

Steel Workers Reject "Offer" To Gut Union

By William Bundy

Top officials of the United Steelworkers of America said "No" to a corporation proposal for contract changes weakening the union inside the plants. The proposal, made by a negotiating team acting for the 12 major steel companies in the current New York bargaining sessions, implied a wage increase in return for sweeping changes in working rules and other past practices which would "enable management to make operating improvements in the interest of greater efficiency and economy."

Steelworkers union President David J. McDonald said such changes would "rip the heart and sinews" out of the union. The proposals would eliminate much of the in-plant union control over work schedules, seniority, speed-up, etc. They would give the management more power to control work stoppages and establish incentive systems.

The current contract, covering 500,000 members of the steel union, expires June 30. Prior to the latest proposal, the steel bosses had insisted on a one-year freezing of wages and fringe benefits and the elimination of "cost of living increases." Using slogans like "As steel goes, so goes inflation," the steel companies are engaged in a heavy propaganda campaign to put over the big lie that wage increases cause inflation. The

union has replied that its demands are based on the industry's "ability to pay" without increasing prices or even reducing profits below those prevailing in other fields of investment.

Union negotiators are operating with "ten basic objectives" adopted by the Steelworkers Wage Policy Committee. These are not spelled out in detail, and are to be achieved "to the extent [that they are] contractually appropriate." They include higher wages, cost of living adjustments, shorter hours of work, week-end premium pay and supplementary unemployment benefit improvements.

Since unemployment remains substantial in the steel industry (despite the fact that plants are currently operating at 92% of rated 1959 capacity), the shorter work week should be the key demand.

In addition to its propaganda barrage against the union's demands, the steel management has opened an economic offensive against the workers. The companies are stockpiling inventories and making other preparations for a strike. (United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther complained June 16 that the steel industry is spearheading a "class struggle" precisely as Karl Marx wrote that it would be waged. "If the labor movement begins to respond in kind," he said, "we will prove together that Karl Marx was right.")

Inside the steel plants, increased speed-up and disciplinary actions are being imposed on the workers. Chicago Steelworkers official George Brickhill stated recently that the corporations are handing out disciplinary notices "like confetti." "While it is true," he added, "that our agreement provides . . . the right of appeal and to process a grievance, the percentage of winning grievances is indeed low."



David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America.

Socialists Go Over Top In \$16,000 Fund Drive

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

A success! That was how the Socialist Workers campaign for a \$16,000 Party Building Fund ended. The final figure on the June 15 deadline was \$16,456. That made 102% of the goal. To do it, supporters and friends of the party rounded up an impressive \$3,521 in the final week.

Five branches succeeded in doing even better than they had pledged — Connecticut, Denver, Bay Area, San Diego and Seattle. And all the rest of the branches fulfilled their pledges as you can see by running down the scoreboard on page two.

It was an important achievement in which every socialist who participated can take rightful pride, for in some areas unemployment was a difficult problem not to speak of the burdensome inflation that affects everyone who has to support a family.

Elation over the accomplishment was expressed in almost all the letters that accompanied the final contributions.

CAMPAIGN FUND GOAL
\$16,000

COLLECTED TO DATE
\$16,456

"Hallelujah! Here it is!" wrote Ray Follet for Chicago. "This is the final payment on our \$1,000 fund quota. We're as glad to see it as you are to receive it."

"Three cheers — we made it!" said Sally Conti. "Now the Boston comrades can relax." Knowing the exceptional difficulties the Boston contingent faced, we understand the volumes those brief words express. "We made it!" said L. Morris for Philadelphia, another branch that had to overcome unusual problems to meet its pledge. "How did we do it? I think the only explanation is the dedication to socialism of our comrades and friends."

That's exactly right. When you understand what socialism means for the future in peace, abundance and universal good will, you feel it's a privilege to make a sacrifice to speed it up. "Here it is! And right on time. This check for \$296.50 brings our total to \$1,700 and 100%." This is Fannie C. speaking for the Twin Cities comrades, who once again demonstrated their ability to set themselves a goal like this and push through to victory.

Fannie gave a big vote of thanks to the friends in the area who contributed. Without their help it couldn't have been done, she says.

A similar report for Los Angeles came from Evelyn Reed. "There was one extremely encouraging aspect — the large percentage of the quota that came from friends. They made the difference."

She added that the Los Angeles comrades were certainly

(Continued on Page 2)

Demand Florida Extend Mercy to Five Negroes

'No Sunshine' in Debate Over Spending for War

By Alex Harte

"It is raining in Washington this noon, and I understand that there is no sunshine in Geneva; so probably this is as good a time as any to begin consideration of the Defense Department appropriation bill for this session of Congress."

With this gloomy reference to the weather, both meteorological and diplomatic, Rep. Mahon (D-Texas) began his report on the astronomical expenditures which the Republicans and Democrats propose for war preparations during the fiscal year beginning June 30.

Mahon's report and the discussion of it in the House June 2 should be made required reading for those who think that the political representatives of big business can be reasoned into abandoning their drive toward nuclear war.

Challenge Ban On Travel to Mainland China

Scott and Helen Nearing, whose passports were cancelled May 29, have announced their intention to apply for new ones. The U.S. Passport Office revoked their documents last April on charges that they had traveled to the People's Republic of China in violation of a State Department ban, which places that country "out of bounds" for American citizens.

After the Nearings returned to this country, they published a book, "Brave New World." One part of it is devoted to China's revolutionary developments. Long-time independent socialists, the Nearings have traveled across the world several times and written and lectured on their experiences.

In a recent statement on their case, the Nearings cite a May 20 editorial of the New York Times which declared that the State Department's travel ban violates "the principle that the American people have the right to be informed through first-hand observation by American citizens of what is going on all over the world, including such an important area as Communist China."

Last week a Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the State Department's revocation of the passport of newsman William Worthy, Jr., who had also defied the ban on travel to China. Worthy is appealing to the Supreme Court.

What little first-hand information trickles into this country about events in China comes from British, Canadian, French and Indian journalists whose governments do not prevent them from traveling there.

(Continued on Page 2)

While the State Department representatives at Geneva carried out their assignment of seeking to thrust the onus of the continued cold war on the Soviet Union, the congressmen in Washington coolly discussed relative military strengths, "limited wars" vs. "total war," the advantages of maintaining the present military "offensive" and what specific areas of the American military machine require "modernization" and "acceleration."

These bipartisan politicians of the world's most formidable imperialist power paid little attention to making a palatable public record. They discussed the "cold realities" of a war with the Soviet Union involving nuclear weapons, intercontinental missiles, missile-firing submarines and manned bombers. They casually added it up in appropriations beyond ordinary conception, counting items running in hundreds of millions of dollars as no more than small change.

Mahon reported the total recommended budget as \$38,848,339,000. This does not include \$1,563,200,000 for "military construction" covered in a different bill. Rep. Osterlag (R-N.Y.) sought to impress his colleagues with how "staggering" the \$38 billion proposal is in the following words: ". . . if you spent \$1 million a day, it would take 110 years to spend that amount."

A more striking comparison, perhaps, is with the public debt run up in World War I. When Woodrow Wilson took office in 1918 the figure was \$1,225,000,000; by 1919 it had reached \$25,482,000,000, a figure so breath-taking that some economists thought it pointed toward national bankruptcy.

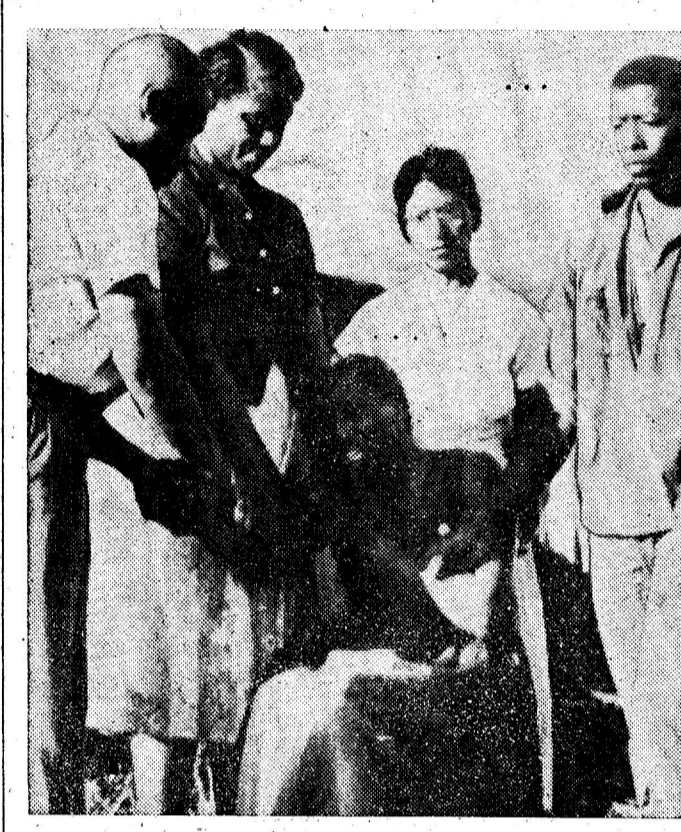
The contempt displayed by these capitalist power politicians for the shadow-boxing at Geneva can be gathered from the following typical comments as the following by Rep. Sikes (D-Fla.):

"Actually, this free world of which we speak so glibly is a large oceanic confederation, tied together through life lines maintained on the oceans of the world. The raw materials which keep the industrial heart of this Nation running move to a large extent over our sea lines of communication. If this country and the free world are to survive we must maintain supremacy of the seas. It is the primary mission of our Navy to control these seas."

