

Hail Moon Photo As Triumph for World Science

By Alex Harte

OCT. 27—Scientists hailed the first photograph of the hidden side of the moon as a triumph for world science. The photograph released yesterday was one of "a considerable number" taken by the rocket, "Lunik III." The photograph was automatically developed and transmitted to earth by television.

Scientists consider its quality excellent. Rocket experts were equally impressed by the fact that the Soviet technicians were able to keep the satellite under

such precise control that they could turn its "eye" accurately moonward to take the desired pictures. Still more impressive was their capacity to develop and relay the photographs.

Astronomers for the first time have now glimpsed the hidden side of the moon. It turned out to be smoother than the familiar face seen from the earth.

The Soviet Union registered its pride in the rocket-photography accomplished as a specially appointed committee of the Soviet Academy of Sciences exercised the discoverer's right to name what he finds.

A depression, 137 miles across, was listed as the Moscow Sea; another area, the Soviet Mountains. One spot, with a crater in the center, was named Tsiolovsky Hill after the father of Soviet rocketry. A second crater was named Joliet-Curie in honor of the French nuclear scientist; and another area, in an apparent concession to the earth's romanticists, was dubbed Sea of Dreams.

Astronomers agreed that rocket photography opens wholly new possibilities in the study of other planets in the solar system. But Western military authorities appeared glum about the instrumentation and precision control demonstrated by production of the photograph. If the Russians can handle rockets that way around the moon, what couldn't they do with the Pentagon in the sights of their space television camera?

Thus the photograph of lunar landscapes underlined an earthly political point — the Soviet proposals for disarmament are not born of weakness.

DISFRANCHISED

In Haywood County, Tenn., 62% of the population is colored, but there are no Negro voters.

How Your Dollars Help Spread Socialist View

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

Several weeks ago, the striking Steelworkers at the U.S. Steel Fairless Works at Morrisville, Pa., put a mass picket line in front of the plant and kept out all the supervisors. I read two stories about this, one in the New York Times, the other in the Militant.

What a world of difference between those two stories! The Times, naturally, slanted the whole thing to give the impression that the union was all at fault and the company was the innocent, injured party.

The story in the Militant was by Pearl Spangler, our Philadelphia correspondent. She got the straight facts from a union official about the company provocation that led to the decision of the strikers to stop permitting the supervisors from entering the mill.

Pearl's story included an "added ingredient." After talking to the union official, she visited the homes of some of the strikers and their families so that she could report on how they are getting along and what they think about the latest strike developments.

Now, that kind of reporting is one of the things that puts our paper in a special class. But Pearl's story also indicated something special about our correspondents. When they go out on a story they always aim to do two jobs at once—to get the facts and to spread the socialist message to the workers they're talking to.

"While I was in the area," Pearl said, "I dropped in to see some of the strikers' families and to leave some socialist literature for them to read."

I don't know how many socialist pamphlets and copies of the Militant Pearl left with these workers. But knowing her, I'm sure she was generous. And knowing that these workers are on strike I'm equally sure Pearl didn't press them

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Company Front Shaken As Kaiser Signs Deal

Cuba Furious Over Attack By Fla. Plane

By Lillian Kiesel

OCT. 27—Hundreds of thousands of Cuban workers and peasants rallied to Premier Fidel Castro's call for a demonstration in Havana yesterday. Reacting against counter-revolutionary moves that led to the death of two people and the wounding of over 40, the angry demonstrators brandished placards reading: "We demand respect for our sovereignty;" "Agrarian reform against foreign monopolies;" and "We demand more executions."

The counter-revolutionaries, using American-made planes, apparently based in Florida, showered anti-government leaflets on Havana and other cities Oct. 21. Castro charged that the planes also bombed Havana and Pinar del Rio. During the air raids in Havana, terrorists in speeding automobiles machine-gunned and bombed people in the streets.

At the giant rally, which was organized by the Cuban Confederation of Labor, Castro appealed to the American people to protest the bombing. Castro declared that if the U.S. could not stop flights originating in Miami then its officials must either be considered "accomplices" or defenseless. "How is it," he asked, "that the United States, which feels strong enough to fight with countries which have atomic weapons, cannot prevent these flights?"

The leaflets showered on Havana were signed by Major Diaz Lanz, a former fighter in Castro's 26th of July movement who became head of the air force and then fled to Florida last July. The leaflets called on Castro to refrain from "dictatorship" and to eliminate "communism" from his government. Lanz's counter-revolutionary activities are known to the FBI and Cuba has demanded his extradition.

Castro told the Cuban people that his government is being accused of communism as a pretext, because "all the things we do, like reducing rent, distributing land to the peasants and growing rice injure foreign vested interests."

But the Agrarian Reform Law, rent control, import restrictions and other reforms opposed by American vested interests, Cuban landowners and big business are not Castro's only concern. Shopkeepers and small businessmen are also becoming alienated. They are caught in a financial bind. The unstable economy is suffering from a drop in tourist trade (Cuba's second largest industry). About 20% of the working population is unemployed.

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Steelworkers Get a Lesson in the Class Struggle

By Tom Kerry

The current steel dispute has provided the American workers with an object lesson confirming the validity of the Marxist concept of the class struggle as the social reality in this country.

What started out presumably as a controversy over wages in contract negotiations between the steel corporations and the union became quickly converted into a showdown struggle between organized capital and labor over the "principle" of "management's right to manage." Under this slogan the employers are conducting their "holy war" to return the open shop to American industry.

As the conflict in steel has unfolded, the issue of "inflation" has receded into the background. It was a phony issue to begin with cooked up by the Madison Avenue public-relations sharks to mask the union-wrecking campaign of the monopolists. Doubly so now that the terms

Havana Crowd Seeks Prisoner



Armed men line the roof of a police station as demonstrating crowd seeks to get hands on Roberto Salas Hernandez, charged with attempting to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro during a one-hour work stoppage Oct. 22 which was part of a nation-wide series of rallies against counter-revolutionary moves. More than 30 people have been arrested on charges of plotting to bomb a bus station and assassinate public officials.

Negro Unionists Send Meany 'Randolph Spoke for Me' Cards

By George Lavan

In a number of recent instances, Negroes in the labor movement have expressed their growing determination to achieve full rights as union members. This takes the form of (1) pressure on incumbent union leaderships to put into practice their fine-sounding but often neglected declarations against all forms of discrimination, and (2) campaigns for equitable representation of Negroes in the union's top elective offices.

The now celebrated outburst of AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany at A. Philip Randolph, dean of Negro trade-union leaders, was the top bureaucracy's reaction to this new mood among Negro unionists.

At San Francisco, Randolph took the floor three times to criticize the AFL-CIO leadership's go-slow policy against discriminatory practices within some of the international unions. (The issues involved were (1) failure of two railroad brotherhoods to comply with their promises upon admission three years ago that they would remove the "whites-only" clauses from their constitutions; (2) widespread segregation practices in the building trades and some other former AFL unions; and (3) discriminatory practices in the International Longshoremen's Association which was applying for readmission to the AFL-CIO.)

Randolph's persistence in rais-

ing the issue of discrimination inside the AFL-CIO at the San Francisco convention was a reflection of the feeling among the rank-and-file Negro unionists that they have waited long enough for the unity of AFL and CIO to jell and that now it is time to press for the actual implementation of the anti-Jim Crow promises.

Second Thoughts

Though the leaders of those international unions which place stress on civil-rights issues sat mum, not daring to brave Meany's wrath, they appear to be having second thoughts since leaving San Francisco.

Negro sentiment rallied almost unanimously to Randolph. In some areas Negro unionists are sending postcards to Meany with the message: "Randolph spoke for me." This is their answer to his question, "Who the hell appointed you the guardian of all the Negro members in America?"

To placate the anger of Negro members, a number of union leaders are trying to make up for their silence at San Francisco by now making public statements praising Randolph, deploring any disrespect to him, etc.

