the AFL-CIO convention. This would be a move to convince the politicians and the union rank-and-file that the Democratic Party should not take labor's support for granted because it was "not in anyone's vest pocket." The labor bureaucrats might even threaten to keep the unions "neutral" in 1960, or to endorse Republicans.

That such threats will not frighten the capitalist politicians is guaranteed by the AFL-CIO's refusal to use the one weapon that would be taken seriously — the launching of a labor party. After the overwhelmingly Democratic House of Representatives passed the Landrum-Griffin bill, reporters asked Meany about such a possibility. He replied that he didn't think "we have reached the point of a third party."

As James Beirne, President of the AFL-CIO Communications Workers, put it, "They'll talk a lot about leaving the Democrats but they won't."

Moon Rocket Adds New Thrust to Wall Street's Diplomatic Turnabout

By Harry Ring

SEPT. 17 — "Restraint" was the keynote as President Eisenhower and other ranking representatives of big business officially welcomed Premier Khrushchev to the United States. The "studied courtesy" extended to the Soviet head of state was in sharp contrast to the bellicose threats hurled against the USSR for the past dozen years.

The arrival of Khrushchev in America as an honored guest, twenty-four hours after the Soviet rocket hit the moon, brought an era of world politics officially to a close.

At the end of World War II, the United States emerged as the supreme world power. Drunk with its might, big business proclaimed the twentieth century to be the "American Century." American troops were deployed around the Soviet orbit to complete U.S. global domination.

Then came a series of stunning setbacks to Wall Street's imperialist ambitions in the form of revolutionary upheavals in Asia and Africa and the swift development of Soviet military and economic power.

Today American politicians, financiers and industrialists find themselves seated at banquet and conference tables listening politely as the Soviet premier hammers persistently at the theme that there are two decisive world powers and that despite different social systems, they must agree to live in peace.

EXPLORE TRUCE

The American capitalist class however, cannot and will not accept the perspective of permanent peace. Even if its hold on the area of the world that remains open for imperialist exploitation were guaranteed forever, big business would need new areas to absorb its investments.

But the rapid advance of Soviet power has compelled the rulers of America to seriously consider a truce in the cold war and they are now trying to determine what terms they can extract for such a truce. Khrushchev, on the other hand, is touring America extending the confidence derived from Soviet achievements. From a military or technical standpoint he cannot be shaken by the rattling of American hydrogen bombs.

Military developments since the close of the last war have made rocketry crucial for the major powers. Shock and nearpanic gripped the American ruling class when the Soviet Union demonstrated how ad-

Black Arm Bands Find Few Takers

So far a well-financed campaign by a group of McCarthyites and Soviet-hating liberals to organize public anti-Khrushchev demonstrations have brought no significant response. The Sept. 16 Wall Street Journal reported from Washington: "In the crowds that lined the route, there were few indications of hostility to the Russian party. . . . Despite pre-arrival publicity, few black armbands, a symbol of protest, were evident."

The report added that a man distributing Jolly Roger flags and black balloons painted with skeletons, "reported few takers." He complained that people didn't realize that the visit "will break down the West's will."

vanced it was in this field by hurling Sputnik, the first man-made satellite, into orbit. Subsequent Soviet satellite accomplishments were climaxed by the rocket that smashed into the moon on Sept. 14.

U.S. scientists agree that the moon shot definitely established Soviet command in the previous neck-and-neck space battle.

They also concede that the feat erases any doubt as to the ability of the USSR to guide missiles through space to U.S. targets with deadly accuracy.

Thus American imperialism now finds itself stalemated in both the military and the political fields. NATO, the only genuine military alliance the State Department succeeded in putting together, is wracked by crisis.

The Southeast Asian Treaty Organization is virtually a fiction. The U.S.-organized Baghdad Pact was rendered impotent at birth by the Arab revolution for national independence.

In his moves to avert a new global war, Khrushchev exploits the situation wherein world capitalism is on the defensive and the world revolutionary forces are on the ascendancy.

At the same time his program for peace is shaped by (Continued on Page 4)

Govt. 'Helpless' to Defend Negro Ballot Rights

By Lillian Kiezel
Recently, two authoritative studies have revealed the shocking extent to which the Negroes in the South are deprived of the right to vote.

Only 25% of Negroes eligible to vote in ten Southern states were registered as against 62% of the white population, said the Federal Civil Rights Commission in its report to President Eisenhower Sept. 8. Furthermore, the federal government appears to be "helpless" to make good the guarantees of the Constitution. The 1957 Civil Rights Act has not helped a single Southern Negro to register to vote, the Commission said.

In a pamphlet, "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," the Southern Regional Council reports that racists have actually enforced a decline in Negro voting registration. The Council, a prominent Southern liberal organization, discovered as a result of its two-year study that Negro registration had dropped in five Southern states since 1956.

In Arkansas Negro registration has fallen off by 5,694; in Florida, by 3,893; in Georgia by 2,431; in Louisiana by 30,332; in South Carolina by 41,912.

In Florida, Negroes form 19% of the population but only have 9% of the state's registered voters. In South Carolina, they form 39.5% of the population but only have 10.8% of the registered voters. Similar figures denoting disfranchisement are cited for the rest of the Southern states.

In the economically depressed rural areas, the Southern Regional Council found that the emphasis of the Negro remains on "bread before ballots." Margaret Price, the author of the Council's report, explains: "To many Negroes the long-range rewards for voting scarcely seemed worth the risk. Too often they still could make a choice only between equally vociferous racists, waving the banner of white supremacy."

Having no hope of getting immediate benefits from voting, "It was not surprising that many were unwilling to face

possible threats to their jobs and credit, their homes and even their personal safety" by trying to exercise their constitutional right.

Racists are no longer able to use the "grandfather clause" (whereby the franchise was restricted to those whose grandfathers had enjoyed it, thus disbarring the grandchildren of slaves) or the white primaries (declared unconstitutional in 1944). But they have developed other legal gimmicks to rob the Negro people of their right to vote.

"Complex voter qualification laws," said the Federal Civil Rights Commission, "including tests of literacy, education and 'interpretation,' have been used and may readily be used arbitrarily to deny the right to vote to citizens."

The Commission recommended to Congress that it abolish literacy tests and proposed a 23rd Amendment to the Constitution which would grant the franchise to all citizens providing only that they meet state age and length-of-resi-

dence requirements. The states would be prevented from setting any other qualifications for voting.

Although such an amendment would be helpful, it wouldn't do away with other means the racists have been using to prevent Negroes from voting. These include intimidation, economic reprisals, illegal purges from the registration rolls and outright violence.

The Commission, for instance, cited the case of Asbury Howard, a Negro union leader in Bessemer, Ala. Howard was railroaded by Alabama authorities to six months on a chain gang for conducting a campaign to get Negroes to register. His arrest prevented him from displaying a cartoon depicting a Negro in chains praying. "Lord, help all Americans to see that you intended human beings everywhere to have the same rights," was the prayer.

Howard was charged with "publishing obscene and libelous material." He was severely

beaten by a racist mob as he left the courtroom after sentencing. The police made no attempt to protect him. Recently released from the chain gang, Howard is appealing the conviction.

In Lowndes County, Ala., the Commission found different methods in use. Economic pressure including "threats to call loans, failure to grant loans and economic pressure leveled upon Negro business men, comprise the basic reasons why Negroes have not attempted to register." And Negroes attempting to register in Fayette County, Tenn., have been fired from their jobs and ousted from their lodgings.

The Southern Regional Council's report details yet another aspect of the racists' high-handed actions. Purging already-registered Negroes with the aim of wiping out Negro registration has been the goal of the White Citizens Councils since 1954. They have been particularly successful in Louisiana. In 1956 and 1957, between ten and eleven thousand

voters were dropped from the rolls in 12 rural parishes alone.