Sikes was pleased with the projected expenditures, because,

(Continued on Page 2)

When Will Their Grief End?



Bereaved friends of Mississippi lynch victim Charles Mack Parker at his funeral May 5. The FBI investigated for weeks and compiled a list of the killers who dragged Parker from a prison cell. But they "mercifully" turned the names of the lynchers over to racist Governor Coleman who said he wouldn't be able to do anything about it until next November.

Cubans Hit Wall Street Where It Hurts Most

By Lillian Kiezel

The new Cuban Agrarian Reform Law hits American financiers where it hurts most—in the bank account. And it looks as though United Fruit and Cuban-American Sugar companies will have their sugar plantations seized despite all the pressure that Wall Street and the State Department can muster.

The law prohibits foreigners from buying or inheriting land in Cuba and limits landholdings to 1,000 acres except for sugar plantations and cattle ranches which may be as large as 3,333 acres.

The State Department, not to speak of the United Fruit and Cuban-American Sugar companies, anxiously question the "adequacy of the provision for compensation" for lands the Cuban government intends to expropriate. This was expressed in a note delivered by U.S. Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal last week. The note pointed to Cuba's 1940 constitution which provides that expropriated property must be compensated by "prior payment of the proper indemnification in cash."

There's the rub. "Compensation is to be based," reports the N.Y. Times, "on valuation for tax purposes, a level far below actual market value in most cases." It seems that Batista and Co. had been very accom-

(Continued on Page 2)

Seek Equal Treatment To that Given Whites In Tallahassee Case

By George Lavan

Does "mercy" in the language of Florida courts mean "for whites only"? Florida Negroes have put this question squarely before state authorities by demanding that the lives of five Negroes be spared as were the lives of the four white rapists of the Negro co-ed in the recent Tallahassee trial.

In the international spotlight and under pressure of mass demonstrations by Negroes in that city, Florida officials claimed that the trial of the white rapists was devoid of race prejudice or favoritism. Nonetheless an all-white jury recommended mercy. Though officials and jurors claim that this recommendation had nothing to do with the colors of the rapists and their victim, Negroes rightly declare that it is but another manifestation of the white-supremacy double standard which reserves the death penalty in rape cases for Negroes only. Had the men been Negro and the victim white, Tallahassee Negroes assert, they would not have been shown mercy.

Thirty-seven Negroes, accused of raping white women, have been put to death in Florida since 1925. But no white man in Florida has ever been given the death penalty for the same crime against a Negro woman. The Florida Pardon Board headed by the highly-touted "moderate" governor, Leroy Collins, is now on the spot in regard to the racial quality of Florida mercy. Four Negroes — Ralph Williams, Samuel Odom, William City and John Paul, aged respectively 17, 18, 21 and 22 at the times of the crimes of which they are accused — now sit in the death house at Raiford State Prison. In addition, a 16-year old Negro boy, James Clark, was convicted by a lily-white jury just a few weeks ago of raping a white woman. Though he has not yet been sentenced, the jury failed to recommend mercy thus making the death sentence mandatory.

Moreover, Tallahassee Negroes believe that the prosecution may have covered up for the white defendants. Unexplained was a considerable amount of iron in the kidnap car. Many believe that the white foursome, which had gone out expressly "to get a Negro girl," as court testimony proved, had brought the scrap metal along to weight down the victim before throwing her into the lake, and that murder had been narrowly averted.

Negro leaders refuse to express satisfaction over the outcome of the trial. As yet no sentences have been given. The presiding judge has considerable leeway in this since the jury recommended mercy. He can give the prisoners anything from suspended sentences to life.

Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of the Inter-Civic League which staged the famous Tallahassee bus boycott several years ago, regards the conviction of the white attackers as a gain. "Thousands of Negro women and girls in the South are raped by white men and their cases never even get to court," he explained. "To have arrests and

bound and gagged. But in the cases of the doomed Negroes, though the state alleged threats with weapons, there was no more and perhaps less violence done to the victims than to the Tallahassee co-ed.

None of these alleged crimes was connected — unlike the Tallahassee case which was a mass rape of one Negro girl. Again unlike the Tallahassee case, the evidence indicates a likelihood that several of the five Negro defendants were framed up.

The Tallahassee jury explained its mercy recommendation as motivated by "lack of violence" in the crime, that is, the men had not beaten or otherwise injured the victim. This, despite the fact that the Negro co-ed was raped at the point of knife and shotgun, struck in the face,

(Continued on Page 4)

FCC Reaffirms Equal-Time Rule

JUNE 16 — The Federal Communications Commission refused today to reverse its ruling that equal radio and TV time for candidates for political office applies to news programs as well as other broadcasts.

The FCC stand was based on a February ruling which held that an opponent of incumbent Mayor Daly was entitled to equal time after Daly was shown on news programs making an appeal for the March of Dimes, greeting visiting dignitaries and filing his nominating petition.

The FCC stand has been assailed by President Eisenhower as "ridiculous" and the Justice Department, which normally upholds federal agencies in court, said it would oppose the FCC if its ruling were contested.

Networks Rule No Payoff on \$64,000 Answer

By Paul Abbott

A year ago most of the owners of America's 48 million television sets tuned in a quiz show at least once a week. Thus the odds are high that you were among the addicts of "The \$64,000 Question," or "The \$64,000 Challenge," or one of the other dramatizations of money being shoveled out free.

How do you feel about the TV quiz shows now? Do you wish they were back on the air? Do you miss that evening of thrills, chills, suspense and dreaming that you too might walk off with a fortune?

After studying the inside story of these triumphs of the advertising world for nine months, a New York grand jury said what it thought about the words which it handed up to General Sessions Judge Mitchell D. Schweitzer for release to the public.

Judge Schweitzer, however, took a curious step, one that could have been anticipated by few outside of the extraordinarily knowledgeable participants in a \$64,000 quiz show. On June 11 he sealed up and impounded the presentment.

Louis M. Hacker, foreman of the grand jury and former dean of the School of General Studies at Columbia University, can be rated among those few able to win a top prize by correctly forecasting what the judge would do.

Hacker had noticed the judge's reluctance to extend the life of the grand jury as it uncovered more and more of that pay dirt. The judge had even tried to persuade him, he told the press, that it would be "illegal" to hand up a presentment indicating fraud.

Hacker denounced the judge. "There may be questions of law that are moot in this controversy. But what is not moot is that there has been moral wrongdoing."

Assistant District Attorney Joseph Stone, who assembled some of the evidence for the grand jury, was even more emphatic. The presentment, he said, "uprooted a tawdry hoax which was perpetrated on the American people."

However, the judge was well armed with arguments. It seems that the TV monopolists had asked their own quiz experts what the grand jury might turn up, and the answers induced such suspense that they decided they had better begin brushing up in the field of law.

Two months ago TV corporation attorneys filed a brief with the judge challenging the presentment. One of them, in true TV quiz-show style, claimed that he had "no idea" what was in the grand jury document.

The judge quoted a ruling in a previous case: "A presentment is a foul blow. It wins the importance of a judicial document, yet it lacks its principal attributes — the right

to answer and appeal. It accuses, but furnishes no forum for a denial. No one knows upon what evidence the findings are based."

"An indictment may be challenged — even defeated. The presentment is immune. It is like the hit-and-run motorist. Before application can be made to suppress it, it is the subject of public gossip. The damage is done. The injury it may unjustly inflict may never be healed."

That sounds like an accurate description of the way witch-hunters accuse political opponents of the Democrats and Republicans before TV cameras.

And while a capitalist judge may approve such ways of treating working-class victims, he can hardly favor its use in the case of rich and powerful corporations even if they are guilty.

Isn't that the way it usually goes when capitalists are caught with the goods? The judge stands like a Moses for justice, fair play and equality before the law.

While the public is deciding what it wants — those entrancing TV quiz shows back on the air, or full exposure of the fraudulent practices — it might well take into consideration another move of the TV networks. This is their concerted effort to break down the law now requiring them to give equal time to opposing political candidates.

On May 19, H. V. Kaltenborn, TV and radio news analyst, advocated that the Wisconsin Broadcasters Association, whom he was addressing, should defy a Federal Communications Commission regulation.

Kaltenborn called a February ruling of the FCC on giving equal time in newscasts to opposing political candidates "foolish." He advised broadcasters to ignore the ruling and "take it to court if the FCC tries to enforce it."