For example the Oct. 22 Pilot, official paper of the National Maritime Union, reports that the union's national office, on the basis of a report on the San

Francisco convention by Pres. Curran, sent a telegram to Meany "concerning his treatment of A. Philip Randolph." It should be noted that at the convention Curran was not merely silent, as were other heads of former CIO unions, he rallied to Meany's side of the debate on the issue of discrimination in the longshoremen's union.

At UAW Convention

At the recent convention of the United Auto Workers in Atlantic City, one of the many things ranking the Negro delegates was that the UAW delegation at San Francisco had sat silent during Meany's attack on Randolph.

Perhaps in compensation, Negro delegates at the UAW convention spoke their bitterness

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Salk Price Fixers Told to Stand Trial

OCT. 28 — Federal Judge Foran, sitting in Trenton, N.J., yesterday refused to dismiss an indictment against five major drug firms charged with agreement to fix the price of Salk polio vaccine.

The five firms, who are said to have made "competitive" bids that matched to the fourth decimal, are: Eli Lilly Co.; Merck, Sharpe and Dohme; Pittman-Moore division of Allied Laboratories; Park-Davis Co. and Wyeth Laboratories.

Solid Stand of Strikers Slows Up Application of Taft-Hartley Injunction

By C. Thomas

With the judicial mill slowly grinding toward a Supreme Court decision on the validity of the Taft-Hartley injunction order issued by a federal court judge last week, the Steelworkers ranks stand more firmly than ever against the employer-government assault upon their union.

The resentment of the steel strikers kept building up as they became aware of the deadly implications in the steel corporations' demand for unconditional surrender of established union working conditions. The angry mood of the workers has left little doubt that the 80-day "cooling off" injunction would merely be a stop-gap in the showdown struggle.

Decisive Factor

This knowledge has tended to slow down the government anti-union offensive upon which the employers counted so heavily. It was undoubtedly a decisive factor in precipitating the first break in the Steel Companies Coordinating Committee when the Kaiser Steel Corporation signed a separate agreement with the union. That the Kaiser break was strongly influenced by this consideration was indicated in the statement issued by the company head after the agreement was signed.

"The basic issue of this strike," said the Kaiser statement in part, "has been the steel industry's demand for the right to change working rules and conditions in the country's steel mills. Kaiser steel does not believe these problems can be changed unilaterally to the profit of either labor or management. We believe that the bitterness of our employees would be the only result if Kaiser Steel won the unilateral right to change working conditions in our plants that have been worked out by both parties over many years of negotiations."

Doubts Aroused

Without entering into the merits of the agreement, the Kaiser break must be viewed as a symptom of cleavage in the ranks of the employing class. Given the attitude of the workers it is a foregone conclusion that the steel union can be smashed only by force. The prospect of civil war in steel, inevitably involving the rest of the labor movement, is not a very attractive proposition for many employers under present conditions. This has caused doubts, wavering and questioning among some employers and capitalist politicians about the wisdom of pursuing to the bitter end the unconditional surrender line of the steel monopolists.

German Workers Send Contribution To Steel Strikers

OCT. 27 — West German metal workers have provided an inspiring example of international labor solidarity. According to a report today, they have just sent a contribution of 100,000 marks (\$23,800) to aid the striking members of the United Steel Workers in this country.

For the German metal workers, whose income is far lower than that of their American brothers, the amount of their contribution is a substantial one.

Their action is particularly gratifying in that it serves to demonstrate that the years of fascism did not succeed in wiping out the internationalist spirit of the German working class.

Important segments of the employers favor a tactical shift to carry through on the legislative arena what the steel barons failed to accomplish by direct economic assault. Taft-Hartley plus Landrum-Griffin have now been declared inadequate to curb union resistance to employer-government attack.

The hired press has unleashed a furious clamor for additional anti-labor legislation. Congress is being called upon to adopt laws with teeth in them. Large, sharp, bone-crushing teeth, so that next time the union-wrecking job can be carried through without fumbling.

Unfortunately, the political default of the union bureaucrats, as exemplified by the action of the AFL-CIO convention in reaffirming the policy of supporting "friends" in the two capitalist parties, will smooth the way for the legislative offensive against labor.

Time for a Change!

It is just as much a matter of self-preservation for labor to break with the policy of "labor-management cooperation" on the political field as it is for the steel union to junk the policy of "mutual trusteeship" in its relations with the union-hating steel monopolists. A continuation of the present course can only lead the labor movement down the certain road to destruction.

barred public relations campaign in some 430 newspapers, by the American Iron and Steel Institute and later the negotiating Steel Companies Coordinating Committee.

"The industry," comments BW, "put over its anti-inflation idea with marked success—not only with the general public but also with many of its half-million union employees." But then, says BW, "the industry 'slipped up' by introducing—cold, without advance planning—the contract changes issue."

An "Error"

The error, according to Business Week, was not that the work-rules issue was introduced—that had been the plan from the beginning—but that the corporations had neglected to do the same kind of "homework" on that issue as was done on the inflation hoax.

"The anti-inflation and foreign-competition campaigns," (Continued on Page 4)

Up to Its Bureaucratic Neck In the Censorship Business

By Flora Carpenter

"Is the job of the Post Office to deliver mail or to censor it?" This is a question which more and more Americans are asking.

Art and literature in the United States are subject to postal inspection under the Comstock Act of 1873. Intended to curb obscenity, this law has served better over the years to make the postal authorities look ridiculous as they banned well-known works of art from the mails.

Among the items singled out by the postal authorities have been such classics as Tolstoy's "Kreutzer Sonata" and Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls." The Washington bureaucrats considered them "obscene."

This year a postcard reproduction of Goya's "Naked Maja" was taken for a "French nude" and suitably draped with a censorship curtain.

From the green light given the postal bigots in 1873 to screen the American public from "filthy" stuff, the department extended its prying and snooping into the packages it carries until today it is up to its bureaucratic neck in the censorship business.

The public has not been generally aware of this. As Stanley Meisler, a Washington newspaperman, points out in his "Hidden Censors" in the Oct. 10 Nation, attention has been drawn to the encroachment on a basic civil liberty only through "errors of judgment," such as the Naked Maja case and, more recently, the attempt to continue banning Lawrence's famous novel, "Lady Chatterley's Lover."

Since World War II, foreign "political propaganda" has become another area of prurient postal interest. This move was in line with a 1940 ruling by Attorney General Robert H. Jackson that the Post Office could seize shipments of Nazi propaganda under the Espionage Act of 1917 and the 1938 Foreign Agents Registration Act.

But no legislation to this day specifies just how the department's gunshoes are to determine what constitutes "political propaganda."

Among the books censored as "political propaganda" were Sholom Aleichem's "Be-witched Tailor" and a Soviet book, "Chess for Beginners."

The American Civil Liberties Union reports

that since 1950 (the year the Korean War began), the Post Office has stepped up its censorship activities "... examining and often withholding or burning an increasing number of foreign publications which it considers subversive Until last December persons to whom such matter was addressed were not even notified that it had reached the country"

The ACLU has filed the "first of a series of lawsuits" to be heard in the federal courts this year "with the intention of obtaining a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court on the legality of the Post Office censorship program."

This was in behalf of Mrs. Helen MacGill Hughes, managing editor of the American Journal of Sociology. Mrs. Hughes is suing Chicago Postmaster Carl A. Schroeder for \$1,000 damages because he is "illegally detaining" two magazines mailed to her from Czechoslovakia. She has refused to sign a form declaring that she had "ordered, subscribed to or desired" the publications.

The "declaration" form is a new gimmick devised by the postal sleuths to further the censorship program. In his Nation article, Meisler deals with the intimidation caused by this form. He says that it "puts the Federal Government in the business of deciding what opinions are fit for Americans to read"

Censorship of foreign political matter opens the way for domestic political censorship. In 1942, for example, the Militant was among a number of publications hounded by the Post Office. The Militant attracted the attention of the government censors because of its advocacy of socialism and opposition to Wall Street's aims in World War II. Several issues of the paper were destroyed and others held up.

The steps now being taken by the ACLU are a good beginning in the struggle against the spread of government censorship in America. The Post Office was established to deliver the mail, not to open it and burn it. As long as literature, art and foreign "propaganda" are fair game for government snoopers, the United States does not enjoy full freedom of the press and of artistic expression.