For example, in Bienville Parish, La., Negro registration has dropped off by 95% since 1956. Negroes were prevented from answering challenges made by white voters on technicalities. The Negroes found no way of appealing the decision of the registrars.

"In Bienville Parish, where 560 of the 595 registered voters were challenged, the registrars consistently refused to accept affidavits on behalf of registered voters which were in statutory form and, as a result, the names of every one of the challenged Negro voters were stricken from the voting rolls."

The Southern Regional Council cited the above from a statement issued by Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III in a letter to Representative Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee in February 1957. This shows that the federal government has been aware of these purges but has done nothing to stop them.

Socialist Conference To Debate '60 Policy

By Murry Weiss

The debate on what policy the radical movement should follow in the 1960 elections will reach its climax at the two-day conference called by the United Independent-Socialist Committee. (See text of conference call on this page.)

The conference, it is clear, will not arrive at a decision for common action. While such a decision would be desirable from many points of view, it is frankly recognized by all that it is not possible at this time. Therefore, the sponsors of the conference have taken the wisest course, in our opinion, and have provided the arena for a fair and objective discussion of all the contending viewpoints.

All parties in the radical movement — Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Workers Party — have been invited to send representatives to present the position of their organizations on the question of the 1960 elections. All radical groups and individuals, independents and unaffiliated persons are welcome, according to the conference call.

There is not the slightest intimation that any group connected with the conference seeks to maneuver or manipulate the gathering into appearing to support its own special position when in truth genuine agreement has not been reached.

All this is unmistakably clear in the way the conference has been organized and in the general atmosphere of honest debate that was touched off by the UI-SC Newsletter which, in its summer issue, carried differing viewpoints on 1960 held by members of the Committee. This procedure makes good sense and represents a notable continuation of the best traditions of democratic discussion in the socialist movement.

The SWP Position

Where there is basic disagreement and an inability to unite on a given project, as in this case, it is important that the reasons for the disagreement and the nature of the different positions be understood by class-conscious workers. In this way there can be a testing of positions in action, then a return to discussion on the basis of the experience, and thereby the possibility of genuine unity in action in the future. For these reasons the members of the Socialist Workers Party have every desire to participate in this conference and see every other tendency represented.

For its part, the Socialist Workers Party has openly and clearly stated its position: it proposes to fight for a socialist campaign against capitalism in the 1960 elections; it proposes that a socialist presidential ticket in opposition to the two capitalist parties be placed on the ballot in as many states as possible; it has repeatedly stated that, if the forces are available and principled agreement can be reached, it would favor a united Socialist ticket. If, because of conditions beyond its control such a ticket is not feasible — and this appears to be the case — the SWP will go ahead with all the energy and determination at its command to assure that the voice of socialism will be heard in the 1960 elections.

What are the other positions in this debate? It would be wise to get a copy of the UI-SC Newsletter, summer issue, before the conference. From the contents you will note that a significant group of independents are also in favor of a united socialist ticket. Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein proposes a united independent-socialist presidential ticket with her customary clarity, vigor and wit. William A. Price, who is the executive-secretary of the Committee concurs in Dr. Rubinstein's position. So does Fred Mazelis who is one of the leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance. Elinor Ferry strongly favors an independent ticket against the bipartisan cold-war candidates and declares that "no alternative has been advanced by the 'H-Bomb liberals.'"

Another member of the Committee, Muriel

McAvoy, comments wryly: "It seems to me that neither the Republican or the Democratic parties has reformed sufficiently in the last year to warrant a reversal of our well-documented distrust." While she would like to see an "independent third party" put up a fight, Muriel McAvoy says, "The facts of life today, however, compel me to think reluctantly that we will be too few and too poor to be able to conduct a presidential campaign in 1960." And she adds, "I hope events and progressives will prove such pessimism wrong."

No one can quarrel with Muriel McAvoy's approach to the question of our capacity to run a ticket (and I assume she refers to a united ticket). A discussion of our practical ability to tackle a common task we all agree upon is one thing. The availability of forces and resources would have to be weighed. And as far as the forces and resources of those who favor a united independent-socialist ticket are concerned, I'm afraid that she is right rather than pessimistic. The question, however, runs somewhat deeper. Why are the forces too small?

The Obstacle

If the entire American radical movement would unite its forces, couldn't it wage a significant struggle for the ballot in 1960 and make an impressive campaign for socialism? Many will agree that despite the admitted weakness of the entire radical movement, it could be done. The obstacle is not practical, it is political. What stands in the way primarily is the policy of the official leadership of the Communist Party on the one hand and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation on the other.

This policy has a single immutable feature to it for all the differences in application and motivation on the part of the CP and SP-SDF respectively, and that is — Don't do anything that seriously interferes with the political policy of the labor officials.

The Communist Party argues for this utterly ruinous policy in the name of advancing the cause of peace. Utter nonsense! How is the cold war to be fought by currying favor with the war-mongering pack of scoundrels that call themselves labor leaders? All they do with the radical sweat that is handed to them is to muster the votes of the equally war-mongering scoundrels of the so-called liberal wing of the Democratic party. And the CP insists that we must continue this policy or be doomed to sectarianism.

There is indeed an opportunity to strike powerful blows against the cold war in 1960. The American capitalist class is manifestly in retreat from its previous headlong plunge towards war against the Soviet Union. Socialists can help force American imperialism to retreat even further, and they can prevent it from once again hotting up the cold war.

Our task is to voice the clearest and firmest opposition to the basic drive of the American ruling class towards war. It is sheer betrayal of the struggle against war to allow a Stevenson or a Nixon to parade as a peace-loving hero deserving the support of the working people, simply because he may have uttered a few meaningless phrases.

The main task of socialists in the American of the workers from all these deceptive illusions labor movement is to liberate the consciousness about capitalist politicians and teach the lesson of reliance on their own political power and representatives.

In the 1960 elections socialists should get out and raise their voices in a self-confident and aggressive crusade for socialism. The astounding successes of the Soviet Union offer the most marvelous arguments for a socialist planned economy of progress versus a capitalist economy of profit plus war and depression. Who else is going to preach these truths if not socialists themselves? And what may we ask is more important than this work and this opportunity?

In Defense of the Soviet Union



Soviet workers receiving arms during World War II. At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956, Khrushchev admitted that Stalin's policies had been responsible for catastrophic defeats in the first part of the war. The heroic struggle of the Soviet working people wiped out these losses. Again, their sacrifices and hard work after the war resulted in the rapid rebuilding of Soviet industry and in new industrial advances. Now the Soviet working people are pressing the regime for improvements in living standards and for political freedom.

Salisbury Series Depicts Gain In Soviet Living Conditions

By Bert Deck

"Stalin is dead and Stalin's Russia is dead. It is not likely to be born again in our time," says Harrison E. Salisbury in the opening of his eight-installment series in the New York Times on "Khrushchev's Russia."

Salisbury was once the Times' chief Soviet correspondent. He spent many years in Russia both before and after Stalin's death. His current series is based on a recent four-month revisit to the Soviet Union. The eight articles appeared daily in the New York Times, Sept. 8-15.

Salisbury depicts a society moving forward from the Stalin era through a multitude of internal conflicts and crises on all levels.

He writes, "There is every indication from the progress of the last five years and the improvement planned for the next five or ten years that life in the Soviet Union is going to be better than Russians have ever known it before."

He continues, "What is important to the people of Moscow is that for the first time they see a chance for a place to call their own, a place where they can have a little privacy, a place where they can go to the kitchen or the bathroom without a squabble with the neighbors."

HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS

In the past five years, there has been marked improvement in housing, variety of foods and transportation.

"But," Salisbury cautions, "there is nothing in present achievements nor in the plans on the drawing board that suggests a Soviet life even approximating the United States standard."

Nevertheless the progress thus far has inspired the population with new hopes and expectations of a better life.

Salisbury sees political problems ahead on this score. The regime is now deeply committed to bringing the Russian standard of living up to par with that of the United States.