A few weeks earlier, Eisenhower, who had termed the ruling "ridiculous," approved an effort by U.S. Attorney General

Rogers to get a reversal. On May 7 Rogers filed a memorandum putting the heat on the FCC.

The TV networks have sought for years to get around the requirement which enables third-party candidates to press for a share of free time with the Republicans and Democrats.

They are now stepping up the pressure against the regulation in hope of knocking it out before the 1960 presidential elections.

The fresh importance of this is obvious, for what if an independent candidate should remind TV audiences of those quiz frauds? He might even ask for audience participation in demanding that the seals be broken on those grand jury findings.

That kind of audience participation the TV networks would not appreciate. If there are any answers they don't want the public to know, it's the ones really belonging to those \$64,000 questions.

BOOKS

MARY JANE by Dorothy Sterling. New York: Doubleday, 1959. 214 pages. \$2.75.

"Hi, says the blackbird to the crow. What makes the white folks hate us so?"
Mary Jane and her grandfather sing that song in the new book by Dorothy Sterling for juveniles. The question is asked throughout the book. Unfortunately it is never answered. All through Mary Jane's days as a Negro student at the newly integrated junior high school in the South — through the spitting and shoving and insults — the reader is given the feeling that somehow prejudice just got there unplanned, without malice or forethought.

This is one of the things that keeps Mary Jane from being a near-perfect book. But it is a very fine book, just the same, for Dorothy Sterling has taken her novel right from the newspaper headlines.

She has translated the story of integration into a tender and exciting piece of juvenile fiction. Her heroine Mary Jane is a very real and imperfect little girl. She is frightened by the hissing and shouting mobs that wait for her outside the school each day, but she doesn't tell her parents because she enjoys the flattery of being considered "brave."

The book takes us all through Mary Jane's first year at Wilson Junior High. During the early days Mary Jane and another Negro student Fred Jackson, fight back against racism. The most prejudiced children chant:

Two, four, six, eight,
We ain't gonna integrate.
And Fred teaches Mary Jane to chant back with him:
Eight, six, four, two,
Ten to one we bet you do.

But to be constantly ignored or mistreated; to have the red-headed boy shoot a pistol full of water at her and tell her that it's acid; to cope with Darline who stirs up trouble under the guidance of her mother and of the "Mother's League"; to listen to the Social Studies teacher, Miss Collins, talk condescendingly about "Your People"; to eat alone and study alone — all these have their effects on the Negro girl. Finally her only defense is hate, and she walks through the unfriendly school announcing — in French — "I hate my enemies."

A squirrel that Mary Jane saves and a little white girl — who is short and babyish looking and therefore has her own difficulties making friends — bring relief. The injured squirrel and Sally gradually change things for Mary Jane. In the adventures surrounding the squirrel the children forget some of their prejudices. Although under community pressure, Sally's family allows her to eat and play with Mary Jane "in school."

At the climax of the book, Mr. Stiller the sympathetic science teacher who has organized a science club, confronts the club with the problem of whether to make visits to segregated museums. One of the older students, Randall sums up his feelings: "... If anyone had asked me last year, I'd have voted against integration ... but now that we've got it, it doesn't make any difference. People like Mary Jane and Fred Jackson, they're just the same as we are. I mean, it's the law and we have to live with it ... What I'm trying to say is I don't think the club should go any place where Mary Jane can't go."

It's a beginning for Mary Jane and for the others that will come to the school. What Grandpa said turned out to be true. "They got this picture of a Negro in their minds and they just don't know you ... sometimes it's lonesome being a foreign ambassador."

Unfortunately, just as Hollywood in its anti-prejudice films a few years back relied on certain tricks to make the subject more palatable, so does Dorothy Sterling. Mary Jane is a very exceptional ambassador, extra-talented, extra-intelligent. Her grandfather turns out to be a famous doctor of biology which helps Mary Jane to crack the social ice. The Negro adults display very little interest in having their children attend the better schools, and in fact try to discourage Mary Jane from attending Wilson.

Only Grandpa confesses that he felt like going down with his gun when he saw the newspaper pictures of the school's opening day. The Negro community is not otherwise credited with militant attitudes.

Nonetheless the book rings with all the excitement of reality, and that makes it tops in available books for young people.

Penny Carr

... Fund Tops \$16,000 ... Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

"happy that they were able to come through in the campaign even though the scoreboard appeared to show a lag at one point or another. The comrades here made a great many special efforts to insure that their pledge was fulfilled in time. These included a rummage sale, a special banquet, and a 'drawing'."

The steady pace New York kept up throughout the campaign was supplemented by a nicely timed spurt that put them at the finish line exactly in time. Despite the precision, Richard Lopez still insisted, "I don't know how we did it! But I'm sure happy."

The Newark comrades did a first-rate job and Joe Skivar ended the campaign with a wonderfully appropriate comment: "Enclosed please find a postal money order for twenty-two dollars and no cents."

Wayne Leverenz, of the Milwaukee branch, reported they made their goal through the help of new recruits to the ranks of socialism. They "came to the rescue" just in time!
In the "General" category, Johnny A. fulfilled his \$100 pledge exactly as he said he would. And today, as I wrote this, we received \$5 from J. K., a Pennsylvania reader, and \$20 from C. M., a California reader of the Militant who asked us to renew his subscription and put the difference in the fund. The wire from Seattle didn't

have much room for a message, but they said it with money and those were welcome sentiments.

The Bay Area proved to be one of the dark horses. After those weeks at the bottom of the scoreboard, they ended up in third place! "The Bay Area performance," wrote Art Sharon, should serve as a corrective to your nervousness that was evident in your column. You clearly underestimated the California 'peasantry'."

As a peasant from Utah I know what Art means. But the truth is I wasn't the least bit nervous. Like everyone else, I can say now, I knew all the time everyone would make it. Socialists can always reach realistic goals — even difficult ones — when they show the determination and ingenuity and self-sacrifice they displayed in this campaign.

That's the spirit that's finally going to win socialism for America.

NOT ENOUGH AIR

The United States is reaching the point where there just isn't enough air to dilute all of the industrial waste that is thrown up, say government weather experts. Pollution created in one city is now beginning to affect the air in neighboring ones. Residents of La Jolla, 100 miles south of Los Angeles, can watch brown clouds settle on them from the north.

(Continued from Page 1)

about the first major upset in Castro's cabinet. Five ministers resigned. They include Dr. Humberto Sorí Marín, Minister of Agriculture and Dr. Roberto Agramonte, Minister of State. Both are reported by Bertram E. Johansson of the Christian Science Monitor to be "conservative liberals in their political thinking." They believe that Castro's government has been developing "anti-free enterprise policies."

The U.S. robber barons and their stooges were the only ones to benefit from the kind of free enterprise the "conservative liberals" uphold. As a result, less than 1% of the population control more than a third of the land and less than 8% own nearly three-fourths of the land. U.S. sugar companies alone own 1,600,000 acres of the most arable land. Some plantations dominate up to 300,000 acres.

LAND DIVISION

The Agrarian Reform Law proposes to begin breaking up the huge landed estates. It also abolishes sharecropping. It proposes to allot an average of 67 acres to each of 85,000 peasant families. Eight thousand farm workers who now work for the smaller farms will also receive an average of 67 acres each and will be allowed to purchase up to 100 acres more. Six thousand cultivators who now possess between 165 acres and 1,000 acres will be permitted to buy additional acres of land that will be up for forced sale.

A National Agrarian Reform Institute has been established which will control land distribution and help the peasants get started with equipment and technical assistance. The Institute will help to establish cooperatives among the peasants.

Evidently Castro hopes to promote the growth of a Cuban capitalist class through the agrarian reform program. This is indicated by the encouragement the law gives to richer peasants. However, his regime is now caught up in a contradiction. While the State Department tries to make a big show of how it is not opposed to land expropriation, its recent note proves that it isn't sympathetic to the development of a Cuban capitalist class, either. In fact, the State Department's sole interest in Cuba is to preserve the status quo which means domination of the island by U.S. big business firms as under Batista.

Economic Trends and Socialist Prospects

By Murry Weiss

The economic movement of capitalism through its characteristic cycles of boom and bust has always been of vital concern to Marxists, since this movement determines major shifts and turns in the course of the class struggle.

From the standpoint of revolutionary strategy and tactics, Marxists since the time of Marx and Engels have sought to discern the interrelationships between technological developments and their political consequences; between a change in the economic cycle and a turn of the masses towards radicalism; between the complex of economic and political events of one period and the probable course of events for the next period.

After Marx and Engels, probably no one delved more profoundly into these questions than Leon Trotsky. Unfortunately his ideas on the subject are scattered throughout his many works and have never been collected in a single book. Moreover, much of what he wrote about the relation of economic cycles to political movements has never been translated into English. It is the purpose of this article to indicate some of Trotsky's leading thoughts and to give a few of the more readily available sources for a study of his views.

Perhaps Trotsky's most basic treatment of the question is to be found in a letter that was originally printed in a Soviet scientific publication in 1923. It appeared for the first time in English in the May 1941 issue of Fourth International (now International Socialist Review) under the title, "The Curve of Capitalist Development."