1917 Revolution and "Peaceful Coexistence"

By Murry Weiss

As we celebrate the forty-second anniversary of the Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917, we ought to recall that Lenin often advised the young Communist parties to more frequently accompany their greetings to the Soviet Union and their aspiration to emulate the Bolsheviks with an analysis of how and why the Bolsheviks proved able to lead the Russian workers to power.

The substance of this advice is more applicable than ever despite the many years that have passed and the many changes that have occurred in the world.

This becomes clear the moment we pose the question: what can we learn from the Bolsheviks about the problems faced by the socialist movement today? These can be summed up in two words: war and revolution — and the interrelation between the two. How can we best advance the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggles of the colonial people and the working class? How can we help defeat the counter-revolutionary war drive of Western capitalism against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the organized movements that are heading for socialist revolution?

Look more closely. What kind of war is American imperialism and its allies preparing? It is a war against social revolution. It is a war against established workers' states or movements that threaten to create new workers' states.

If we wish, therefore, to consider the question of war and peace in its class essence as the Bolsheviks did in their time, we must face the fact: the threat of war today is the product of dying capitalism's frenzied efforts to maintain its system of exploitation for profit. On the other hand, the slowing down of the capitalist drive toward war must be attributed to the mass movements on all continents that tend toward socialist revolution.

Mass Peace Movement

All this is intimately bound up with the experience of the Russian Revolution and the policy pursued by the Bolshevik party. The concrete meaning of the expression "peace through the socialist revolution," was given when the Soviets took power at the end of 1917. This revolutionary act was the result of the highest development of a genuine mass peace movement.

The epoch of capitalist decline was introduced by the first world war. Capitalism dragged humanity through the senseless slaughter for three years. Then came the Russian Revolution of February 1917. Russian workers and soldiers (peasants in uniform) put an end to the Czarist regime. Hope blazed among the masses of war-weary workers and peasants that their revolution would end the war; that they could now extend the hand of brotherhood to the European working people and together build a world free from exploitation, tyranny and war.

But the February revolution did not bring the Workers Councils (Soviets) to power. Instead the right-wing "socialists" (Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries), who dominated the Soviets, installed the liberal-capitalists in power. The Russian capitalists, however, were tied to the banks and corporations in France, Belgium and England. They were all for peace — provided it was a peace dictated by the victory of their side in the imperialist war.

Meanwhile, they told the Russian workers it was their "revolutionary duty" to slave in the factories for the war effort; they told the soldiers to die in the trenches "in defense of the revolution" and the capitalist government; they told the peasants that they would get the land from the landlords — after the

The Road to Peace



Lenin addresses a meeting of revolutionary workers and soldiers. Trotsky (marked X) stands at side. The co-leaders of the October 1917 Revolution urged international revolutionary socialist class struggle as the only way to eventually secure enduring peace.

glorious victory against the common enemy.

The Russian workers had to learn that the road to peace was through a new revolution. And the Bolshevik party helped them learn by patiently, stubbornly campaigning for the need to overthrow the capitalists in order to bring peace. By trial and error, through their own experience, the workers, peasants and soldiers came to see that only the Bolsheviks told the truth and that only the Bolsheviks meant to stop the war and divide the land. This was the basis of the October Revolution.

But what has this to do with the struggle for peace today? And what does it have to do with the question of "peaceful coexistence" as a means of achieving lasting peace?

First of all, if by "peaceful coexistence" is meant the possibility of harmonizing the interests of the capitalist class and the working class as a way of securing peace, then the Russian Revolution has much to teach us. The Bolshevik policy — which actually ended the war — was explicit on this point: Lenin and the other Bolsheviks told the workers repeatedly that harmony between the capitalists and workers in the struggle for peace is impossible; peace can be won only through revolutionary struggle against the capitalists. But the Bolshevik policy was not the only policy proposed in the Workers Councils. On the contrary, the Bolsheviks were in a small minority at the beginning.

Menshevik Policy

The most influential policy in the Soviets at first was that of the Mensheviks who said that it would be a criminal adventure to try to overthrow Russian capitalism before peace was established. The capitalists must be pressured into adopting a peace policy, they insisted, and then, when peace had been achieved and normal conditions restored, the struggle against capitalism and for socialism could be resumed.

To propose to overthrow the capitalists in the midst of the war, the Mensheviks declared, was tantamount to playing the game of German militarism and opening the doors of Russia to the Kaiser's armies which would come in, crush the revolution, and enslave the Russian people. Moreover, they continued, the peace-loving and democratic sections of liberal capitalism in Russia with their insane propaganda about a workers' revolution. This, they argued, could only result in the triumph of Czarist counter-revolution. The liberal capitalists, they contended, would turn to Czarist generals like Kornilov if the Bolsheviks continued to threaten them with a workers' revolution.

The Mensheviks didn't merely talk. They followed the logic of their opportunist policy to the end and found themselves first in collusion with the capitalists in framing Lenin and Trotsky as German spies in July 1917, and next in collusion with international imperialism and the White Guard generals during the civil war that followed the October revolution.

It is hardly possible to even begin to summarize the volumes of articles, letters, speeches, leaflets and pamphlets written by Lenin alone in which he conducted the most irreconcilable struggle against these Menshevik concepts, precisely on the grounds that they represented the falsification and perversion of Marxist teachings on the class struggle and the class-struggle road to peace and socialism.

The situation in 1917, it is widely contended today, was not the same as the situation now. Granted, we will stipulate that no two historical situations are exactly the same. But is it possible to overlook the essential similarity? Wasn't the Menshevik policy predicated on the notion that practical, immediate and concrete considerations should cause socialists to set aside their "dogmas" and postpone the struggle for socialist revolution and workers power until peace has been achieved?

And wasn't the Bolshevik policy a clear refutation of this kind of "practical" and "flexible" sophistry? Didn't the Bolsheviks prove that it is not by postponing the revolutionary struggle but by pressing it to its logical consequences that peace can be won?

There are those who say that "peaceful coexistence" has nothing to do with postponing revolutionary struggles or halting the fight for socialism and that therefore the comparison of the current "peaceful coexistence" policy of the American Communist Party with the Menshevik policy in 1917 has no validity.

And then there are those who say that the situation today is qualitatively different from 1917: the consequences of war are so horrible for capitalists and workers alike that it is false to invoke criteria that may have been valid for the pre-atomic age. Today, they argue, it is imperative to subordinate everything, including the socialist revolution, to the need for agreement to coexist peacefully.

Leninist Concept

If, indeed, the idea of "peaceful coexistence" does not imply the subordination of the class struggle and the fight for social change, then at most we would be debating not questions of principle but problems of a tactical and terminological order. For revolutionary socialists, the idea of peaceful coexistence, if properly understood, is entirely legitimate. As a matter of fact, the Russian Revolution and the first period of Soviet power have much to teach us on what the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence is as well as what it is not.

With the establishment of the Soviet Republic the question immediately arose: In the rest of the world, capitalism remains in power and will continue in power until overthrown by workers revolution. Can war be deferred between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world while the issue of capitalism and socialism is being fought out on the arena of the world class struggle?

Lenin and Trotsky said "yes" and fought many a battle with ultra-leftists both within the Russian Communist party and the Communist International on this question.

The ultra-lefts argued that if the Soviet government through its diplomatic or commercial representatives came to agreements with the capitalists it could only serve to strengthen

capitalism and insure the perpetuation of its system. Against this infantile leftist viewpoint, Lenin and Trotsky showed how practical diplomatic, trade, and military agreements between capitalist countries and the Soviet Union could only help the cause of world socialism.

To be sure, such agreements would serve the interests of the capitalists who made them, otherwise they wouldn't be agreements. But they would also serve the interests of socialism. The question was practical: who would gain more?

Trotsky put the matter quite simply when he said, "The Soviet government considers that the capitalist machines it imports strengthen socialism to a greater degree than the gold paid for them strengthens capitalism."