"The hazards of this gamble are enormous," he claims. "Once Russia's appetite is whetted, the nation will become a voracious insatiable consumer of the goods and services it has long done without. What such demand will do to a scarcity economy can be imagined."

POLITICAL CHANGES

There have also been big changes in the forms of political rule. "The liquidation of the labor camps and the reduction of power of the secret police altered the social forces within the Soviet Union."

He reports that many former political prisoners now hold important jobs. "The presence of so many prison camp inmates in important posts gives an inner toughness to the fabric of Soviet society that it did not formerly have. These men are not easily frightened. They have few illusions about the nature of the Soviet State. And they form a real barrier against the rise of a new police power." Salisbury recounts a number of anecdotes showing the new spirit of "independence and even defiance" of the authorities. In one day in Moscow he ran into five former inmates of the political camps. All of them now hold responsible posts.

The atmosphere is far differ-

Soviets Now Talk About Trotsky

"Russians used to blanch at mention of the name of Leon Trotsky. Even today you do not hear it often. But a young man in a provincial city brought Trotsky's name into a discussion of books on Russia. Another joked about his own physical resemblance to Trotsky and a third said:

"We have begun to talk about Trotsky a little, but we still don't write about him."

(Harrison Salisbury in his third article, Sept. 10 N.Y. Times.)

ent than under Stalin. "The secret police no longer knock on doors at night."

In the cultural fields there is likewise a continuous battle, especially on the part of the younger writers and artists, to batter down the system of political dictation.

Salisbury was told that Khrushchev now feels the attack on Boris Pasternak's Dr. Zhivago was a stupid blunder. The suppression of Pasternak had its source, Khrushchev concluded, "in a struggle for power within literary circles in Moscow and ideological circles in the Government." Supposedly, by Khrushchev's direction, the main leaders of the "anti-Pasternak" forces have been removed from their posts. These included the head of the Young Communist League, the secretary of the writers union, and the editor of Literaturnaya Gazeta.

Meanwhile proponents of functional architecture, abstract art, jazz and other innovations are slowly making headway against the political bans. There are apparently connections between the warring factions in the cultural fields and groupings in the political leadership.

foreign service and the higher political jobs. They are barred from the higher military schools. No leading party editor is Jewish and Jews find it difficult to enter the Universities.

Of the Yiddish language publishing houses, newspapers (except one in Birobidzhan), and theaters, which were suppressed under Stalin, none has been revived.

Nowhere does Salisbury probe the social roots of the conflicts which he describes; he omits any investigation into the specific role that the highly privileged layers of Soviet society play in the continuous struggle between the old and the new.

For example, while noting the general betterment of living conditions in the Soviet Union he does not inquire into the vast differences in income between the average worker and the bureaucratic rulers.

By thus ignoring the most important internal contradiction in Soviet society — that is, between the working class and the bureaucracy — he is unable to explain the resistance he notes in official circles to "liberalization." As a result his articles imply that all evils issued from Stalin and the improvements are the products of Khrushchev's wisdom.

Nevertheless, Salisbury's series presents a wealth of information about changes taking place in the Soviet Union. These show that, on the basis of the advances of the Soviet economy, a deep-seated struggle for socialist democracy is in progress.

A Correction

In the last paragraph of Murry Weiss' article "Class Struggle vs. People's Front in '60" printed in the Sept. 7 issue, the omission of a word through a typographical error unfortunately altered the meaning.

The paragraph should have read: "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-riding, cold-war party of capitalism." As originally printed the word "party" was left out.

Socialist Equality By 1965?

The high rate of growth of Soviet industry is becoming increasingly impressive. Many countries are studying the methods of planned economy in hope of duplicating the Soviet achievement.

Khrushchev claims that "socialist equality" will be achieved relatively soon in the Soviet Union. How realistic is this perspective? Can it be achieved without the aid of Western industry.

Read the searching study by Tom Kemp, who teaches economics at Hull University. In the summer issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

The American Way of Life

The Press Sticks to Fair Play

Good taste, fair play and the ability to accept a defeat gracefully are, of course, but a few of the many virtues of American politicians and newspapers. These traits are being given full play in the public handling of the Soviet moon shot and the Khrushchev visit.

The New York Herald Tribune for example, had a banner headline which carefully noted that the rocket was "one minute late" in hitting the moon. Those backward Russians can't even make their rockets run on time.

Vice President Nixon reacted to the moon shot with a combination of scientific acumen and good old Yankee horse sense. He pointed out that there was "no official proof" that the rocket had actually hit the moon. After all why should you believe anything you don't see with your own eyes — particularly something Communist?

Nixon had authoritative backing for his reaction. Professor Fred T. Haddock, a University of Michigan astro-physicist, also saw something fishy in the whole business. Maybe they had a clock mechanism that turned off the radio system about the time the rocket should hit the moon, he opined.

And not only that, Nixon has information from sources he can't divulge that the Russians failed three times in two weeks before they hit the target. And any decent American knows it's three strikes and you're out.

Besides, the vice president explained, "Obviously, they were trying to impress us." His press secretary explained that Nixon was not trying to discount the Soviet feat.

President Eisenhower, on the other hand, doesn't care for all this fuss about rockets. "We need to put new ideas . . . into orbit," he said in a Sept. 16 speech. Earlier that morning a Jupiter rocket had to be exploded at Cape Canaveral because it began wavering after leaving the pad.

We mustn't become "obsessed with just the business of put-

ting new satellites into orbit," philosophized the President.

On the basis of all these splendidly American reactions, it was certainly in order for virtually the entire press to call Khrushchev to order for his "vulgarity" in noting the Soviet rocket accomplishment when he arrived here.

And America's world-famed distaste for mere showiness gave the press every right to point out that it was in bad taste for the Premier to arrive in the world's biggest airliner, the Soviet-made TU-144, whose size made the crowd gasp.

But the refined U.S. press did not permit itself to be brought down to the vulgar, tasteless and downright insulting level of the Soviet guests.

For example, purely as a matter of news the press noted that Mrs. Khrushchev wore the same suit twice and it looked like "a home-made slip cover." And her "hair-do defies description." But worst of all, she arrived in the United States of America with "no powder, no lipstick, nothing done to the eye brows." Her complexion was "natural!"

— Alex Harte

Next Week:

A Reply To the Worker

In our next issue Murry Weiss will discuss the article on the United Independent-Socialist Conference which appeared in the Sept. 20 Worker. Entitled, "The Crisis in the UI-SC," it was written by William Albertson, New York state secretary of the Communist Party.

Advertisement Advertisement

A CALL TO Independents and Socialists

to a CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

on 1960 ELECTORAL POLICY

In June, 1958, a United Independent-Socialist Conference assembled in New York City to consider electoral intervention in the New York statewide elections in the conviction that the contending old political parties did not offer the voters the alternatives of peace and fruitful social change.

An electoral effort for U.S. Senator, Governor and other statewide offices resulted which, though it failed to win collaboration from all existing socialist groupings, did receive significant rank and file support from various of these groupings, to the extent that the Independent-Socialist Senatorial candidate, Corliss Lamont, received more than 49,000 votes.

Now, in the Fall of 1959, the authors of the Independent-Socialist statewide political effort of 1958 renew the search for collaboration of independents and socialists on a common course for the vastly more important election year of 1960.

- Can independents and socialists of New York in consultation and in free and full interchange of views, approach a common course?
- Is it possible for independents and socialists to mount a presidential campaign in 1960?
- Can we intervene in Congressional contests in any areas in our state?
- Are there any other forms of electoral activity available to independents and socialists in 1960?
- How can independents and socialists best join efforts to thwart the renewed bi-partisan attacks on labor, and on civil rights and liberties?
- Can independents and socialists of all groupings combine efforts to further the new possibilities for peace implicit in the fast-changing world situation?

To discuss these and related questions, the United Independent-Socialist Committee has called an open Consultative Conference. We have invited the Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Workers Party to present their points of view on these issues at the opening session, Saturday morning, Sept. 26.