BREAK IN EPOCHS

In the letter Trotsky shows how the transition between epochs of energetic capitalist development and epochs of stagnation or economic decline "must naturally produce the greatest convulsions in the relationships between classes and between states." He remarks that, "At the Third World Congress of the Comintern we had to stress this point — in the struggle against the purely mechanistic conception of capitalist disintegration now in progress. If periodic replacements of 'normal' booms by 'normal' crisis find their reflection in all spheres of social life, then a transition from an entire epoch to one of decline, or vice versa, engenders the greatest historical disturbances, and it is not hard to show that in many cases revolutions and wars straddle the borderline between two different epochs of economic development, i.e., the junction of two different segments of the capitalist curve."

It is hard to overestimate the importance of this thought for American Marxists today. The prolonged post-war prosperity in the U.S. does not represent a special stage of capitalist development. But because of its length, the new heights of production it attained and the fact that it has already gone through three minor boom-bust cycles, the post-war prosperity must be seen as a major segment of the capitalist curve. Certainly, in its retarding effect on socialist consciousness among the American workers, it has behaved in that fashion.

Marxists should seek to chart the qualitative point at which the war and armaments-based prosperity curve will give way not simply to another recession but to a major downward curve with all its revolutionary political consequences.

But that still does not dispose of the question. Depression will have inevitable revolutionary consequences as the masses become convinced that economic progress can no longer be secured under capitalism. But this consciousness will not develop automatically but through experiences gained in the class struggle whose rhythm, even under depression conditions, is shaped by new economic ups and downs.

Thus after the 1905 Russian Revolution was defeated, all Marxist tendencies were discussing the premises for a new upturn in the revolutionary mass movement. The question of the effect of the economic situation in Russia on these



Detroit auto workers lined up at an unemployment compensation office during peak of 1957-58 recession.

prospects came in for considerable debate. In his autobiography, "My Life," Trotsky says:

"During the years of reaction I studied the questions of trade and industry both on a world scale and a national scale. I was prompted by a revolutionary interest. I wanted to find out the relationship between the fluctuations of trade and industry, on the one hand, and the progressive stages of the labor movement and revolutionary struggle, on the other. In this, as in all other questions like it, I was especially on my guard to avoid establishing an automatic dependence of politics on economics. The interaction must necessarily be the result of the whole process considered in its entirety."

IMPACT OF BLACK FRIDAY

Trotsky described how the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange on "Black Friday" in 1907 "was the harbinger of a world crisis which was bound to engulf Russia as well, shaken to her foundations as she was by the Russo-Japanese war, and by the ensuing revolution."

"What consequences could be expected?" Trotsky asked. "The point of view generally accepted in the party, without distinction of faction, was that the crisis would serve to heighten the revolutionary struggle. I took a different stand. After a period of big battles and defeats, a crisis has the effect of depressing rather than arousing the working class. It undermines the workers' confidence in their powers and demoralizes them politically.

Under such conditions, only an industrial revival can close the ranks of the proletariat, pour fresh blood into its veins, restore its confidence in itself and make it capable of further struggles."

"This analysis," Trotsky continues, "was met by criticism and incredulity. The official party economists also put forward the idea that under the counter-revolution a trade boom was impossible. In opposition, I based my argument on the inevitability of an economic revival and of the new wave of strikes it would bring in its wake, after which a new economic crisis would be likely to provide the impetus for revolutionary struggle. This prognosis was confirmed to the letter. An industrial boom came in 1910, in spite of the counter-revolution — and with it came strikes.

The shooting down of the workers at the Lena gold mines in 1912 gave rise to great protests all over the country. In 1914, when the crisis was unmistakable, St. Petersburg again became an arena of workers' barricades."

The most concrete and elaborated application of Trotsky's dialectical concept of the effect of economic changes on the political situation and prospects can be found in his report to the Third World Congress of the Communist International on "The World Economic Crisis and the New Tasks of the Communist International." This is available in Vol. I of the "First Five Years of the Communist International," by Leon Trotsky. (Pioneer Publishers, New York.) Trotsky said that at this 1921

Congress, "I had an overwhelming majority of the delegates against me when I insisted on the inevitability of an economic revival in post-war Europe as a condition for further revolutionary crises."

The most concise formulation of the basic approach to the problem in all its variations was given by Trotsky in his book on "Stalin," in the chapter, "The New Resurgence."

"The political consequences of the [economic] revival, as well as the crisis, far from being automatic in character, are each time determined anew, depending on the preceding course of the struggle and on the entire situation in the country. Thus, following the industrial resurgence, in the course of which a very wide-spread strike struggle had managed to develop, a sudden decline in the situation might call forth a direct revolutionary resurgence, provided the other necessary conditions were present. On the other hand, after a long period of revolutionary struggle which ended in defeat, an industrial crisis, dividing and weakening the proletariat, might destroy its fighting spirit altogether. Or again, an industrial resurgence, coming after a long period of reaction, is capable of reviving the labor movement, largely in the form of an economic struggle, after which the new crisis might switch the energy of the masses onto political rails."

Trotsky aptly remarked in his autobiography, "The dialectics of the process are really not very complex. But they are easier to formulate than to discover every time in the living facts."

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

For us, one of the most penetrating disclosures of this dialectical process in the "living facts" is contained in Trotsky's brief reference to revolutionary prospects in the United States in his "Germany—The Key to the International Situation," written in December, 1931, at the depth of the world-wide economic depression:

"After an unprecedented period of prosperity which amazed the whole world with its fireworks of millions and billions, the United States at once entered a period of unemployment for millions of people, of the most appalling physical destitution for the toilers. Such a gigantic social convulsion cannot fail to leave its traces on the political development of the country. Today it is still hard

to ascertain, at least from a distance, any measure of important radicalization in the American working masses. It may be assumed that the masses themselves have been startled by the catastrophic upheaval in the conjuncture, so stunned and crushed by unemployment or by the fear of unemployment, that they have not as yet been able to draw even the most elementary political conclusions from the calamity that has befallen them. This requires a certain amount of time. But the conclusions will be drawn.

"The tremendous economic crisis, which has taken on the character of a social crisis, will inevitably be converted into a crisis of the political consciousness of the American working class. It is quite possible that the revolutionary radicalization of the broadest layers of workers will reveal itself, not in the period of the greatest decline in the conjuncture, but on the contrary, during the turn towards revival and upswing.

"In either case, the present crisis will open a new epoch in the life of the American proletariat and of the people as a whole. Serious regroupments and clashes among the ruling parties are to be expected, as well as new attempts to create a third party, etc. With the first signs of a rise in the conjuncture, the trade union movement will acutely sense the necessity of tearing itself loose from the claws of the despicable AFL bureaucracy. At the same time, unlimited possibilities will unfold themselves for Communism."

This brilliant forecast of the rise of the CIO, which came into being against the background of industrial revival in 1933-34, is certainly a major triumph for the Marxist theoretical method Trotsky taught and defended. The young generation of Marxist thinkers and revolutionary activists will surely take hold of these rich ideas found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and apply them to the new realities and the new problems of Marxism in our epoch. Marxism in the U.S. must take the field against every capitalist school of thought in the field of economics and refute them, point by point, not with broad generalizations but by the concrete study of the living movement of economic and political life in our own country and in the modern world.

... House Debates War Spending

(Continued from Page 1)

among other reasons, it "will make the Navy much stronger than it has been in the past."

He was somewhat critical, however. "I wish there were in this bill additional provisions for chemical, radiological and biological warfare."

The main emphasis of these capitalist legislators was on what they termed "catching up" with the Soviet Union. "We have provided for the acceleration of the intercontinental ballistic missile program," said Mahon. "This is a down payment on a much larger program."

The specific weapon is the "so-called Minuteman ICBM . . . a solid propellant missile. It will be cheaper (!) than any other ICBM. It will be easier to operate. It will be more workable and it will more or less be the ultimate weapon at least for the next decade in the field of intercontinental warfare."

Another area calling for "acceleration" is in submarine warfare. The congressmen expressed fright at the Soviet fleet of 450 submarines. "It would be difficult to think of a greater threat to the security of this country during the decade ahead," Mahon averred.

On top of this the budget-makers provided for an airborne alert; that is, "an alert that you get by keeping strategic aircraft or a certain percentage of them in the air at all times."

Wall Street's political repre-

sentatives did not completely disregard talk of peace. It took the form, however, of "peace" through the threat of "massive retaliation."

Weaver (R-Neb.), for instance, said that "our defense must be geared to a total offensive capacity. The only way we have found by which we can offset the Communist might and the Communist ability to create total destruction is by being able, ourselves to create total destruction . . . This, in reality, involves a dreadful race with each other and against time."

Sikes said, "Significantly the ICBM remains today the only weapon for which there is no defense. No, there is no defense against the ICBM today and there may never be."

Part of the "peace" talk involved a debate over "limited" versus "total" war.