Bartering Revolutions

Innumerable examples can be adduced to demonstrate this ABC aspect of Soviet defense and to show it in operation from 1918 to 1959. But matters changed when the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union introduced something new: in addition to exchanging gold, wheat or potatoes for machines and other necessities, the Stalinists "discovered" that a Communist party of France or a colonial revolution in Asia could be thrown into the bargain. Everything became reversed. Instead of socialism gaining from such exchanges, it lost catastrophically.

With the barter of the revolutionary position of the French CP in the Stalin-Laval pact of 1934, for example, one of the most powerful factors preventing the rise of Hitlerism in Germany was criminally squandered. In the name of "postponing the struggle" against French imperialism for the sake of a "collective security" alliance, the French Communist party abandoned its revolutionary anti-war position; the French working class was bewildered and derailed and the revolutionary situation that exploded in the general strike of 1936 was tragically muffed.

An economic deal, a military alliance or a diplomatic pact between the Soviet Union and a capitalist country is completely permissible. What is not permissible is the bartering of revolutionary movements for illusory gains.

The Stalinist concept of

"peaceful coexistence" flowed from its reactionary, nationalistic and utopian conception of "socialism in one country." This theory reflected the ideological backsliding of the Soviet bureaucracy from Leninist internationalism to cynical contempt for the Communist parties of other countries.

The utterly erroneous theory of "socialism in one country" led to a chain of disastrous mistakes in practice — and then to further theoretical mistakes that persist and deepen to this very day.

Long and tragic chapters of defeat for the international proletariat have been written as a result of the Stalinist policy. It is because of this that "peaceful coexistence," as the Stalinists understand and practice it, has become anathema to genuine revolutionaries.

As for those who say that the situation has changed because war today would mean the very annihilation of the human race, a number of questions arise:

First, what ground have we to believe that capitalism is capable of controlling the blind forces that keep driving it to war? What grounds do we have to believe that the rulers of a system that is in its essence, planless, anarchistic and subject to forces beyond its control can, out of consideration for humanity, hold back the war drive it is continually unleashing?

Capitalism has already demonstrated its capacity to produce madmen like Hitler, Mussolini and Franco who wouldn't hesitate to drown all of humanity in blood. The "democratic" imperialists of France and England continuously give us fresh proof of their "concern for humanity" when they organize large-scale massacres in Kenya and Algeria.

Furthermore, if the stakes are higher today, and indeed they are, why should we abandon the very program that the socialist movement has tested through decades of revolutionary experience? It would seem that the contrary is the advisable course: if the very fate of humanity is at stake, all the more reason to draw on every lesson of history; all the more reason to hold firmly to the verified program of Leninism in the struggle for peace; and, all the more reason to study the whole content of the Bolshevik party's program that won victory for socialism and peace in 1917.

Help Spread Socialist View

(Continued from Page 1) leading branch that's already raised 50% of its quota. Then we would drink a second one to Newark's ever-reliable fund director, Joe Skiviar.

But right now Newark is concentrating its energies on the public meeting where SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs will discuss "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." That's Friday night, Nov. 6, at 179 Clinton Ave. (I feel Newark has earned this free ad.)

Back in New York, we're happy to pass on a heartening fact from fund director Howard Grabel. He tells us that they set a goal of raising at least \$300 through contributions from friends of the SWP and the Militant. More than \$150 of that has been collected already and there's more coming.

Honorable Mention of the Week goes to the Bay Area for leaping from fifteenth place on the scoreboard to third place. San Francisco sent in \$150 and the East Bay another \$62 to accomplish this splendid feat.

To close the mailbag the way it should be closed, a check for \$37 arrived from San Diego,

moving the SWP's most recently chartered branch from fourteenth place to seventh. Last week we predicted big things for San Diego in this campaign and the San Diego comrades have indeed penderly made the same prognosis. They write: "Although we are, at present, a little behind in the fund drive, we are confident we will be able to meet if not exceed our pledge."

Corporation President Freed In Killing of Union Organizer

"Justifiable homicide." With this verdict, an Orange County, N.Y., jury freed Malcolm White, president of the Chester Cable Corp. He was tried on a charge of murdering Alfred F. Dugan, a union organizer.

White maintained that he shot and killed the unarmed Dugan in "self-defense" during a jurisdictional strike last year at the cable plant. Five bullets out of seven were found in the victim's back.

Dugan's Independent Inter-

(Emphasis added. R.A.) One final, and for me, somewhat sensitive point. About that "General" on the scoreboard which may represent you and other Militant readers who intend to contribute to the Socialist Publications Fund. Doesn't that single dollar look a little forlorn? How about helping to move the General over a few decimal points?

state Industrial Union was challenging the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, at the request of a good section of 140 workers in the plant.

Despite Dugan's known criminal record, the workers turned to him because they were fed up with the IBEW and they knew that Dugan had close connections with the Teamsters Union.

The prosecution produced documents and testimony tending to show that White might have lured Dugan to the lonely road where he was shot. The defense contended that White shot in self-defense believing Dugan was about to pull a gun on him.

Jam N.Y. Schools Beyond Legal Limit

The New York Teachers Guild charged the Board of Education Oct. 26 with "flagrant, deliberate and widespread violations" of a state regulation limiting the size of high school classes.

The Guild filed a brief in support of Franklin Smith, a high-school teacher, who has complained about teaching 187 pupils a day while the state sets a limit of 150 as a condition for its contribution of funds to the school system.

FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 265	\$ 132	50
Connecticut	100	40	40
Bay Area	800	309	39
St. Louis	80	30	38
Milwaukee	300	104	35
Detroit	600	205	34
San Diego	245	82	33
Allentown	110	35	32
Boston	350	110	32
New York	4,200	1,223	29
Los Angeles	4,400	1,220	27
Twin Cities	1,700	467	27
Chicago	1,000	220	22
Cleveland	750	156	21
Philadelphia	400	73	18
Denver	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Seattle	500	0	0
General	150	1	0
Total through Oct. 27	\$16,000	\$4,407	28

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Alienation

In the field of psychology, the increasing number of nervous breakdowns is ascribed to the alienation of man's needs from the dominant values in society today.

In politics, alienation is pointed to in the reaction of the voters to the two parties. Alienation exists between Soviet bureaucrat and Soviet worker, between employer and employee in capitalist countries, between union official and rank-and-file member. Finally, economists talk of the alienation of the producer from the product of his labor, the worker from his job.

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Monday, November 2, 1959

Justified Complaint

Soviet farmers at a regional conference recently complained to the Union of Soviet Writers about the way Soviet literature deals with their problems.

It seems that the writers have been describing in interminable detail such processes as milking cows or raising corn, but telling next to nothing about how the peasants live and what their main problems are.

We know more about milking cows than do the writers, said the farmers. And what we don't know we can learn from specialists.

"But we do not only work; we love, we get married, we raise our children. We are people and nothing human is alien to us." These are the topics that Soviet writers should deal with.

Reading is a voluntary act and writers "must capture the heart and mind of a reader." Why don't some of the writers "understand how boring it is to read books in which instead of live people there is

described the technology of the square method of raising potatoes?"

The farmers' complaint undoubtedly had government sanction. However, this doesn't mean the complaint did not voice true grievances. On the contrary, the farmers' plea for books about people rather than machines or the labor process is part of a growing demand among the masses that Soviet society pay attention to their needs.

This same demand is also expressed in the popular pressure for more consumer goods. As one writer to a Soviet newspaper put it, "Enough of covering ourselves with sputniks . . . Let's get down to the most ordinary half-shoes . . ."

"Socialism, after all, aims at improving the material and cultural welfare of the masses. Technological advances are not the true measure of socialist success but a means to their achievement.

The working people are asking that the Soviet Union direct its attention to realizing the socialist goals.

The Anti-Puerto Ricans

New York politicians, community groups and the press are heatedly debating how best to cope with the problem of crimes committed by youth. An intensive propaganda campaign has singled out the city's young Puerto Ricans as a special target. Editors and a number of public officials have hammered away persistently to make the words "Puerto Rican" and "juvenile delinquent" synonymous in the public mind.