We invite all affiliated and non-affiliated socialists and independents to participate in the discussions.

Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West 48th St., New York City
Saturday, Sept. 26 — 10 A.M. to 6 P.M.
Sunday, Sept. 27 — 11 A.M. to 4 P.M.

USE COUPON TO REGISTER:

Sign below. Enclose \$1.00 for registration. Please add a contribution, too, to help make the conference a success.

- I enclose \$1.00 registration fee.
- Send me by return mail a free copy of UI-SC NEWSLETTER which started off the debate.
- I enclose _____ to help defray conference costs.

NAME

ADDRESS

UNITED INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST COMMITTEE

799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Advertisement Advertisement

Two Timely Books About the Soviet Union

By Leon Trotsky

The Revolution Betrayed

The economic roots of Stalinism and why worker's democracy has become an overriding necessity for the USSR.

Cloth \$3.00 Paper \$2.00

Stalin's Frame-Up System And the Moscow Trials

With Foreword by Joseph Hansen \$1.00

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

"America's Road To Socialism"

Socialism as a way of life has been a dream for a long time. Is it an unachievable dream in America today? Everything that is happening in the world and at home indicates that socialism is on the order of the day.

James P. Cannon unfolds America's road to socialism in a conversation with you that will absorb your attention. In this series of lectures given in Los Angeles in 1953, he discusses "America Under Eisenhower," "Prospects of Capitalism and Socialism in America" and "America Under Workers' Rule."

Send 35 cents for this 79-page pamphlet which ends with a picture of "What Socialist America Will Look Like."

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Advertisement

It Takes Vision

The far-sighted ones can see that the world will eventually go socialist. If you agree that this is a good thing, you are probably willing to help the process along, for it means enduring peace, international cooperation and abundance for all.

Have you thought of taking up the cause of socialism as a way of life right now? There's no goal more worthwhile.

To find out more about it, send for The Socialist Workers Party—What It Is—What It Stands For by Joseph Hansen. 54 pp. 25 cents.

Pioneer Publishers 116 University Pl. New York 3, N.Y.

Subscribe!

To keep up with the real meaning of big events at home and abroad, you need the Militant. Try it for six months. Send your name and address and \$1.

The Militant 116 University Pl. New York 3, N.Y.

Enclosed is \$1 for a six-months trial subscription.

Name

Street

City

State

Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. THE MILITANT Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN Associate Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

The Issue They Fear to Face

When the Soviet Union was established in 1917 with its nationalization of the means of production and its planned economy, the great question the world asked was: "Will it work?" Today no reasoning or reasonable person asks that question.

This fact is affirmed once more by Harrison E. Salisbury, in his recent series on the Soviet Union in the N.Y. Times. He wrote in his September 13 article that returning after five years to the Soviet Union he was "struck by the depth and breadth of the improvement."

From the standpoint of economic progress, the Soviet Union has every reason to yearn for peace and a vast reduction of its military establishment.

"But what is obvious," comments Salisbury, "is that the Soviet Union is never going to have a chance to out-produce the United States so long as roughly 40 per cent of Soviet production goes into arms and military products."

Nothing can be clearer than the fact that militarization is a curse to the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union could make enormously greater and faster strides in improving the standard of living of the Russian people without its immense arms burden.

Can the same thing be said of the United States with its capitalist private-profit economy? There is hardly anyone who doubts that if there were a drastic reduction in government military spending tomorrow, the day after tomorrow we would go into an economic tailspin that might make 1929-1939 seem like the good old times.

Premature Worry

Few of our statesmen and politicians, our businessmen and economists, our editors and commentators dare even to raise that question. What we have been treated to since the "shock" of the announcement of the Khrushchev-Eisenhower exchange of visits is reassurances that the U.S. economy is not threatened with peace.

Here is the reality in a nutshell: Given peace, the Soviet economy will advance; given peace, the U.S. economy will decline.

What must also strike every thinking

As If 'Overkill' Weren't Enough

The fact that the U.S. has stockpiled nuclear weapons sufficient to "overkill" the world's population several times does not seem to satisfy our military leaders in their pursuit of death, disaster and destruction.

Our top military men are worried, according to Robert M. Byers writing in the Aug. 30 Denver Post, about the lack of popularity for these weapons which, they fear, might get in the way of "continued research and development of these weapons."

The Denver Post catalogues the "57 varieties" of such weapons already developed and stockpiled. There are gases which will blister us inside and out, others that will inflame the lungs and choke us to death, still others that pass through the lungs and poison the blood.

person is that we in America have had the capacity for three decades now to produce abundance and a decent standard of living for everyone. If we have not achieved that goal, it is not for lack of technological development or industrial capacity.

"The fact is we are shocked at your slums. We are shocked at unemployment in America, even if it is small. The reason we are shocked is that we know you have the highest standard of living in the world. We know you produce so much it would be easy for you to abolish slums and poverty. So it is hard for us to understand why you let these evils persist."

U.S. Capacity to Produce

That is the point which the ideologists and propagandists of capitalism keep trying to sweep under the carpet.

In the depth of the great depression, in 1934, The Brookings Institute published a series of economic studies including America's Capacity to Produce and America's Capacity to Consume. The findings of this capitalist institute 25 years ago were that this country then had the resources, technology, existing facilities and trained labor to produce enough to give every family in this country the equivalent in goods and services of \$5,000 a year — more than \$12,000 at our present price levels.

Today, a quarter of a century later, with a tremendously expanded production potential, we witness over-crowded schools, spreading slums, declining hospital services, millions unemployed or on part-time even during "prosperity." We read in a recent issue of Life magazine that there are 15.4 million people over 65 years old in this country and three-fifths of them — more than nine million — have incomes of less than \$1,000 a year.

We live in a society where the ability to produce plenty is a curse, where peace has become a horrifying omen of economic breakdown, where we can apply planning only for war.

Without countenancing for a second the bureaucracy and repressions within the first workers state to rise out of the morass of capitalism, we must recognize that we have learned something from the Russians. And it is not simply how to build Sputniks and send rockets to the moon. What we have learned is that our method of getting a living, our economic system need not always be subject to laws of blind chance and individual greed.

Such technology exists in the advanced industrial countries of the West. In these countries the productive forces have far outgrown the capitalist property forms.

By the end of World War II, the Nazis developed the nerve gases based on the same chemical principle underlying the modern insecticides, although the nerve gases are more potent of course. To the victor went the spoils; the gases the Nazis developed have been accumulated in "sufficient supplies" by the U.S. militarists.

These gases enter the body through the lungs or the skin. They cause paralysis of the nerve-muscle systems, particularly the one which controls breathing. "The breathing mechanism is interrupted," says Byers.

Although enemy-killing germs are not as highly developed as the poison-gases, it is already possible to wipe out a population with bacteria that either attacks humans directly or kills them by destroying their food supply.

But there's really nothing for Americans to worry about, it seems. The Office of Civil Defense Mobilization is now considering the manufacture and marketing of a protective mask to the public for only \$2.50 or \$3.00.

China's Communes

Do They Usher In Communism?

By Daniel Roberts

China's rural peoples communes are not a new form of slavery as the spokesmen of big business seek to represent them. But neither are they the threshold of communism as the Chinese Communist Party regime tried to tout them at the outset and as the American socialist publication, Monthly Review, tried to depict them in its February issue.

According to Monthly Review, the significance of the communes is that they are forms realistically designed to reach the following goals:

(1) Elimination of the differences between town and country, between agriculture and industry, between industrial workers and peasants as members of separate economic classes, and between manual and intellectual labor.

(2) Emancipation of women from the drudgery of domestic labor and from the necessity frequently to carry a triple burden of labor in the field, care of the young and domestic work.

(3) Abolition of the wages system through distribution of food supplies and a number of services gratuitously to anyone performing labor in the communes. This, said Monthly Review, leads to the realization of the principle of "from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs."