Mahon declared, "I wish that each of us could afford the luxury of saying to ourselves, 'A big war is too horrible to contemplate. I am a small war man.' But, my colleagues of the House, we cannot afford that luxury . . . Yes; preparation for limited war is proceeding. But to emphasize preparation for limited war as the top priority consideration is to invite disaster, is to invite general war."

The bleak future this course points to was unconsciously indicated by Weaver: "The grim fact of present-day life is that the Communist world outweighs

us in manpower by two or three to one at every point in the globe where we might be forced to fight. Another grim and certain fact is that in most strategic materials, the Communist world outweighs us in the matter of natural resources.

"But there is an even more disturbing factor. For the first time in three generations we are faced with a Communist bloc, potential to surpass us in the matter of scientific and technical knowledge and the application of that knowledge."

Advertisement

At the present moment, Weaver continued, the Soviet Union is ahead in the missile field. "This has placed the United States at a temporary disadvantage. This appropriation bill will go a long way toward ending that gap."

And then what? Weaver could hold out no hope. "This, then, is the shape of our deterrent force. It is, however, not absolute protection as long as there is danger of a madman turning the world into an inferno of nuclear fire."

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The Heritage of 1776

Who represents the tradition of 1776 in America today? And the tradition of the Civil War struggle against the slave system? Where can you find the followers in this day and age of the revolutionary fighters who established the foundations of democracy in the United States?

For the Marxist answers we recommend "Jefferson, Lincoln and Dewey," a stimulating discussion by William F. Warde of the relationship between democracy and revolution in America. In the summer issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for a copy.

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Total through June 15	\$16,100	\$16,456	102

Helen Sobell On N.Y. Radio

The case for Morton Sobell, railroaded to prison on an "atom spy" charge, will be presented over New York radio station WBAI-FM on Wednesday, June 27. There will be a one-hour interview of Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the witch-hunt victim, and Professor William Kunstler from Midnight to 1 A.M., 99.5 on the FM dial.

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The High Court Backtracks

Supreme Court decisions bearing such names as **Barenblatt** and **Uphaus** are not remote judgments about abstract principles of jurisprudence, as they may seem at first sight.

They reflect shifts in political currents and deeper movements in the class struggle. When they are reactionary decisions like those of June 8, they affect the guarantees of liberty that our revolutionary forbears thought they had established permanently in America. And they also involve living victims who face being torn from their families and locked up in steel cages because of their political beliefs.

Lloyd Barenblatt, for example, is a university teacher, a specialist in psychology. For daring to defend his own right under the First Amendment, and thereby those of the whole American people, from the Inquisition that is called the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Supreme Court has sentenced him to prison.

Dr. Willard Uphaus is an elderly religious leader who has long propagated pacifist ideals, defense of civil liberties and opposition to racial prejudice and religious intolerance. In defense of his own Constitutional rights and those of all Americans he refused to permit the witch-hunting New Hampshire Attorney General to rummage through the files of his pacifist organization.

In ruling against him, the high court may possibly have sentenced Dr. Uphaus to life imprisonment, since the contempt sentence meted out to him is renewable so long as he persists in refusing to bow to the demands of New Hampshire's official snooper.

At least a score of cases already in litigation, to say nothing of those that will arise in the future, will be adversely affected by the **Barenblatt** and **Uphaus** decisions.

Again, more than "cases" are involved. Men and women in the forefront of the struggle for freedom and justice in America will now go to prison if the witch-hunters and the Court majority have their way.

An example, well-known to Militant readers, is that of Carl Braden, framed up under a Kentucky state sedition law because he had aided a Negro family to purchase a home outside the Jim Crow ghettos of Louisville.

This nationally famous case took a favorable turn when the Supreme Court's **Nelson** decision knocked out the Kentucky sedition law under which Braden had been railroaded. Now in the **Uphaus** decision the Supreme Court has revalidated that vicious law.

Braden is likewise affected by the **Barenblatt** decision. He became the target of the Congressional witch-hunters for his integration activities in the South and was cited for contempt for defying their attempts to smear-investigate pro-integration organizations and individuals. Thus he and others like him are in direct danger of imprisonment.

The effect of the decisions is to outlaw the Communist Party and to harass those holding views on civil liberties, peace, social and economic change and racial equality which go beyond the officially permitted rules. Government inquisitorial bodies like the House Un-American Committee have been given a mandate to go ahead. Anti-Labor and white-supremacist legislatures have been given a green light to pass state "sedition" laws.

How could the Supreme Court make such reactionary decisions?

Many people are still rubbing their eyes. They not only believed that the high court was the most liberal of government institutions, but they genuinely thought

that the Democratic sweep in the 1958 elections would automatically reinforce the supposed liberalism of the court. So what caused this august body to suddenly switch into the camp of the witch-hunters?

Not so long ago reactionary decisions like those of June 8 would have been regarded as quite normal for the nine old men elevated to the bench by the White House. But in 1954 when the Supreme Court made its famous decision favoring integration of the schools in the South and then followed it up with decisions that tended to curb the witch-hunters, the judges suddenly acquired halos in the eyes of many people who should have known better.

The fact is that the Supreme Court is one of the instruments of capitalist rule. The judges, generally products of the political machines who have been elevated into the role of statesmen of the judiciary system, are highly conscious of their special function in helping to rule the country in the interests of capitalism.

Thus, when the Negro people rolled up enormous pressure for integration and this became supplemented by pressures from the colonial world abroad, the court was utilized to make the 1954 concession. Then two years later, big business policy makers decided to use the high court again to ease the witch-hunt that had run into growing popular indignation over its excesses.

But the reforms promulgated by the Supreme Court both in the field of civil rights and of civil liberties encouraged movements that aimed beyond the concessions made by the ruling class. They could lead to scrapping Jim Crow and the witch-hunt altogether. It then became necessary for the Court to backtrack so as to preserve the essential structure of racial segregation and the trappings of a police state elaborated in the period when the witch-hunt was at its height. Hence, the series of adverse decisions in the last six months affecting both civil rights and civil liberties.

Again, the 1957-58 recession gave fresh impulsion to the tendency in the working class toward independent political action. This was how our capitalist rulers read the defeat of the so-called "right-to-work" laws, the increased weight of the trade-union bureaucracy in its coalition with the Democratic machine, and the temper of the electorate in giving a nationwide sweep to the Democratic Party. The latest Supreme Court decisions are designed to dampen this trend by encouraging the witch-hunters.

Does the series of reactionary decisions culminating in the June 8 blows signify the revival at present of McCarthyism or some other form of intensive witch-hunting?

We do not believe so. It is true that the social forces and conflicts which brought about McCarthyism still exist below the surface of capitalist society and another crisis can bring it forth again. But this is not the season for it.

What the Court has really done is continue in its traditional role as a political instrument to help dampen the class struggle. The new element is the validation of a permanent witch-hunt, although on a low key.

The trade unions and the mass organizations of the Negro people should draw the appropriate political lessons. Voting for the Democrats in 1958 proved as self-defeating as voting for the Republicans.

To secure America's traditional democratic rights and Constitutional liberties, to win full equality, the working class and its allies among the minorities had better break from the two-party twins and take the road to independent political action.

Of Little Pills and Weather

People who like to call a spade a spade lost a round last week when the Weather Bureau painted out the name of its "Discomfort Index" and agreed to call it "Temperature-Humidity."

The weather forecasters were proud of their "Discomfort Index." It enabled people to tell when they were uncomfortable, which is a comfort in discomforting weather.

Capitalists dependent on the tourist trade thought otherwise. People might listen to that "Discomfort Index" feel unhappy about traveling, and then what would happen to profits?

The Bureau found itself in a storm that combined blasts of hot air, claps of thunder and lightning bolts. They hadn't foreseen that kind of weather and they found the discomfort index unbearable.