The latest proposal for dealing with youthful delinquents came from Mayor Wagner, a Democrat given to fine phrases about "social progress." He wants to lower the age at which youth can be indicted in adult court from 16 to 15. A series of related propositions would make possible group indictments through guilt by association.

The mayor's proposals have been sharply criticized by the Citizens Committee for Children of New York City. In an Oct. 27 statement, the committee scored the unconstitutional aspects of the recommendations, pointing out that punishing teenagers as adults will not reduce crime. The committee proposed instead the establishment of a Youth Court to provide competent aid to delinquents.

This is certainly a more welcome approach than the mayor's but it still does not deal with the real problem at issue.

Juvenile delinquency does occur in the city's Puerto Rican communities—but the figures show that it is proportionately less than for the city as a whole. Moreover, delinquency here, as in other minority communities, is a direct product of the social and economic victimization of the Puerto Rican people. It can be charged to

sweatshop employers, rent-gouging landlords, crowded schools, lack of playgrounds and a future that offers little opportunity.

The crassest expression of the smear campaign against the Puerto Rican people came in an odorous declaration by Judge Leibowitz last month. He used a Sept. 24 Senate subcommittee hearing on juvenile delinquency to assert that Puerto Rican migration to the mainland should be halted as a means of combatting crime.

One of the public figures who expressed disagreement with this under-the-belt attack was Rep. Emanuel Celler, the liberal Democrat from Brooklyn. But while seeking to present himself as a "friend" of the Puerto Rican people, Celler inadvertently blurted out the real score on the problem.

"We should not discourage them from coming," he said. "We need them for the hard chores and rough work. If they do not come, most of our hotels, restaurants and laundries would close. We need new-seed immigration."

That's the story in a nutshell. But no one has to tell it to Leibowitz or his associates in the gang-up on the Puerto Ricans. They don't mean a word of it when they talk about keeping the Puerto Ricans out of New York. They, like Celler, want them here for the "hard chores and rough work" and—the starvation wages.

But they understand that in order to compel people to accept that kind of work and live on those wages they must be denied the opportunity of bidding for decent jobs. Racial and national discrimination is the classic weapon for achieving that end. That's why the anti-Puerto Rican smear campaign continues.

Let the Straphangers Beware

"It is the purpose of my administration to keep subway fares down. We will fight for this in every possible way," New York's Democratic Mayor Robert Wagner declared Oct. 22.

The long-suffering straphangers of America's richest city will do well to put a firm hand on their purses. Each previous fare hike in the city has been preceded by a similar soothing official declaration.

Wagner's announcement that he will "fight" in every way "possible" came after Charles Patterson, chairman of the City Transit Authority, made the opening gambit to break through the present 15-cent level at a meeting of the City Planning Commission.

Patterson's peg for suggesting the increase was the need to do something about reconditioning the dangerously deteriorated transit system. After the chairman admitted that some 2,000 new subway cars are needed, a member of the commission asked him if he knew where the money would come from.

"Certainly," replied Patterson. "Higher taxes or higher fares."

The next day a spokesman for the Transit Authority explained reassuringly that Patterson's remarks had been "misconstrued." The talk about a higher fare did not represent official policy; it was merely an answer to a question. The same newspapers that reported this, also cited an unidentified transit "expert" as declaring that a 20-cent fare would cover the cost of the proposed new equipment.

These cynical maneuvers follow a familiar pattern. Each of the two previous fare increases were accompanied by glowing promises, about modernizing the ancient underground trolleys. When Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer on June 30, 1948,

ordered the long-established nickel fare raised to a dime, commuters were promised new cars, speedier and more frequent service, clean stations and sanitary restrooms, and even completion of lines projected before the elevated lines were torn down.

A decade later New York citizens are paying 15 cents to ride a system that is filthier, more crowded and less safe than it was when they paid a nickel. Instead of expansion, trains have been taken out of service.

What happened to the promised big increase in revenue? Part of it went to keep the subways "self-sustaining" financially. Part of it never materialized, for the simple reason that the boost in fares forced down the number of riders. The decline in riders became a new excuse for further reduction in service, leading to a fresh drop in customers.

For too many years the Democratic and Republican machines in New York have helped the financial interests swindle the commuters. New York's skyscraper firms and giant department stores couldn't operate without the subway system. But they pay nothing toward its operation. Coupon clippers are coining millions on the scandalous deal in 1940 when City Hall bought the franchise on its own lines after they had been milked by private interests until they required major overhaul. (The franchises were due to expire in 1969.)

We suggest a simple way of raising money to meet transit system needs. New York is paying some \$60 million a year on the bonds issued to purchase the franchises. Let the city officials declare a moratorium on those payments until the subways are put back in adequate running order.

Did Kerala CP Regime Deserve Support?

Editorial Note

The presidential intervention in Kerala and the dismissal of the Communist ministry in that state have raised a number of issues to which we must clearly define our attitude. Three questions are being asked, rather persistently in this context, which are as follows:

(1) To what extent the central intervention in Kerala indicates the opposition of the Congress party in the center to any leftist or non-Congress government in any constituent state of India? In other words, does it mean that the Congress will not allow any non-Congress or leftist government to remain in power in any state and their desire to remove it by hook or crook?

(2) How in this background could the RSP (Revolutionary Socialist party), itself a leftist party, align itself with other opposition forces like the Congress, the Muslim League, the PSP (Praja Socialist party), etc., in a government in order to unseat the Communist government from power?

(3) Does the RSP support central intervention in Kerala? We shall try to answer these questions one by one. We have no misapprehension about the bonafides or good intentions of the Congress as regards letting parties other than the Congress to come to power in any state, or to remain in power for long, if it can prevent that. If it is a leftist government, the opposition of the Congress government at the center will be all the more pronounced and it will take advantage of all the provisions of the constitution to throw that government out of power.

It is quite possible in the present mood of disillusionment and dissatisfaction of the masses with the Congress to return a non-Congress or a leftist party or a coalition of parties in a majority in one or more state legislatures. But, there is no doubt in our minds that as soon as such a leftist party (or coalition of parties) or its government in any particular state will start putting into practice any item of its leftist program or to alter even by an iota the existing system of bourgeois-property relationships, the Congress party in the center will exert its utmost strength to sabotage any such move and also to overthrow that government in the state concerned.

We have, however, to point out that the central intervention in Kerala (which we have opposed in principle) came, not because the Communist party's government in that state was following a leftist program. Whatever might have been their earlier promises, to judge it by its practice and performance it was as good or as bad as the Congress governments in the other states.

To take one instance: Much has been said in the parliamentary debate over central intervention in Kerala about the new police code. Mr. Dange, the Communist party's leader in the Lok Sabha (upper house of the Indian parliament at New Delhi), wanted to prove that one of the major crimes of the Kerala government in the eyes of the KPCC (Kerala Pradesh (state) Congress Committee) leaders and of the vested interests in that state was that the Communists sought to prevent the employment of the police force against the workers and the toiling people. He proclaimed, rather dramatically, that if the Communists come to power again in Kerala, they would do the same over again, come what may.

The speakers from the Congress and the PSP side, who supported central intervention, almost played into the hands of the Communists by arguing that

The adjoining article is from the Call, monthly magazine of the Revolutionary Socialist party of India. We print it for the information of readers who have indicated their interest in the position of this organization on Nehru's dismissal of the Communist party regime in the state of Kerala July 31 and the institution in its place of "president's rule" by the central government. Communist party spokesmen accused the RSP of combining with reactionary forces in agitating against the CP administration.

The article is also of value, we believe, for the information it gives on the anti-socialist policies which the Indian Communist party followed in Kerala. The RSP speaks with authority on the subject since it participated in the united front that brought the CP into office.

In addition, the article sheds light on the new crisis which hit the Indian CP when China and India got into the current argument over the location of the border between the two countries. This crisis made world headlines when the Communist party executive committee in Maharashtra (the important area including Bombay) voted for a motion sponsored by the Praja Socialists, with whom they are in a bloc, condemn-

ing China's use of force against India.