(4) Withering away of the state as an organ of compulsion and its replacement by the administration of things. Monthly Review depicted the communes as spontaneous creations by the peasants. Within their framework, it claimed, voluntary collective discipline replaced state compulsion.

CONFUSES REAL ISSUE

Now the goals, which according to Monthly Review the communes seek to attain, are indeed the broad, historical objectives which socialists and communists want to realize. They believe that once capitalism is overthrown in the major industrial countries, and workers and farmers governments take power, society will begin evolving toward those goals.

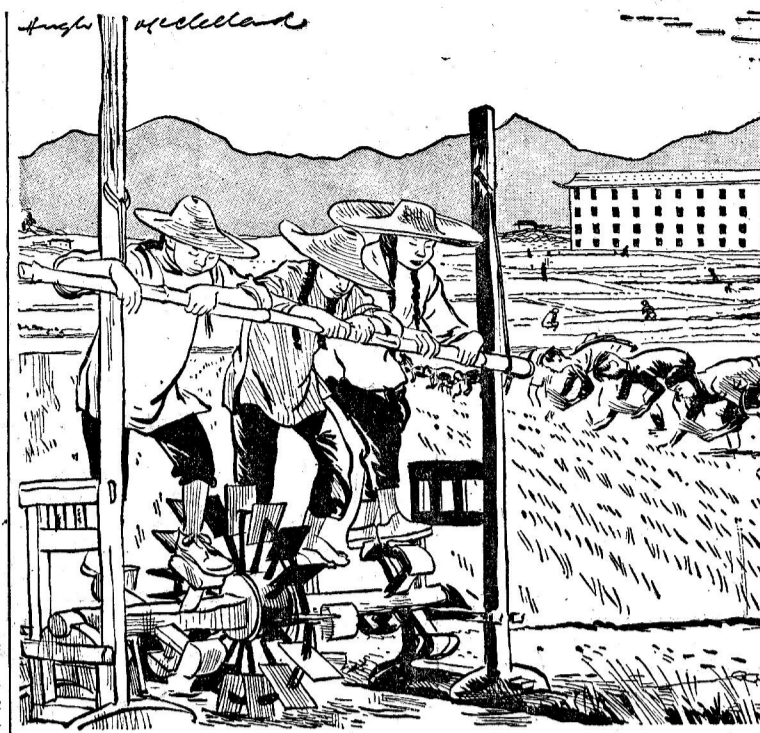
But to portray the present Chinese communes as actually achieving these objectives is to spread confusion about the true problems confronting China today and the role the communes play in solving these problems. Furthermore, periodic reports of conflicts in China between the peasants and the state over how much the latter shall take indicate that far from idyllic relations obtain. Life is grim in China—there should be no mistake about that. Thus to claim that the Chinese peasants are setting up communism through the rural peoples communes can only serve to caricature communism in the minds of working people everywhere.

ONLY HAS FOUNDATION

China is not socialist and not communist. Through state ownership of industry, planning of the economy and collective farming, it has laid the foundations—but no more than the foundations—for a socialist society of the free and equal. But China lacks the kind of technological development that guarantees the population a mounting abundance of goods with ever smaller expenditures of labor. This alone can dissolve class distinctions, the prerequisite for the withering away of the state and for reaching all the other major historical objectives of the communists.

In China, on the other hand, the productive forces have not yet grown up to the extremely advanced property forms that the country has adopted. Until such time as technological development catches up to these forms, there can be no question of going ahead to genuine communist relations. In fact, the forms themselves are constantly placed in jeopardy by the low level of technical development. On the basis of the present technology in China, capitalist tendencies seek constantly to assert themselves and must just as constantly be held in check.

Should China then scrap these advanced property forms and go over to social relations more closely "attuned" to her present state of technological



The above drawing was made for a series of articles, "China's Great Leap Forward," that appeared in the Toronto Telegram beginning June 20. The articles are by James S. Duncan, a former industrialist who visited China earlier this year. The drawing shows operation of China's old-style foot pump in the foreground and new barrack-like apartment buildings that have been constructed in some communes to replace old, unsanitary individual cottages built of clay.

development—say to capitalist property relations? Not at all. In fact, a capitalist development for China, assuring the growth of modern industry and mechanization of agriculture, is absolutely precluded.

In the West and in Japan this growth was more or less realized through capitalism. But modern-day world capitalism, which is dominated by big business in a few industrial countries, will not permit economically underdeveloped countries to take the same path. Imperialism has condemned these countries to economic backwardness in order better to exploit them.

The anti-imperialist revolutions in the underdeveloped countries can succeed only by overthrowing capitalist property relations and adopting socialist property forms. However, they must adopt these forms for the solution of what are essentially pre-socialist problems. Both sides of the question must constantly be kept in mind.

The Chinese communes represent an example of this law of "permanent revolution." They are the application of non-capitalist forms to agriculture so as to utilize age-old productive techniques to maximum effectiveness. The objective, as we have already explained in previous articles, is to accumulate agricultural surpluses for the sake of industrialization.

CHINA NEEDS TRACTORS

But this expedient is itself subject to sharp limitations. As a recent editorial in People's Daily, Chinese Communist Party organ, states: "We cannot carry out immediately the new system of reaping more while planting less [one of the original objectives of the communes' program for raising productivity] because our country's agricultural production is still not high-yielding generally. In order to be high-yielding we need tractors, large amounts of chemical fertilizer, modern agricultural machinery and effective insecticide devices."

These, of course, can be accumulated only slowly as long as imperialism denies foreign aid and as long as agricultural surpluses for foreign trade are held down by the old productive methods.

To think that, despite technological backwardness, harmonious social relations can now emerge in China merely through the will of the CP or of the peasantry is to engage in utterly utopian thinking.

The encouragement the Chinese CP has recently given to private acquisition incentives within the commune system indicates that a large proportion of the peasantry retains its petty-capitalist aspirations to one degree or another. It also indicates that the country is still so poor that collective incentives alone are inadequate and that the regime must actually foster individual incentives in the battle for higher productivity.

The CP will probably make many more adjustments as it wrestles with the contradiction between collective property forms and individual peasant acquisitiveness. Only mechanization of agriculture can resolve this contradiction and permit the transformation of social relations in the countryside to be completed.

INTERNATIONAL PROSPECTS

That will be China's really "Great Leap Forward" in agriculture. Successful working-

the hard-pressed Chinese people.

Without immediate international aid, China will not be able to "leap" ahead in agriculture or industry. But it will be able to take a series of steps forward, enabling it better to hold out against imperialism and facilitating a later leap. By correct economic policies China can begin "catching up" with techniques in capitalist countries and go a distance on the road to higher labor productivity. The process, however, will be arduous and would still await international socialist aid to be completed.

China's task—the solution of pre-socialist problems through socialist-type property forms—embodies profound contradictions as we have noted. The destruction of capitalist relations is highly progressive. So is the ending of the millennial cycle of Asiatic economy. This gives enormous motive force to the development of new social forms and relations.

THE STATE

But the backwardness also exacts its price. The state has not withered away. On the contrary, the organs of repression have become greatly intensified since the revolution. They are concentrated, together with the direction of the economy, in the hands of a "power elite"—an economically privileged caste of bureaucratic officials.

This caste of office-holders, which makes up the body of the Chinese Communist Party, has elevated itself above the working class and the peasantry and bosses these classes. As it administers the economy it carefully promotes its own separate economic interests. This is an extra hardship that the Chinese working class has had to bear in its valiant struggle to advance the country on the road to socialism.

The Communist Party leadership is not based on the working class and does not seek to chart its way by Leninist theory. The party cadres are trained in Stalinism and Maoism; that is, a brand of empiricism given to use of Marxist phrases. The party leadership does not foresee trends and does not shape its policies accordingly. Basing itself on the utopian theory of building "socialism in one country," the CP leadership tends to swing drastically from one course to another in reaction to events without thinking out the ultimate consequences. Even when introducing generally correct measures the CP leaders are

prone to misgauge tempos, to drive the working people too hard and to force them to sacrifice too much. Their plans for economic growth are not adopted democratically. As a result they often contain serious disproportions that can later result in crises.