However, the fighters on the spade-

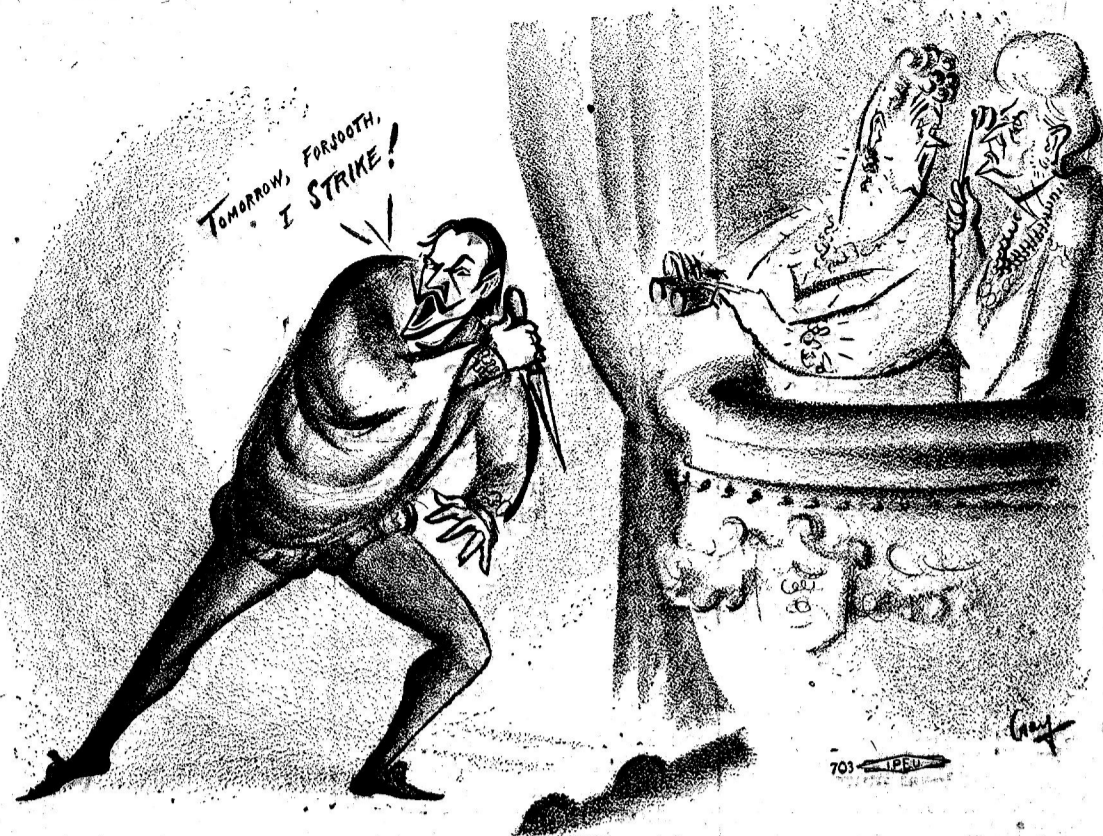
is-a-spade front should not give up hope. Last week they won an encouraging, if hard-fought, victory on a different sector of the battlefield.

In 1956 the Federal Trade Commission, after 149 hearing sessions, ordered the word "Liver" struck from the advertising of "Carter's Little Liver Pills."

The pills, said the FTC, aren't made of liver and they don't affect your liver. All they do is speed up what your lower intestine does.

Carter Products, Inc., appealed the decision against their magic word. On June 16 the Court of Appeals upheld the FTC.

So when you view that entertaining Carter Little Pill intermission in the TV programs, note that the misleading word "Liver" is missing. Who says capitalism is beyond reform?



"Goodness — another strike! It's lucky our tickets were for tonight."

Khrushchev, in Liberal Mood, Eases Reins on Soviet Writers

Describing himself as a "liberal" in his approach to Soviet literature—indeed, perhaps "too liberal" — Soviet Premier Khrushchev slightly eased the totalitarian rigor of the regime's control over writers. Khrushchev announced the new party policy on literature at the Third Congress of Soviet Writers held in Moscow last month.

Khrushchev's policy toward Soviet writers has alternated between concessions and repression — concessions to their aspirations to write as their conscience dictates and repression of these aspirations combined with the command that writers stick to "socialist realism," that is write whatever is useful to the bureaucratic dictatorship.

BE FEARLESS!

At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956, Khrushchev called on writers to fearlessly show Soviet life as it is. (He again called on them to do so last month.) Following the Hungarian Revolution of November 1956, in which many Communist intellectuals played a prominent part, Khrushchev cracked down on Soviet writers, who had also shown manifestations of political rebelliousness, and reimposed "socialist realism."

At that time, he singled out for special attack a novel, *Not By Bread Alone*, by Vladimir Dudintsev, published in the USSR in the fall of 1956 and in the West—where it received a big build-up—the following year. This book was sharply critical of privilege-seeking, cronyism and careerism among the top brass in Soviet industry. It sought to demonstrate

how Soviet bureaucrats sabotage technological progress by stifling initiative from below. In his conclusion, Dudintsev hinted at an inevitable movement in the future which would clean out bureaucratic parasitism and replace it with industrial democracy. Under Khrushchev's blasts, Dudintsev was forced to disavow his novel.

Last month, at the Third Congress of Soviet Writers, Khrushchev extended forgiveness to Dudintsev (although he did not rehabilitate Dudintsev's novel). According to Wilfred Burchett's account of the Congress in the June 15 National Guardian, this is what Khrushchev said: "Three years . . . have passed. Who is reading this book [Not by Bread Alone] now, who needs it? Of course, not everything in it was badly put . . . There are some pages in it that merit attention. Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan, who read the novel before me, said: 'Read it. He has some points which sound as though he overheard you.' Yes, Dudintsev cleverly noted some negative phenomena, but presented them in an exaggerated, deliberately generalized way. But I have said before and say now that Dudintsev has never been our enemy and has never been against the Soviet system."

Not only Dudintsev, but also other writers," Khrushchev continued, ". . . wanted to help the Party, [and] wanted people to surmount negative phenomena." But they did so in a "distorted and exaggerated" form, which led to disputes among writers "of quite a sharp nature—which is still making itself felt in your midst."

In his conclusion, Khrushchev shifted responsibility for "guidance and what was printed from party and government shoulders on to those of authors and editors," says Burchett — a move which the latter likens to the "recentralization" carried out in the economic and political sectors.

However, just as economic and political decentralization stop far short of economic and political democracy in the Soviet Union, so the new loosening of direct top-party control over the writers is still a long way from establishing artistic freedom.

BUY AT&T

While millions of workers were unemployed last year, American Telephone and Telegraph, the country's biggest monopoly, increased its net profits from \$13 to \$14.31 a share, or from \$850 million to more than \$1 billion.

Headlines in Other Lands

British to Free Fuchs From Prison

Klaus Fuchs, the British scientist who was sentenced to prison for ten years on the basis of a "confession" in which he said that he had given atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, will be freed late this month. Fuchs, who is German-born, lost his British citizenship with his conviction. A government spokesman said that on release he will be free to live where he wishes.

French Unions Cancel Transport Strike Call

An eight-hour general transport strike scheduled for June 15 to break through the French government's wage-freeze formula was called off at the last minute in the face of a government decree that strikers would be drafted. Strike action had originally been slated by the railroad unions. Subway and bus workers and Air France ground personnel were supposed to join the action in a demand for an 11% wage hike.

Leaders of Communist, Socialist and Christian unions acted together in calling off the action. They insisted they weren't capitulating to Premier Debre's draft threat but were merely "suspending" the strike. In return the government said it would discuss wage increases in November or December. The de Gaulle regime has been holding down wages on the railroads and other nationalized industries as an "example" for private industry.

Maritime Strike Ties Up Italian Ships Around Globe

Seven Italian unions of merchant seamen have tied up 50 vessels carrying some 12,000 passengers in ports around the globe. The unions are demanding a 30% increase in their average monthly pay of about \$104. They have rejected offers ranging up to a 20% increase and have threatened to tie up the entire Italian merchant fleet if their demands are not met. Two large Italian liners docked in New York were transferred to Hoboken after strikers agreed to make way for U.S. ships scheduled to come into the New

The American Way of Life

Practical Demonstration in Laos

Old European colonial hands have charged that American officials in the colonial world are often bumbling fools who don't know what they are doing. This claim has now been well refuted by a Congressional investigation of our foreign aid program in the tiny Southeast Asian kingdom of Laos.

The Congressional findings, made public June 15, demonstrate that our men in Laos have given the natives a splendid demonstration of the American Way.

The first thing that the members of the International Co-operation Agency in Laos demonstrated is that American officials are cooperative and easily approachable. And American firms doing work there have shown they appreciate the cooperation they get from the government men.

For example, the Congressional investigators found that the Universal Construction Co., a U.S. concern operating in Laos, made a gift of \$13,000 to the public works officer of the aid mission there. Our man in Laos didn't take that kind of money for nothing. According to the Congressmen, he earned it by helping Universal "secure lucrative contracts and overlooking deficiencies in their performance."

Another ICA official even proved helpful to a non-American firm — and at reduced rates too. For a piddling \$500 he is said to have helped the Hong Kong Transportation Co. nail down a ferry barge contract. The company was so moved by this display of good-neighborliness that it later put our man on its regular payroll.

The stereotype of inflexible American military men was also dispelled in Laos. The Congressional committee reports that a retired brigadier general employed by another construction firm in Laos also made his services available to the aid mission in selecting construction sites.

Some of the nicer things that the Americans did for each other weren't even understood.

no less appreciated, by the materialist-minded natives — and, for that matter, by a few out-cast Americans either. The Congressional report says the first director of the aid mission sold his ten-year-old Cadillac to a Universal official for about \$750 more than he originally paid for it. And the construction man didn't even need the car. Finally it was cut up in pieces and dropped down a well because it had "stood rusting in front of Universal's main office where it was the subject of scornful amusement by Laotians and Americans alike."

But don't get the idea that this give-away program was limited to Americans. The United States government pumped so much cash into the hands of the local government that prices doubled in a ten-year period. And to help promote jobs in the tiny country, the State Department insisted on subsidizing a Laotian army of 25,000 even though the Defense Department insisted it was more than twice as big as really was needed.