The resolution called for support to "the Prime Minister and the Government of India in defense of the honor and territorial integrity of our great country against aggression or coercion." This bourgeois nationalist position has now received the support of the Kerala and Andhra units of the party. And E. M. S. Namboodiripad, chief minister of the Kerala CP government, has added his voice to the chorus.

When Chinese soldiers fired on an Indian patrol Oct. 23, the All-India Communist party headquarters in Delhi issued a statement directly condemning China. The declaration said that "there was no justification whatsoever for the firing which resulted in such a heavy loss of life."

S. A. Dange, a Maharashtra CP leader and one of the party's top spokesmen in the All-India parliament, announced Oct. 24 that he will "stand behind Nehru." A. K. Gopalan, the party's deputy leader in parliament, demanded an immediate end of attacks by China.

We do not yet know the reaction of the RSP to the border incidents. However, the latest issue of the Militant, an Indian Trotskyist paper, indicates that the RSP has been affected by the nationalist war hysteria.

There was no rule of law in Kerala under the Communists; that they had divided the people of Kerala into two classes; namely, the workers and the non-workers and that police protection was denied to the so-called non-workers. On these grounds, they argued that central intervention was justified.

It was, however, forgotten in the heat of the debate that the first police firing under the Communist government in Kerala was directed against a body of workers, who were engaged in a legitimate trade dispute. We refer here to the Chandanathoppu firing in July, 1958, where two workers were killed, where the police acted to save the property and the interests of the employers as against the demands of . . . workers [led by the RSP and United Trade Union Congress, a non-Communist federation].

The next three incidents of firing took place during the plantation workers' strike of October that year . . . led by the AITUC [Communist-controlled All-India Trade Union Congress] and the Communist party members, in the struggle for bonus and minimum wages.

We need not mention here numerous other instances of police repression, of lathi-charges, of imposition of Section 144, etc., resorted to by the Communist party government against the workers, against students and other sections of the people of Kerala.

The Communist party spokesmen in the parliament were naturally interested in concealing these facts and neither the Congress nor the PSP was interested in referring to these facts, because in that case they would have given away the case that they had built up for central intervention.

Failed to Win Capitalists

But these facts are matters of recorded history and they prove unambiguously that the Communist government or its police were not siding with the workers against the capitalists. The

Communist party tried to woo the capitalists but failed.

As a matter of fact, it was the failure of the Communists to woo the capitalists and the vested interests on the one hand by giving concession after concession and by betraying the masses, and their failure to mobilize the masses on the basis of any progressive social program, on the other, which were responsible for their isolation from the people and which created a political impasse for them.

It is significant to note that barring Prime Minister Nehru, every other spokesman of the Congress party or the PSP sought to justify intervention in Kerala on the ground of the failure of the Communists to give equal protection to all the people of Kerala, particularly the capitalists and the non-

working-class people. This only proves what we have stated already about the hostility of the Congress government at the center to any progressive leftist government that might come to power in any of the states of the Indian Union.

But central intervention in Kerala did not come earlier because of two reasons. Firstly, because of the demonstrative readiness of the Communists to compromise and betray their principles, and secondly, because of the absence of any strong anti-Communist agitation amongst the people, which would have made any earlier move towards intervention unpopular. But in course of time, the Communists succeeded in isolating themselves, making even the common masses hostile, and that gave the vested interests and the Congress government at the center [the opportunity] to deliver the coup de grace.

If we look at the whole question of central intervention from this background, we shall be able to understand RSP's stand as regards the first question that we have posed at the outset. The government of the Communist party in Kerala was not a leftist government and was not following a leftist program, and, therefore, central intervention in Kerala cannot be characterized as intervention against a leftist government.

But still the Communist government could not win the confidence of the Congress High Command or the central government. It is quite plain that the Congress will not easily allow any non-Congress leftist government to come to power or remain in power in any state, even if it does not follow a leftist program as such. But in the present case, the Communists by their failure to stand by the basic demands of the masses and by betraying them created a situation where the central government could easily find an excuse to intervene.

If we keep this context of the first answer firmly in our mind, it will not be difficult for anybody to understand or appreciate our answer to the other two questions.

The RSP's position in the last mass movement against the government of Kerala was clear from the very beginning. The RSP did not join hands either with the Vimochana Samara Samiti [Liberation Action Council] composed of Roman Catholics and the reactionary com-

munal Nair Service Society] or the Congress-PSP-Muslim League joint council of action to fight the Communists.

The RSP felt that the toiling masses, particularly the working class in Kerala had lost confidence in the Communist government, that the Communist government must resign and seek a fresh mandate from the people.

The RSP joined this movement not to help the Vimochana Samara Samiti or the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alignment. The RSP and the non-Communist trade unions formed a joint council of action and participated in the movement on the basis of specific working-class demands.

The RSP's participation in the movement was as much directed against the betrayals of the Communist government as against the movement of vested interests, rallied inside the Vimochana Samara Samiti and the Congress-PSP-Muslim League coalition.

It is obvious that the RSP does not support central intervention in Kerala. The RSP is opposed in principle to the power of intervention in the political affairs of the states, given to the central government under articles 352, 355 and 356 of the constitution, except for meeting critical emergencies like war and foreign aggression. The RSP regards these powers as being undemocratic and liable to be abused.

In the case of Kerala, it is also opposed to the latest instance of intervention, because it prevented the toiling people from settling accounts with a government that had betrayed them. The intervention of the central government came at a time when the popular movement was gaining momentum and on the eve of the impending session of the parliament in order to present the latter with a fait accompli.

The timing and the manner of intervention prove that intervention should come at a time as would help to consolidate the political position of the reactionary forces in the state. The dismissal of the Communist government, therefore, might not bring any progressive force to power.

It must also, however, be recognized that the Communists themselves were responsible by their betrayals and compromises in weakening and disrupting the progressive forces.

Headlines in Other Lands

Rich Get Richer In Laos on U.S. Military Aid

The U.S. government is pushing plans to intensify training of Laotian government troops in order to strengthen them in the Asian country's civil war, reports Jack Raymond in the Oct. 25 New York Times.

This comes after a United Nations investigation committee found no evidence that North Vietnamese troops had "infiltrated" into Laos as the Laotian government had charged.

The U.S. pays the entire bill for maintaining the royal Laotian troops numbering about 25,000 plus 3,200 police. According to the 1954 Geneva agreement covering what was once the French colony of Indo-China (Laos was a part of this colony), the U.S. is not allowed to set up a regular military advisory group. However, Washington gets around the treaty provision through a "program evaluation office" with nearly 200 persons headed by Brig. Gen. John A. Heingtes and a training mission of 100.

"The two missions," says Raymond, "are responsible for checking the disposition of United States military equipment turned over to the Laotians. They are responsible also for training the Laotians in the use of the equipment." Equipment plus army and police salaries have accounted for most of the \$225 million in "aid" that the U.S. gave Laos in the last four years.

The Laotian landowning and merchant classes who run the government are so parasitically dependent on Washington that on Oct. 20 two Laotian officials complained about the U.S. government being late in meeting police payrolls. They also complained about American "parsimony" generally. The Laotian government, they said, must always "implore" Washington for funds "like a poor beggar."

The Laotian upper classes are beggars, all right, and pretty crusty ones at that. But they are not poor beggars. As the New York World Telegram stated editorially Oct. 24, thanks to Washington's handouts the rich in Laos "appear to be getting richer and the poor poorer."

Chinese Press Explains New Line On Communes

The New Statesman, British socialist weekly, reports Oct. 10 on articles in the Peking press giving further details about recent changes in the rural people's communes.

"Equalitarianism in distribution," claimed last year as a goal of the communes, is now put off to the distant future. The current slogan is "To each according to his labor"—a formula which in the Soviet Union has long been used to justify as well as to foster differences of income.

According to one writer in the Chinese press, "people's communes must not try to do everything in one single step, must not negate the Socialist principle to each according to his labor" in favor of the Communist principle to each according to his need until production is highly developed and social products are plentiful. People must not strain after Communism before the conditions are ripe.