Because it feathers the nest of the bureaucratic caste first of all and because of its own erratic zig zags, the CP regime often collides with the interests of the workers and peasants. The regime defends itself against the masses by means of a totalitarian dictatorship that not only silences protest but also tends to kill the initiative of the masses and thus choke off the contribution their creative capacities could make to economic construction.

The conflict between the working class and the bureaucratic regime prepares the ground in China for a new, political revolution. Through such a revolution the working class will free itself of bureaucratic oppression and the overhead cost of the bureaucracy's nationalistic and imperial policies in order better to advance on the road to socialism.

A political revolution in China, as in the Soviet Union, would create a regime of workers' democracy that would allow genuinely Leninist policies to be pursued in planning, in the relationship between the working-class state and the peasantry and in the sphere of international revolutionary policy.

STILL NOT COMMUNISM

But there should be no illusions that communism would be introduced thereby. Nor that many measures the State Department calls "slavery" would be avoided. The demand for economic sacrifices, great mobilizations of labor on semi-military lines, collectivization of agriculture, the taking of farm surpluses for building up industry—all these are policies that the Mao regime now pursues bureaucratically but that a genuinely revolutionary regime would also have to carry out. The difference is that the latter would act in a democratic fashion and pay constant attention to tempos and to the welfare of the masses.

The communes would not be scrapped but purged of bureaucratic abuses; for, as I have sought to demonstrate throughout these articles, they are progressive even today, despite the bureaucratic character of the Mao regime.

(Last of four articles.)

Headlines in Other Lands

British Marxists Back Labor Party

Despite criticisms of the Labor Party's inadequate program and leadership, British Marxists and Marxists are all out for a Labor victory in the elections, Oct. 8. The Socialist Labor League and its paper, The Newsletter, both under savage witch-hunting attack by the right-wing Labor leaders, have plunged into the campaign. They advance as campaigning slogans: ending the manufacture of H-bombs, strengthening of the industrial struggles of the unions, more nationalizations of industry, fight against oppression in the colonies and racism in Britain, and an end to the witch hunt within the Labor Party and unions.

A lengthy article in the London Times (Aug. 15) casts doubt on the effectiveness of the attempted purge of Trotskyists (Socialist Labor League members) and predicts that "what is sure is that the Labor Party has not heard the last of Trotskyism." In the Times' view, "Their [SLL members] zeal in industrial disputes, official or otherwise, is probably what has annoyed the Labor Party hierarchy most."

Vatican Removes Susceptible Priests

The Vatican has ordered complete termination of the missionary experiment of "worker-priests" begun by the Archbishop of Paris in 1954 to proselyte the "de-Christianized" working masses. The experiment sent a hundred priests, dressed as workers, to work in factories and live in working-class neighborhoods.

Vatican doubts about the program turned to alarm after a number of cases in which, as the N.Y. Times (Sept. 15) puts it, "priests, who instead of bringing Catholic influence to bear on workers, had been influenced by the Marxist doc-

trines prevalent in the working class."

In 1954 the Vatican decreed that "worker-priests" could not spend more than three hours maximum per day in factories. Last week the priests were ordered out of the factories altogether and it was suggested that the missionary work the program had originally envisaged be entrusted to Catholic laymen.

East German Reds Plot to Debauch U.S. With Sinister Device

Shown this year at East Germany's industrial-showcase Leipzig Fair was a square beer bottle which can be used afterwards as a glass brick. Avowedly aimed at the U.S. market, the bottles hold one American quart, fit neatly into one another and come in various colors. A suggested slogan was, "Build Your House with Beer!" The brewers exhibiting the device announced their hope of getting an American firm to import the bottle and its contents at a price competitive with beers now on the U.S. market.

Typical of the ends-justify-the-means thinking and disregard for the truth of their ideology, was the following sales argument given to an Associated Press reporter: "You see the beauty of the idea? Now the wife can't call you down for drinking beer. You can always tell her you're just accumulating material for that new house."

(A usually reliable source indicated that the CIA, America's super-espionage agency, viewed the square beer bottle with serious misgivings. "It may well be part of a world-wide Commie plot," he said, "to get loyal but gullible Americans all gassed up so them Rooshians can swoop down on our cities and key military installations some night.")

A highly-placed State Department official nodded agreement with this view and added, "There is also a propaganda

angle in it. It suggests to foreigners that there is a lack of adequate housing in the U.S. whereas anyone who has heard the Voice of America or seen the documentary films of the U.S. Information Service knows that everyone in America has perfectly adequate, I might even venture to say sumptuous, housing.")

2 French Colonies Ask Independence

Senegal and French Sudan, two West African colonies of France, merged last April into the Federation of Mali, have officially informed Premier de Gaulle that they wish full independence. They hope to achieve this through friendly "negotiations" with France. Theoretically under the constitution of the French Community (French Empire) a member state can leave by adoption of an independence resolution by that state's legislature and its confirmation in a popular referendum. But Premier Keita of French Sudan told reporters: "That is the worst solution because it could lead to an estrangement with France that we do not wish at all."

Racist Union Asks Firing of Negroes

A lily-white trade union in South Africa is demanding that the government end employment of Negroes at the Ford, General Motors, Studebaker and Volkswagen assembly plants in that land of "apartheid." The spokesman of the for-whites-only union complained that in 1953 the auto plants began large-scale replacement of white workers with colored at far lower wages. In one plant more than half the production workers are now colored; in another about 40%. The director of the Ford plant, who also heads the South African Auto Manufacturers Association, said the industry is opposed to job segregation.

Wants to See More Done to Spread the Socialist Press

Editor: It seems to me that individual socialists could do more these days to spread the socialist press, especially with the issue of socialism coming to the fore under more favorable conditions with the Khrushchev-Eisenhower visits.

People usually pay more attention to something that comes through the mail and can be studied in the privacy of one's home.

G. L. New York

The Vanishing American Scene

Editor: The new federal highway bill raising the gasoline tax is bad enough. But did you know an amendment was slipped in that put an end to the federal practice of giving bonuses to states that banned highway billboards?

J. B. New York

Family Reunion Delayed This Sub Renewal

Editor: Please don't be misled by our tardiness in renewing our subscription, which we sincerely regret. But it's been visiting time for all and sundry — relatives, friends, and friends of friends.

And then a family get-together with children and numerous grandchildren left us — a "near-80" couple — tired and distracted.

We look forward to "our Militant" to give us all the worthwhile news, and it's becoming more worthwhile daily. Good fortune attend you all.

L. and R. M. Canada

Doubts That Deity Will Bring an End To Jim Crow Rule

Editor: I've just finished reading Rev. Martin Luther King's book about the Montgomery bus boycott, "Stride Toward Freedom." It's an interesting book and he says a lot of things about the cause and meaning of race prejudice that would appeal to fair-minded people (with which this city is not overcrowded.) But I have some doubt about waiting for Heaven to settle the civil rights problem down here in the dear old sunny South. It's going to take some prodding.

Mrs. T. L. Texas

Socialist Enters Mayor Race

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 17 — With the filing of her declaration of candidacy yesterday, Joan Jordan officially opened her campaign for Mayor of San Francisco. She is endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

In her declaration of candidacy, Mrs. Jordan stressed several points in her program — including public ownership of all utilities, 30,000 units of federal low-cost housing, free child-care centers and city-supported planned-parenthood centers.

She declared for full equality for all minorities and against any taxes on incomes of less than \$12,000 a year. She also opposed interference in the affairs of other countries.

Mrs. Jordan was a candidate for the office of Supervisor in the 1957 election when she also had the endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party.