However, it must be confessed, the picture wasn't completely perfect. One of those bumbling fools that the foreigners like to joke about turned up in Laos. He was a government auditor and thought he could poke his nose into how the foreign aid money was being spent. Our men made short shrift of this fellow. According to the Congressional report he was "railroaded" out of Laos because he was "close to discovering the truth about Universal, its bribes, its virtual monopoly of U.S. aid construction projects in Laos and its woefully inadequate performance."

After studying the Congressional findings, a White House press spokesman said the work of the Laos aid mission has been "a signal success." And rightly so. It was run in the American Way. — Herman Chauka

Are Soviet Economists Repudiating Karl Marx?

Are Soviet economists ditching Karl Marx? Yes, says Harvard Professor Wassily Leontief, who recently visited the Soviet Union, where he conferred with many economists. "The shift is toward the techniques developed by the new school of mathematical economics that has grown up in the U.S. and Western Europe over the past few decades." (Interview with Leontief in June 13 Business Week. Leontief is himself a principal contributor to "mathematical economics.")

However, what seems really to be involved is the adoption of sorely needed reforms in the Soviet economy leading to more accurate accounting. The systems of "mathematical economics" being introduced do not touch Marx's analysis of economic categories (such as value, price, wages, profit, interest, rent, productivity, etc.) but deal with accurate economic computation and with projection of economic trends. (Leontief himself calls his system "econometrics"—that is, economic measurement.)

As Business Week says, "In the U.S., the methods have been used for big corporate and military organizations, but not for the nation itself. . . . But the techniques are almost ideally suited to a national level to the Soviet Union, which is planned from the top. In practical terms, this means the planning and efficiency of the Soviet economy may be vastly improved."

It would thus appear that "econometrics" can be used on a wider scale under a planned economy than under capitalism. This alone would indicate that they no more contradict Marx-

ism than do statistics and accounting in general. Equipped with more efficient measuring techniques, the Soviet Central Statistical Agency will soon launch its first full-scale inventory of all the country's industrial resources since October 1925.

Under Stalin's rule, Soviet planning and management of industry were characterized by an incredible degree by arbitrariness and bureaucratic whim. Soviet pricing was just as capricious. This frequently dislocated entire branches of production.

Along with workers' democratic control of planning and of production, the genuine Soviet Marxists demanded the introduction of rigid accounting practices and of planning based on actual costs of production. They demanded the restoration of the gold standard so that the price level might be stabilized and that economic results might be measured objectively. (See for instance Leon Trotsky's book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, written in 1937.)

Evidently the Khrushchev regime is now introducing accounting measures designed to give them a clearer picture of the economy. That would appear to be the real significance of the "shift" to "econometrics."

Furthermore, on June 4, the Wall Street Journal reported rumors that the Soviet government is considering making the ruble freely convertible into gold—that is place the Soviet Union on the gold standard.

York piers. The Italian seamen voted to move the ships so as not to inconvenience American seamen and longshoremen.

Gaitskell Vetoes Move to Ban H-Bomb Carriers

A decision by the American government to transfer nuclear fighter-bombers from France to English bases drew sharp opposition from the British people, with two major unions demanding the planes be barred. Popular sentiment was sufficiently strong that 80 Labor members of Parliament introduced a motion to the same effect.

However, the MP's subsequently yielded to the right-wing party leader Hugh Gaitskell. At a June 11 meeting of the Labor MP's he talked down the motion on the grounds that Britain could not act unilaterally to ban the bomb.

This stand is shared by the British Communist Party leadership which seeks to curry favor with the Labor Party bureaucracy. At a recent conference of the Electrical Trades Union, whose officers support Communist Party policies, a motion before the conference to call for a halt to work on British bases for American Thor missiles was rejected.

Gaitskell's demonstration that he is still in control of the Labor Party's Parliamentary contingent was viewed as heartening by official American observers. The June 12 Christian Science Monitor reported that one such observer "appeared extremely alarmed at discovering in London what seemed to be a very widespread left-wing influence which he felt could be a serious weakness in Western defense."

Tito Castigates Students for Demonstrations

Student demonstrations at two Yugoslav universities protesting poor food were bitterly attacked by Marshall Tito as inspired by "outside enemies" according to a June 11 Christian Science Monitor dispatch. The first demonstration, in which several thousand students participated, occurred in Zagreb May 11. The second demonstration came shortly afterward in

Skopje, capital and university center of Macedonia. In a May 25 speech to a student group, Tito reportedly conceded that food at the universities was "a weak point" but that instead of demonstrating about it the students "could have come to our leaders — or even to me — and the matter could have been settled."

The Monitor reports that while living conditions have been improving in Yugoslavia, students are kept on a rigorous schedule and a very low food budget.

Hungarian Gov't To Slow Down on Heavy Industry

A five-year production plan now being drawn up in Hungary will place stress on products which require a greater amount of labor power and less raw material. Instead of trying to force the development of heavy industry in the face of scarce industrial raw material resources, emphasis will be placed on such industries as chemicals and furniture. The plan will run from 1961 through 1965.

Greece to Get U.S. Atomic Arms

To further the atomic encirclement of the USSR, the United States will soon be sending "tactical" atomic weapons to Greece and training the army of that country in the use of the new weapons. Announcement of the plan was made June 11 by President Eisenhower who said the step was jointly recommended by the Defense Department and Atomic Energy Commission.

Japanese Agree To North Korean Repatriation

The Japanese and North Korean governments have arrived at a "virtual agreement" on plans for repatriation of 600,000 North Koreans, now living in Japan, who want to return home. The repatriation move has been bitterly opposed by the dictatorial regime of Syngman Rhee in South Korea, which proclaims itself the sole authority on the fate of Koreans North and South. Rhee has broken trade agreements with Japan because of the repatriation agreement and threatens that it could lead to "overt hostilities."

Decries Ruin Of Polynesians By 'Civilization'

Editor: The last two issues of the Militant have been most inspiring. I agree that the present Soviet leaders talk almost like the capitalists about H-Bomb destruction, and that, I believe, won't make them very popular with the masses of the world.

Jobless Workers Become Regular 'Militant' Readers

Editor: For the past three months we've sold the Militant regularly at an unemployment office. With fewer jobless workers than when we began, sales at this location are not as brisk as they were.

Notes in the News

TROOPER KILLS COAL STRIKER — A Kentucky state trooper shot and killed Bobby Jenkins, Jr., a striking miner in the Hazard coal fields June 5. Authorities said the trooper's victim was among a group of snipers that had fired at a truck running coal out of a scab-operated mine.

OHIO DEPUTIES INDICTED — Acting under federal civil rights statutes, the Justice Department has won the indictment of nine present and former deputies in the Montgomery, Ohio, sheriff's office on charges of mistreating persons in their custody.

CON GAME EDISON — Last month the Consolidated Edison Company of New York purchased the city's subway power plants at a fraction of their value to sell power back to the subways at regular commercial rates.

MILK RADIOACTIVITY INCREASES — The level of radioactivity in milk increased in the month of March in all but two of ten sampling stations, the Public Health Service reported June 12.

ELECTION LAW REFORM FAVORED — The great majority of those interviewed by the Gallup Poll favor improvement of election laws so that more people can vote.

ELEVEN VIRGINIA STUDENTS TO BE INTEGRATED — School officials in Charlottesville, Va., assigned 11 of 12 Negro applicants to previously all-white schools June 12.

Last week, for instance, a woman told me that she was buying the paper because she'd been an active socialist over 40 years ago when Debs was a force in this country.

A Puerto Rican in his fifties said proudly in Spanish, as he dug down for a nickel and enough pennies to pay for a copy, "I'm a socialist."

The most rewarding recent experience was a talk with a Negro youth who had previously displayed hostility. He told me last week that his experience with radical groups had left him with the feeling that all they were concerned with was how they could use the Negro people.

He asked why our headlines were about Negroes and wanted to know what we were after. When I said that we believed that both white and Negro workers stood to gain from integration, he replied that he could agree with that.

I explained that we were in favor of the mass organizations of both Negro and white workers getting together to organize a labor party.

I doubt that such a brief conversation would lead him to change his mind, but in any case he seemed interested enough to investigate what the Militant had to say, for he took the paper which I had offered him.

Belle Montague Boston

Sees No Hope For Labor in Democratic Party

Editor: This writer although a lifetime socialist, hoped to enter the Democratic Party and campaign for social security. After wasting years, and precious ones at that, I learned much of machine politics.

And the present labor leaders go along with all this! Is it the hope of these labor leaders that by their conciliatory action they may achieve political office?

Now we have the spectacle of glib labor "statesmen" like Reuther, Mazey and Dubinsky, playing into the hands of labor's traditional enemies to the loss of many benefits, fought for by Debs, Haywood, St. John and the many martyrs of labor.

The present labor leaders also play along with the witch hunt. Weren't the Palmer raids after the first world war, and the FBI raids of the second world war enough?

Look at our casualties brought on by professional politicians over a period of 25 years, and more to follow.