The Tientsin Hopei Jih-pao has adopted a readers' question-and-answer column to deal with queries raised by commune members, including the following: "Is it advisable to allow commune members to engage in some sideline occupations?" "Can commune members grow some gourds and vegetables on odd pieces of vacant land when they can be spared from farm work?" "After people's communes have been built, should the bicycles of commune members become the property of the communes?"

The newspaper answers that commune members are allowed to engage in sideline production at home when they can be spared from work. "They may grow whatever they like by the side of their houses, in the yards, in the cemeteries, and on other odd pieces of vacant land." The bicycles, which last year had to be surrendered to the communes, now are to be returned to their owners, but "resistance was encountered . . . some cadres refused . . . They were criticized for not correctly carrying out the party's new line."

In another Peking publication, Lin Hsia explains that to get maximum production, it is important that "aside from collective production, the commune members should be enabled to use their spare time to grow some food grains, melons, vegetables . . . and raise some domestic animals and poultry on vacant plots of land." This is in line with the new directive that commune members "can retain individual trees around their houses and small farm implements, small tools, small domestic animals and poultry."

Lin Hsia calls this a "small freedom" within a definite framework. He says that some CP members have criticized this "small freedom" because commune members would develop "the spontaneous capitalist tendency and withdraw from the collective." He admits the danger, but trusts "political leadership, economic limitations and the supervision of the masses" to keep the tendency in check.

The Peking Jen-min Jih-pao published the results of an inquiry into small-scale, sideline production in three local communes. The investigation revealed that "With the level of production as it actually is, income from collective undertakings is as yet unable to reduce into insignificance the percentage accounted for by income from commune members' domestic small-scale sideline production." In one commune far more chickens and pigs were being raised privately than publicly, and the resulting manure was used to fertilize personal sideline production rather than communal grains and vegetables.

... Attack Infuriates Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

To counteract the pressure from Cuban and American landlords and capitalists against his reform program, Castro has tightened his reins on the government. Raul Castro was made minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces Oct. 17 and Major Ernesto "Chez" Guevara has been given a key job in the Agricultural Reform Institute (INRA) where he will head a government program to industrialize Cuba.

The resignation of Major Hubert Matos, military Commander of Camaguey province, Oct. 21 is one of the indications of growing tension. Subsequently arrested by Castro, he has been linked up with Lanz and former President Urrutia, both of whom are opposed to the Agrarian Reform Law.

Although Castro still has the support of the majority of the people, the Wall Street Journal of Oct. 27 reports that "counter-revolutionaries are now strong enough to embarrass the government whenever they see fit." The State Department, of course, is maintaining that it is

only an innocent bystander and has had nothing to do with the new moves of the counter-revolutionary forces. Its hypocritical protests, however, have been properly scorned by the Cuban government, which is thoroughly aware of how the State Department has supported and encouraged American financial interests in Cuba.

The mounting counter-revolutionary opposition has forced Castro to turn toward the workers and peasants. "Our reply to these air attacks," he declared, "must be the training and arming of the peasants and workers, the professionals and even the women."

How far Castro is prepared to go to mobilize popular forces remains to be seen. The indicated course is to carry through the scheduled major reforms without further delay. The longer the reforms are put off, the more time is given counter-revolution to recover and to mobilize. But Castro, like many a nationalist before him hesitates at unleashing forces that could take Cuba down the road to a socialist government.

How Mexico City Reacted to Soviet Folk Performers

While visiting in Mexico City recently I had the opportunity to see the Pianitsky Company, a highly talented group of Soviet folk dancers and singers.

Yes, We Can Trust The TV Quiz Gang!

I have been following the exposure of the rigged TV quiz shows with a lot of interest. One part of it gives me satisfaction.

the drain. An impressive young scholar from an illustrious literary family turns out to be no more immune than anyone else to the temptation of a fast buck.

What About Peace - At the South Pole

Is the Militant being too pessimistic about U.S. intentions to peacefully coexist with the Soviet world?

It's also true that they are demanding that the Soviet Union give up its veto rights in the UN as the price of disarmament.

Is That News?

Moscow radio reports that Truman and Acheson are "carrying out a campaign against the new hopeful tendencies in world affairs."

Rockefeller Tries To Out-Nixon Nixon

What a fake our two-party system is. In 1958 Nelson Rockefeller, a multimillionaire, ran for governor of New York on the Republican ticket.

Harriman cooked his goose with a lot of New York liberals as a cold-war drum-beater and an open spokesman for big business.

He did such a good job of making out as a liberal that he got the last-minute support of Mrs. Schiff, the publisher of the liberal New York Post.

After helping to whip up the war hysteria with a big hoopla plan about building an H-bomb shelter in every home, Rockefeller has gone even further— he's demanding that the bomb tests be started up again!

Among the Best



Negro pickets carry banners as striking Steelworkers march to their stations at the main gate of the big U.S. Steel Corp. works at Gary, Indiana. Negro unionists are often in the forefront of labor struggles where it takes energy, self-sacrifice and willingness to fight militantly in the cause of unionism.

... Negro Unionists Tell Meany

(Continued from Page 1)

quite unprecedentedly on matters which came before their convention. This first came during the debate on the dues increase, in which Nadine Brown, a leading woman trade unionist from Detroit, questioned the administration's policy on civil rights.

It continued in the nomination and election of officers in which two Negroes were nominated for the executive board.

Finally, in the closing hours of the convention, the bitter feeling culminated in a protest walkout by Negro delegates because of the run-around given them on the civil-rights resolution.

Robert Battle 3rd of Ford Local 600 led the walkout of 45 Negro delegates just before the conclusion of the convention.

When Resolution 15 on civil rights should in normal sequence have been reported out for debate and voted on Saturday (the second day of the convention), it was skipped over.

"the answer was readily given that it would be tomorrow, which was Sunday; but Sunday came and went without Resolution No. 15 coming to the floor. The same thing happened on Monday and Tuesday..."

Battle relates how he got a promise from Jack Conway, Reuther's assistant, that it would come up on Wednesday, then from Reuther himself that it would come up on Thursday.

Early this summer, A. Philip Randolph, in a speech to the

convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called for formation of a national Negro Labor Council within the American trade-union movement.

The Trade Union Leadership Council — an organization of Negro unionists in the Detroit area — to which most of the Negro delegates at the UAW convention belonged, affords an excellent example in miniature of what a national Negro Labor Council, such as Randolph proposes, could do on a coast-to-coast scale to advance the fight against the vestiges of Jim Crow in the labor movement, thus advancing not only the cause of the Negro workers, but of all workers.

MAN BITES DOG

John J. Cassese, a New York police official, says there were 26 cases in a recent 60-day period when patrolmen were injured while making juvenile arrests.

Negro Labor Council

Early this summer, A. Philip Randolph, in a speech to the

...Lesson for Steelworkers

(Continued from Page 1) remarks BW, "were a product of thorough, careful research and planning. But when contract changes on work rules became a major issue in steel negotiations, the industry's public relations machinery was thrown out of kilter."

The corporation public-relations sharpshooters are now frantically at work trying to rectify the error. A letter-writing campaign has been started, company by company, aimed at softening up the Steelworkers.

With the steel corporations preparing well in advance for a showdown fight, steel-union president David J. McDonald went into negotiations with a heart full of love and brimming over with the spirit of "mutual trusteeship."

"The union," remarks the Nov. 2 issue of U.S. News and World Report, "appeared to have been unprepared for the strong stand taken by industry on work rules."

It is hard to believe that McDonald was unaware of what was going on around him. In the past several years there had been mounting evidence of a toughening attitude on the part of the employers.

ish. If their union is to be smashed it will have to be done by force—not by guile.

By pushing the work-rule issue to the fore the corporations handed the floundering steel-union leadership an issue which transformed the whole character of the struggle.

With the steel corporations preparing well in advance for a showdown fight, steel-union president David J. McDonald went into negotiations with a heart full of love and brimming over with the spirit of "mutual trusteeship."

Propaganda is a powerful weapon—especially with all the means of communication and money at the disposal of the corporations. But this time the fat is in the fire. It will take more than Madison Avenue ballyhoo to convince the steel workers that the assault on their working rules is meant only for their own good.