Her current campaign got under way Tuesday evening when she spoke before the Business and Professional Women's Club.

CAMPAIGN RALLY

Mrs. Jordan will be the featured speaker at a rally at her campaign headquarters, 1145 Polk Street, Friday evening, Sept. 18.

A lithograph worker by trade, Mrs. Jordan is also a housewife and mother of three children.

In filing her statement of candidacy, she declared her opposition to all anti-union legislation and pledged that as an opponent of racial discrimination she would work to end housing segregation and police brutality.

Voting for the office of mayor will be held on Tuesday, November 3.



JOAN JORDAN, Candidate for Mayor of San Francisco.

New York School Integration



First school bus arrives in Queens with children from Bedford-Stuyvesant area in Brooklyn, where classrooms have been overcrowded.

Integration Fight Marks Opening of Schools in N. Y.

By Jack Arnold

SEPT. 17 — The fight to uphold white supremacy is not confined to the South, as a current incident involving New York City schools attests.

On Monday, Sept. 14 approximately 40% of the pupils in five Queens elementary schools were absent because their parents opposed the transfer of 363 Negro and Puerto Rican children to these schools. The children had been transferred from overcrowded classrooms in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area in Brooklyn.

When the plan to transfer the children was first announced several weeks before school opening, Queens community spokesmen issued statements that had definite racist overtones.

Yesterday, three of the schools were picketed by white parents who carried signs saying "More Books Less Buses," "Stop Transplanting Neighborhoods," and "J. Theobald — Educator, Banker, Pawn?" Theobald is New York Superintendent of Schools.

At one school there was outright racism. During the night someone had painted "Blacks Go Home" on the walls.

Again, one young woman, speaking of the parents of the newly transferred children, said:

"They've all got 14 kids and they're all on relief." However, as the Bedford-Stuyvesant children stepped off the bus for the first day in their new schools, a few comments of an opposite sort could also be heard. "Why they're just tiny children. What harm can they do," said one woman.

As these events were occurring in Queens an anti-Jim Crow protest was shaping up in Harlem. Objecting to inadequate facilities and the inferior education available in Junior High Schools 136 and 149, the parents of some 200 Harlem children were demanding that they be permitted to register their children at JHS 141 in the fashionable Riverdale section of the Bronx.

The Negro parents had originally planned to appear at the Riverdale school on Monday in an attempt to register their children. This action was postponed to Wednesday. Paul Zuber, attorney for the parents, said that if the children were not registered they would wait at the school until the authorities acted.

SHOW-CAUSE ORDER

Late Tuesday the Board of Education was served with a show cause order as to why the parents should not be permitted to register their children at JHS 141. The court order is answerable Thursday morning.

Tuesday evening Paul Zuber said that the registration attempt for Wednesday was called off in order not to jeopardize the parents' court action. The parent group had rejected a week-end appeal by Superintendent of Schools Theobald to call off a threatened boycott of the Harlem schools.

In their demand for a show-cause order the parents charge that the Board of Education has been intentionally discriminating against Negro students in the Harlem area.

They point to the fact that the board permitted a class of mostly white students to transfer from PS 129 in Harlem to predominantly white JHS 52 in the Inwood section.

Children from PS 129 are normally assigned to predominantly Negro JHS 43, a block away.

A group of Harlem parents tried to register their children at the Inwood school at the start of last term but were turned down.

PROGRESS

Public ash trays now being installed around New York streets are proving a boon to people accustomed to picking butts off the sidewalk. "Best thing about these trays is you no longer have to stoop down," said one collector.

Denver Union Votes for Equal Wage-Hike Plan

DENVER, Sept. 11 — A scheduled strike at the Gates Rubber Co. was averted yesterday when the 3,700 members of United Rubber Workers Local 154 voted to accept an across-the-board wage increase of ten cents an hour. The pay boost was achieved under a wage reopener clause in the contract signed last spring. Negotiations on wages can be opened again next year under the agreement.

The company offer was accepted "by a large majority," according to local president Edward Hester. He also said that the local had voted down by a substantial margin an alternative proposal to give some of the workers an eight-cent increase and others as much as 15 cents. He said the new wage scale will provide a top rate of \$3.04 an hour and a minimum of \$2.17. The increase now follows the pattern of the settlement recently made by the international union with the Big Four of the rubber industry — U.S. Rubber, Firestone, Goodyear and Goodrich.

FLAT FEET, BIG NOSES

"Be nosy" is the formula for being a successful cop, says James Leggett, chief of New York detectives.

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK "The Barenblatt Decision and the Fight for Free Speech" will be the topic of the New York Militant Forum, Friday Night, Sept. 25. Lloyd Barenblatt will speak 8 p.m. at 116 University Place (near Union Square).

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. 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 Jinnau 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 4-7164.

One Step Down from Hell

The following is an excerpt from an article entitled "A Blackbelt County: Total Disfranchisement" by Brailsford R. Brazeal, Dean of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga. The work is part of a factual report on the status of Negro suffrage given in Southern Regional Council's pamphlet, "The Negro and the Ballot in the South." In 1950 Negroes comprised over 60% of the total population of "Blackbelt" County. "For reasons that will shortly become apparent," says Brazeal, "the identity of the county and that of the individuals referred to have been deliberately obscured..."

tion books or office would be closed when Negroes sought to register... On one occasion, 25 to 30 Negroes went together to register but one of the registrars told them to come back after banking hours. When they returned... the registrars' office was closed.

"A Negro leader of the group was later approached by a white man who told him, 'I know you are a good nigger — just leave that thing off; go up later.' Another white man... said, 'You are one of the best niggers in 'Blackbelt' County and I advise you not to bother with this business...'"

"After it was learned that one or two members of the Voters League in a nearby city were encouraging local Negroes to register, law enforcement officers apparently felt they should discourage visits by these outsiders... one of the visiting Negroes had a picnic in 'Blackbelt' County and invited a number of Negroes from his city to attend. On their way back home, most of them were arrested for speeding and drinking and each one arrested was fined from \$35 to \$100 for a total of \$1,400..."

"Some Negroes characterize 'Blackbelt' County as 'one step down from hell.' More specifically one Negro said, 'I stay out of that county because I wear a tie... In rural areas the wearing of a tie or dress clothing, instead of work clothing, by Negroes (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays, or holidays) is regarded as evidence of a desire to break away from the customary racial pattern... It may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house, his manner of speaking or his desire to register and vote..."

Notes in the News

ONE GROUPING IS RICHER THAN THE OTHER, THOUGH — The Catholic Church in Pittsburgh held its first annual Labor Day Mass Sept. 7. The Most Rev. John J. Wright held the assemblage that labor-management disputes can no longer be classified as "struggles between the exploiters and the exploited," but rather as "differences between two broad groupings of equally loyal Americans."

KHRUSHCHEV WON'T SEE SWIFT PLANT — Washington organizers of Soviet Premier Khrushchev's visit to Iowa had originally planned for him to inspect the Iowa Packing Co., a subsidiary of Swift & Co. But the plant wasn't on the itinerary published in Washington. The plant has been closed by the United Packinghouse Workers' nationwide strike against Swift.

DISBARMENT REVERSED — The U. S. Court of Appeals on Sept. 9 returned attorney Abraham J. Isserman to his right to practice in the Southern District of New York. Isserman was disbarred for his defense of 11 Communist Party defendants in the 1949 Smith Act trial in New York. He had been judged "guilty" of contempt of court for alleged misconduct during the trial.

AFL-CIO TAKES CIVIL RIGHTS STEP IN SOUTH — Southern organized labor has taken its first formal step toward implementing the civil rights policy of the national organization. An AFL-CIO Advisory Committee on Civil Rights has been set up in Louisville, Ky., to provide closer liaison between local and national officials on civil rights problems. Present at the meeting were officers of the Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee AFL-CIO.