Can these labor politicians be blind to the legal murder of the Rosenbergs, to the Sobell case and others?

What a sorry spectacle are these alleged leaders of organized labor. Won't they ever learn? Or do they have one single spark of class consciousness left in them?

The only solution your writer can see is to turn our backs on the Democratic politicians and start immediately toward forming a labor party based on the rank and file of workers and the complete elimination of said leaders.

P. D. Detroit

Urges Nations Of Africa, Asia Keep Own Religion

Editor: According to William Jennings Bryan, the Jews gave the Christian world its greatest heritage. In exchange for this priceless heritage, peculiar as it may seem, the Christians visited a series of persecutions on the Jews unequalled in the annals of history.

This, I suppose, is the quality of the brotherhood of man that naturally manifests itself after complete conversion to the Bible's precepts.

I suggest to the Asian and African nations that they keep the gods they've got, if they need any. Let the white man learn to practice his own faith.

T. L. Dallas

N.Y. Hospital Union Blocks Injunction

NEW YORK, June 17 — With an important anti-injunction victory under their belts, 3,000 striking hospital workers have finally compelled the Greater New York Hospital Association to begin negotiating on their demand for union recognition.

The breakthrough came after State Supreme Court Justice Henry Epstein ruled June 12 that the strike was "a bona fide labor dispute" and denied the application of five struck hospitals for a permanent injunction. He found "an echo of the nineteenth century" in the hospitals' refusal to recognize the striking union, Local 1199 of the Retail Drug Employees.

The workers, who had been getting wages of \$32 and \$38 a week, walked out of six voluntary hospitals May 8. The strike was extended to a seventh hospital June 5. Hospital spokesmen originally insisted they would not budge in their opposition to any form of union recognition.

But after their court setback, the hospitals began considering a settlement formula put forward by Mayor Wagner's special mediation panel. The formula includes unofficial union recognition and a very flimsy grievance procedure. The union has accepted the formula as a "basis for negotiations."

Bargaining is now being carried on through the mayor's office. A hospital spokesman said last night that "progress has been made" and that a settlement is "possible."

Information leaking from within the hospital association, which represents 81 voluntary hospitals, indicates that the struck institutions have been ready to settle but have been held back by the rest of the association. The union has responded with strike votes at other hospitals and is prepared to extend the walkout if opposition to a settlement persists.

If the union wins, it will be due to the magnificent solidarity of the strikers and the support they have won from the rest of the labor movement. Mediation moves of the "pro-labor" mayor have been designed solely to end the strike without regard for the just demands of the workers. Meanwhile his cops have brutally assaulted pickets and as of last week had arrested 46 of them for alleged assault or disorderly conduct.

Last week, 50 club-swinging cops plowed into a peaceful demonstration at one of the hospitals. This shocking act of anti-labor violence sparked renewed union aid to the strike. Following the assault, 4,000 members of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers voted to contribute a dollar apiece weekly to the strike plus \$5,000 a week from their treasury.

Jobless Total Drops in May But Stays High in 232 Areas

Although employment picked up in most parts of the country, according to April figures released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 232 communities remain areas of substantial unemployment, where over 8% of the workers are jobless.

According to government figures, unemployment dropped 735,000 in April, but 3.6 million still remain without jobs. Another 2.3 million worked less than 35 hours a week because they could not find full-time jobs.

IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY

The technological character of much of today's unemployment is revealed by the fact that total national output rose nearly 10% in the past year while non-farm employment increased only about 3%. In the face of rising production national unemployment dropped only from 5.8% in March 1959 to 5.3% in April, according to the AFL-CIO economic newsletter. This contrasts with 4.3% a year after the 1954 recession.

Nearly 1.4 million jobless have been out of work for 15 weeks or more, indicating that they are not merely temporarily between jobs, but are finding it impossible to obtain work.

Unemployment is not spread evenly over the nation but is concentrated in ten major industrial states: New York, Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Indiana, and Texas.



... 5 Seek Mercy

(Continued from Page 1) convictions is some progress. While he opposes the death penalty in general and favors attempts to abolish it in Florida, he says the mercy recommendation in the Tallahassee trial stemmed more from racial consideration than true feelings of mercy.

'EXCELLENT RECORD'

Rev. A. J. Reddick, former head of the Florida Conference of NAACP branches, who recently moved to a parish in Tallahassee, commented on the verdict: "Florida has maintained an excellent record of not veering from its pattern of never executing a white for the rape of a Negro. I believe that if it had been the other way around [in this case] the Negroes would have been given the maximum penalty."

That the men were brought to trial and the case brought to international world attention resulted from the militant actions of the co-ed's college classmates and the Negro townspeople of Tallahassee. Immediately after the crime the Negro students of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, staged strikes and demonstrations demanding equal justice.

A Bill to set up a new version of the Civilian Conservation Corps of depression days has been approved by a majority of a Senate Labor subcommittee. It is supposed to take unemployed youth off the streets. The Corps would enroll 150,000 young men between 16 and 21 for labor on conservation, forestry and recreation projects.

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Medical Society Backs Down on Group Health

Faced by growing public demand for adequate medical care the American Medical Association has retreated a step in its long-standing opposition to group health plans.

At its national convention in Atlantic City June 20 the AMA voted to seek closer co-operation with "closed panel plans" for health insurance. These are programs under which participants are treated by a group or panel of physicians usually operating through a clinic or hospital.

Up to now, the AMA has opposed such cooperative practice of medicine, claiming that the patient has no free choice of doctors and that the "sacred patient-doctor relationship" is destroyed. The AMA has approved only those insurance plans, such as Blue Shield, that pay a fixed sum for treatment and leave it to the patient to find his own physician. The patient then must pay whatever the doctor charges.

However the success and rapid growth of closed-panel plans has forced the AMA to reconsider its position. About 150 prepaid medical panel plans are now in effect treating some 5 1/2 million people. The largest of these is run by the United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund which serves its one million members in ten hospitals administered by the Miners' organization.

The advantages of co-operative practice of medicine over the free enterprise physician working alone in his own office is similar to the superiority of modern industry over the old handicrafts. The score or more medical specialists needed today can now be grouped under one roof, and they can share use of X-ray machines, cardiographs and other expensive equipment, instead of having them duplicated in every doctor's private office.

The greater efficiency of group medical practice is indicated by a survey of New York's HIP subscribers reported in the June 11 Wall Street Journal. Patients do not have to run all over town from one specialist to another, but find as many as 17 specialists and general practitioners in a single clinic. Since they do not have to pay the usual \$5 or \$10 fee for each office visit they are more likely to seek medical attention before ailments become serious.

The result of such preventive medical care is that HIP participants require 20% less hospitalization than Blue Shield members, according to the survey. The AMA has opposed such group plans because the doctors work as employees of the clinics instead of practicing in their own offices as medical business men. They have claimed that group practice rendered an inferior grade of medical care compared with free-enterprise family physicians.

However a survey conducted by the AMA in 1954 concluded that co-operative medical care is as good as that in private practice, and for lower-income groups clinical care is superior to anything they could otherwise afford. The AMA decision to stop fighting the group health plans was motivated not only by the steady growth of such programs

Moses vs. Bard - Court Chooses Shakespeare

NEW YORK, June 17 — New Yorkers battling for free Shakespeare performances in Central Park won a victory in the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court here today. Heated controversy over the right of the city's residents to free cultural entertainment resulted from Park Commissioner Robert Moses' April decree that the Shakespeare Festival charge admission or be banned from the park. Moses answered expressions of public indignation by a red-baiting attack upon Festival producer Joseph Papp.

Reversing an earlier Supreme Court ruling, the Appellate Court unanimously declared that Moses "violated the public's park rights" and his order was "arbitrary and capricious."

but also by fear that too rigid an opposition would lead to increasing demands for government-supported centralized health care.

Previous to the AMA convention, Dr. Norton S. Brown, President of the New York County Medical Society, said, "There is an over-all drift in society today which will mean greater and greater governmental support of our educational, research and custodial operations... It is my conviction that organized medicine will not be able to hold back the tide."

Some sections of the AMA, however, are still attempting to hold back the tide. The powerful New York Medical Society continues to oppose group plans and so does the Colorado Society which has refused membership to doctors enrolled in the Mine Workers' panel.

But these are essentially rear-guard actions in a losing fight. By admitting that group medical care is as good as that furnished by the old-style family physician, "free-enterprising" doctors have yielded their main line of defense; the premium put on the special doctor-patient relationship supposedly obtainable only under individual, private medical practice. With this admission their main argument against socialized medicine collapses.

When the principle of group medical care is accepted, the way is opened to building a real nationwide medical insurance plan that would embrace not just a few millions but every man, woman and child in the U.S. Along with several other countries, England has such a plan — the government-sponsored National Health Insurance system enacted by the Labor Party in 1945. It has been so successful that even the Tories have not dared to abolish it.

Advertisement for Attention Philadelphians, Meet Helen Sobell, Fri., June 26 — 8:30 PM Hotel Essex 13th and Filbert St.

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