Telegraphers Tap Militant Key For Steel Strike

By V. R. Dunne MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 23—The Commercial Telegraphers union (CTU) convention, meeting here this week, voted unanimously today to back the Steelworkers' strike by donating an hour's pay from all members each month.

workers' wages were not as high as claimed. Here is an inspiring action by a comparatively small but important section of the vast organized workers' movement.

There can be no doubt that this demonstration will inspire other unions to match and even top this commendable action.

Don't miss a week. Send in your subscription to the Militant.

Calendar Of Events

NEWARK Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary Socialist Workers Party, discusses, "Labor's Role in the 1960 Elections." Friday, Nov. 6, 8:30 p.m., Workmen's Educational Center, 179 Clinton Ave. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. SWP.

NEW YORK Eisenstein's classic film, "BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN." Friday, Saturday and Sunday, Nov. 6, 7 and 8 at 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. Matinees, Saturday and Sunday, 2 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Showing at 116 University Place. Auspices: Young Socialist Alliance.

LOS ANGELES Celebrate the forty-second anniversary of the Russian Revolution with the Militant Labor Forum. "Socialism Challenges Capitalist World Rule." Hear: Milton Alvin, National Committee Member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 7, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. Fourth St. Contribution 75 cents.

School of International Socialism presents its fall lecture series: "The Bureaucratization of the Trade-Union Structure and Worker Acquiescence." Sun., Nov. 8, 11 a.m. "Resolving the Contradictions Between Bureaucracy and Democracy." Sun., Nov. 15, 11 a.m. Lecturer: Arne Swaback, National Committee Member, Socialist Workers Party.

Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St., Angelus 9-4953. Further lectures to be announced.

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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. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TE 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 8 P.M. daily except Sundays.

Notes in the News

CONTINUOUS PERFORMANCE — Once again, as in five of the past six months, consumer prices took another leap in September, reaching an all-time peak. The September increase was 0.3%. This boosted the cost-of-living 25.2% above the 1947-49 average, according to the conservative estimate of the Bureau of Labor statistics.

EXCEPTION TO THE TREND — Prices are rising steadily and so is the strontium 90 in your bones. But, we're happy to report, the price of radiation meters for measurement of home fallout has dropped from \$15 to \$7.

BACH IS BACK — Charles T. Ziegler, proprietor of Figaro, a coffee shop in the Greenwich Village area of New York, was served a summons for allegedly operating a cabaret without a license. The cops accused him of paying the Silvermine String Trio to play the works of Johann Sebastian Bach, an eighteenth-century German composer. Magistrate Comerford dismissed the charge Oct. 22 when he learned that Ziegler neither served liquor nor sought a Beatnik trade. He avoided ruling on the defendant's contention that Bach's music is "culture" rather than "entertainment."

A BITTER PILL — The nation's 85 accredited medical schools spent \$272 million last year to train doctors. In the same period pharmaceutical manufacturers spent \$300 million to promote the sale of prescription drugs, almost triple the amount they spent on research. A recent survey showed that the average doctor gets 4,900 drug ads in the mail a year. In addition, doctors are visited by a horde of 20,000 "detail" men hired by the drug firms to plug their products.

MODERN GHOST TOWN — A Senate subcommittee studying unemployment found a grim situation in Fayette County, a Pennsylvania coal-mining area where production has come to an almost complete standstill. Twenty-eight per cent of the work force in the area is jobless. Some have been unemployed for as long as three to five years. Uniontown, center of the area, has 11,000 out of work. At Brier Hill the senators found 12 men employed out of a population of 1,200. At Allison they found most of the 1,764 residents surviving on home gardening, small game and federal surplus commodities. William Hines, a United Mine Workers spokesman, described the area as an "island of despair."

FOXY GIMMICK — Want to keep up with the hounds? But you're too broke to afford it? Don't worry, just sign on the dotted line; hunt now — pay later. With this generous offer, one of Britain's oldest fox hunts has caught up with the times. You can take out annual membership on the installment plan. The wife and children can ride too under a package family deal. Ten years ago, the hunt master said, dues in installments would have been "unthinkable." Only ten years ago?

PHILADELPHIA COPS RAID COFFEE SHOPS — The American Civil Liberties Union has protested the unconstitutional conduct of Philadelphia police and magistrates who have been cracking down on coffee-shop patrons and owners. The cops have staged mass arrests with-

out warrants. In one shop some 36 persons were arrested and denied the right to telephone families or lawyers from the station house. The ACLU charged that a magistrate found 17 of those arrested guilty of "disorderly conduct" without even informing the accused of the offense for which they were being charged.

UNION REFUSES TO INFORM — The West Coast International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union has informed the U. S. Department of Labor that it does not intend to meet its request for information on whether any former "Communists" or "felons" hold union office. The union's action could provide a legal test of the disclosure provision of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffith law under which the information was demanded. The union said that the law is unconstitutional and "so vague as to be meaningless." For example, union attorneys asked, "to which 'Communist Party' does the law refer? The Stalinists, the Trotskyites? The Workers party?"

THEY'VE GOT A SECRET — More than 150 federal statutes are used by the government to justify its practice of keeping a wide variety of public information secret, according to Samuel J. Archibald, staff administrator of the House Government Information sub-committee. Pointing to "secrecy" abuses, he cited the case of contaminated wells around the Rocky Mountain Arsenal chemical plant near Derby, Colo. Crops watered from the wells have stopped growing and some animals drinking the water have died. A report on this by the University of Colorado has been suppressed by the Army. Some farmers in the area have filed damage claims against the government.

WIRETAPPING ON INCREASE — Policemen, private detectives and employers are using illegal wiretaps and concealed microphones on a steadily increasing scale, according to a study just published by Rutgers University and financed by the Fund for the Republic. The investigation disclosed that many companies use microphones planted in toilets, lounges and similar places to eavesdrop on their employees. Conversations are tape recorded. New York City has the highest number of wiretaps, an estimated 30,000 a year. The team making the investigation said they got "very little cooperation" from New York Police Commissioner Kennedy.

NEW AGREEMENT ON MEXICAN FARM LABORERS — The U.S. and Mexican governments have completed negotiations on a new agreement permitting Mexican citizens to be brought into this country for agricultural work. Slated to go into effect Nov. 1, the agreement is reported to contain a clause permitting the low-paid Mexican workers to do ranch hand work. Previously they were limited to crop work.

YOU CAN STILL GET AWAY FROM IT ALL — Has the American Way of Life given you ulcers? Cure them by going to the South Pole. That's what Dr. Tom Hatherton of Canada recommends. After two years in Antarctica, he said: "It's a rest from the vicissitudes of civilization. You don't have to worry about seeing your bank manager, making time for a haircut, trying to arrange insurance payments or making numerous decisions — like which bar to drink in."

Robert Battle 3rd of Ford Local 600 led the walkout of 45 Negro delegates just before the conclusion of the convention. In an article in his local paper, Ford Facts (Oct. 24), he explains why this dramatic protest action was taken.

When Resolution 15 on civil rights should in normal sequence have been reported out for debate and voted on Saturday (the second day of the convention), it was skipped over. When inquiries were made of the chair,

Fat Is in the Fire

Propaganda is a powerful weapon—especially with all the means of communication and money at the disposal of the corporations. But this time the fat is in the fire. It will take more than Madison Avenue ballyhoo to convince the steel workers that the assault on their working rules is meant only for their own good. For when it became clear that the steel barons were heading up a crusade to bring back open-shop conditions in the industry the Steelworkers girded for a fight to the fin-

ish. If their union is to be smashed it will have to be done by force—not by guile. By pushing the work-rule issue to the fore the corporations handed the floundering steel-union leadership an issue which transformed the whole character of the struggle. Business Week quotes the remark made in Washington recently by a steel-union official: "As long as the industry stuck to its inflation and foreign competition aids, we were losing ground. We were happy as hell when they slipped up." With this, says BW, "the union seized the initiative. The industry never got it back."