THEY SELL GOOD TOO — Sugar pills and salt water injections, known to the medical profession as placebos (Latin for "I shall please"), often are effective in relieving aches and pains, according to Dr. Albert Glass of the Office of the Surgeon General. He said they work best when administered with an air of hope and confidence to an extroverted sort of patient who feels a real need of relief of his symptoms.

THE MARCH OF PROGRESS — Scientists are making headway with a process that will eliminate up to 94% of radioactive strontium 90 from skim milk, according to a Sept. 8 announcement by the Atomic Energy Commission. The commission also reported that the strontium found had dropped this year at two New York milk stations but had increased "slightly" in Manhattan. No figures were given.

HOW DID HE EVER RECOGNIZE THEM? The federal courts have ruled that D. H. Lawrence's novel, "Lady Chatterley's Lover," is not obscene. But Police Chief Sprague of War-

wick, R. I., has ordered it removed from all newsstands. He says he didn't read the book but that he saw some obscene words in a copy on his desk.

GUILD DEMANDS BACKING FOR NEGRO NEWSMEN — The American Newspaper Guild has called upon editors and publishers to help end practices which relegate Negro journalists to the status of second class citizens. A resolution unanimously adopted by the national Guild convention in New York cited the experience of Ted Poston of the New York Post during the Tallahassee trial of four whites who raped a Negro girl. Poston was denied entrance to the press box and was compelled to work from the upstairs gallery reserved for Negroes.

LIFT PICKET BAN ON DENVER TEAMSTERS — Striking members of Denver Teamsters Local 17 won a court reversal Sept. 3 of an injunction against picketing Riss & Co., an over-the-road trucking firm. The strike was called when Riss turned its local pickup and delivery service over to the Terminal Management Corp. of Detroit and Terminal announced it would rehire local drivers only if they bought their own trucks. Union officials predicted that picketing would be "completely effective" in tying up Riss operations in Denver.

DECLARES INTEGRATION NOT A CHURCH GOAL — Speaking in Dallas, Texas, last month, a leading Methodist declared that "integration is not a goal of the church." Integration problems must be solved voluntarily and on a local basis, asserted Dr. A. Dudley Ward of Chicago. He is general secretary of the General Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church.

MAYBE SOMEONE TOOK THE REST? — The House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee wants to know why it cost \$51,000 to build a highway rest area for motorists in Illinois and only \$1,500 in Texas.

FERRIS WHEEL PILOTS — Some 200 workers at the Willow Grove Amusement Park in Pennsylvania are now members of the Seafarers International Union. The SIU organized the park when the workers sought representation and couldn't interest any other union.

INDICTED IN MINE CAVE-IN — Seven men were indicted for involuntary manslaughter in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., in connection with a cave-in that killed 12 coal miners Jan. 22. The Susquehanna River had torn through a hole in the Knox Mine, flooding the diggings that ranged out under the waters. A state investigation found that operators of the mine had been negligent in permitting miners to go into sections not properly protected. Six of the seven indicted are present and former officers of the company. The seventh is August J. Lippi, president of District One, United Mine Workers.

Labor Gives a Little, Gets A Little — And Winds Up Behind

By Jack Wright SEATTLE — The 1959 regular session of the Washington State Legislature, "passed a number of beneficial and constructive measures," say the Washington State AFL-CIO officials.

They praise the 60-day session because it featured: "... improvements in the unemployment compensation program; i.e., raising the maximum weekly benefit potentially payable from \$35 to \$42 and extending the maximum duration from 26 weeks to 30 weeks."

But they make no mention of the extraordinary session called immediately after the regular session to soak the workers with added sales taxes.

Besides, are the great gains registered in the field of jobless pay really so great? We have some words that sound good to the ear and even read well. But set to the music of the entire bill that was adopted we find that the tune was composed not by labor but by the employers with able assistance from "labor's friends" in the legislature.

When the unemployment compensation bill, H. B. 84, was first introduced, the labor lobby declared its "reluctant support of the bill as a compromise." And that was before the bill even went into the hopper and received a thorough going over by "labor's friends" in cooperation with the bosses' lobby, the Association of Washington Industries.

When H. B. 84 was introduced in the House, it was referred to the Social Security Committee.

Lobbying by both labor and AWI was intensified. The AWI screamed that the bill would be "prohibitive" and would destroy the "business climate" in the state. Three Democratic members of the House committee promptly voted against the bill.

COMPROMISE

Their action forced a compromise in the committee. The tax increases on the employers were dropped and maximum weekly benefits were cut from \$44 to \$42 before the bill was reported out.

But the "big battle" had just begun. The bill still had to go to the Senate where it really ran the gauntlet of "friends" of labor who doubled as friends of the employers.

Along with H. B. 84, another bill, S. B. 375, was introduced at the request of the AWI. This measure contained extremely harsh disqualifying provisions and increased the qualifying wage from \$800 to \$1,000. It was introduced by Senator Purvis, one of the 35 Democrats in the Senate. (There are only 14 Republican Senators.)

Eighteen of the 35 Democrats joined in a series of fancy maneuvers that wound up with the worst feature of the Purvis bill being incorporated into H. B. 84. By the time the Senate "friends of labor" got through with that bill its own motto couldn't recognize it.

The pamphlet, "Labor Looks at the 36th Session of the Washington State Legislature," says: "One of the AWI amendments

... Khrushchev Visit

(Continued from Page 1) the narrow economic interests of the Soviet ruling caste. The members of this bureaucracy want the status quo. Its preservation abroad helps stabilize their political rule at home and with it their exorbitant economic privileges.

Khrushchev consequently seeks the unattainable — a permanently divided globe with firm Kremlin control in the non-capitalist sector and Wall Street control in the rest of the world. But the Asian and African masses are already demonstrating that the imperialist status quo cannot endure. The workers in the advanced capitalist countries also seek to change social systems. And the Soviet working people want to erect a workers' democracy on the Soviet property foundations. A "peace" that ignores these legitimate aspirations cannot be enduring.

TWO-POWER WORLD

Khrushchev's diplomatic objectives were quite accurately spelled out in a Sept. 15 New York Times article by Harrison Salisbury. "Mr. Khrushchev," Salisbury said, "arrives in the United States with certain well-defined conceptions about future relations between the two countries."

"He has said on many occasions that what he would like is a two-power world, directed by the United States and the Soviet Union..." The two-

power idea did not spring full blown from Mr. Khrushchev's brow. It is a concept he inherited from Stalin. The late dictator often advocated it in discussion with President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"Mr. Khrushchev has not expressed his ideas with quite such bluntness," Salisbury continued. "But they follow the same general pattern. Each power would recognize the paramount interest of the other in certain regions."

"This would mean recognition of the Communist status quo in Eastern Europe and Asia. It would recognize the capitalist status quo in Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere. The two big powers would take it upon themselves to suppress any disorders or threats to the peace by the little powers."

In his opening public declarations here, Khrushchev confined himself largely to the theme that war between the U.S. and USSR would be madness and that if the U.S. will accept the concept of the coexistence of differing social systems, "we can build our relations on the basis of peace and friendship."

Regardless of what may come from the present "exploratory discussions," between Khrushchev and Eisenhower, it is clear that the great bulk of the American people want peace and a serious probing of every avenue leading in that direction.

Now when a worker gets laid off and applies for compensation he can be offered "suitable work" — as determined by the State Employment Service.

Maybe they'll decide a job at a struck plant is "suitable." If the worker refuses he's ineligible for compensation. And with the new labor law maybe he's also guilty of a "secondary boycott." At any rate he'll have to get a five-week job washing dishes, or whatever else is handy, to qualify for compensation. But then he might be disqualified for quitting the dish-washing job.

However, the amendment has its bright side. While the worker is washing those dishes he's not officially unemployed and his previous employer gets a rebate on his social security tax.

SAYS FALLOUT DECLINING The amount of radioactive fallout in the atmosphere increased steadily until last May and June but has declined since, according to the Atomic Energy Commission.