

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

Seoul, Johannesburg and Biloxi, Mississippi — and now Turkey!

Rebellion Of The Oppressed Circles The Entire Globe

The 'Democratic' Cops of Syngman Rhee



Students and worker youth lined up against police in Korea.—A few minutes after this picture was taken, scores were killed, hundreds wounded by cops. This led to bigger demonstrations, then resignation of government.

WALL STREET'S PUPPET FALLS!

South Korean Revolution Forces Dictator to Quit

The most corrupt, polluted regime in Asia has fallen.

Syngman Rhee, the so-called "George Washington of his country" was in reality a puppet for American big business. He was supported by 55,000 foreign troops (U.S.), without whom he would have been junked by his suffering countrymen long before now.

An uprising sparked by student youth, but numbering into the millions through-

out the country, faced local police, national police, army troops — and compelled the reactionary dictator to resign.

The South Korean revolution is another milestone in the world-wide sweep of the oppressed people for freedom from imperialist domination and imperialist-imposed dictatorships.

And no matter how much the U. S. government may now try to say it was opposed to Syngman Rhee, the Korean masses know the truth.

Man Bites Dog!

Sitdown Youth Sues The Court, Itself For Denying Him His Civil Rights

Atlanta, April 25—A 22 year-old "sitdown" youth has filed suit in federal court here for an order abolishing discrimination in Atlanta Municipal Court — the very court where he is being tried for his part in the demonstrations.

Clarence H. Seniors, a student at Morris Brown College, one of the 83 youths arrested some weeks ago in the sitdown demonstrations, acted as his own attorney in making the dramatic complaint.

Having been hauled into Municipal Court in the sitdown case, and jim-crowed there, this young fighter took the offensive against his capitalist persecutors by demanding to know why the seating was segregated and colored prisoners were separated from white. He asked the city to cease enforcing "any form of racial segregation" in or around the courtrooms.

"Neither black men nor white men

come before the courts, just men, supposedly. Why then must they take jim-crow seats in the same court?" his statement asked. "Segregation at a lunch-counter is unpalatable; in a court of law it is nauseating."

"I ask the aid of the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union or any other organization which provides legal aid for those seeking immediate enjoyment of their rights."

The suit further states that "the value of the civil liberties sought in this suit are far in excess of the sum of \$1,000,000. . . ."

Indeed they are. Clarence H. Seniors may never get his million dollars from the city of Atlanta. But if he and the rest of the youth keep up the fight they have started, they will get complete freedom from jimcrow slavery. And that's worth a lot more!

**May Day, 1960-is a Day of Hope for Masses
(But Imperialists Plot Intervention and War)**

By Ana Kezman

The world rule of the oppressing classes is being shaken to its very foundations. Hardly a day goes by without some portion of the globe being lit by the fires of rebellion by the subjugated peoples — be they in Asia, Africa, Latin America or right here at home.

The Western working classes are stirring with renewed sympathy and solidarity. Witness the magnificent demonstrations of the British workers on behalf of their South African brothers.

But the imperialist politicians everywhere are attempting to use every conceivable device to frustrate the struggle. This may be clearly seen in the projected Foreign Ministers' meeting of the NATO allies next week in Istanbul, Turkey. Their purpose is to devise a plan to blockade the shipment of arms to any African country so that it will be at the mercy of imperialist guns.

This scheme goes under the fraudulent name of "disarmament."

The State Department in Washington is equally fraudulent in its relations with Cuba. It arms all Latin American stooge-dictators to the teeth, but refuses to sell or to allow anyone else to sell—arms to revolutionary Cuba.

But the oppressed peoples in widely separated areas of the world are gaining strength from the knowledge that they are waging a common struggle against a common enemy.

In the course of this struggle, the masses are rapidly learning to discard

"Just Beginning"

Eleven persons were wounded by shotgun blasts when Negroes attempted to swim at an all-white beach in Biloxi, Mississippi.

When a number of Negro men and women attempted to integrate this beach, they were attacked by white racists with clubs, chains and "other weapons," according to a United Press dispatch of April 25.

The mayor of the town made an almost open threat to continue the violence against the Negro people (after shootings were reported all over the city) by saying: "I'd like to say it's all over, but I'm afraid it's just beginning."

the imperialist catchwords of "peace through disarmament." And they are learning that real peace and freedom can only come on the basis of *disarming the oppressors and arming the oppressed.*

South African Rulers Crisis-Torn; Masses Prepare for New Struggles

The leadership of the South African Revolution has gone to prison. The revolution itself has gone underground — but not for long.

Three thousand of its leaders (including over 100 white sympathizers and supporters of the revolution) have been jailed since March 21. Both the African National Congress and the more militant Pan-Africanist Congress have been banned. But the spirit of African freedom and racial equality, the spirit of Africa-for-the-Africans has now permeated the great masses and is only waiting for the first opportunity to express itself in open revolution.

The minority government of a few hundred white planters and mining millionaires is trying to put on the strong face of confidence and unity against a world-wide protest and more especially against the vast majority of people in their own country. (Only 3 million out of 13 million are white, and even over these 3 million, a tiny clique of racists exercise a police rule.)

But their unity is a sham. Their confidence is strictly phoney. And their boasted strength is an insane delusion.

Their mass arrests, like their shootings in Sharpeville, are surface signs of their deep fear of the Africans.

Their yielding to the masses after the Sharpeville massacre, and suspending the hated pass system was another sign of their weakness. Then their attempt to correct this "mistake" and re-impose the pass system two weeks later — this was a sign of still greater weakness, and hysteria too. The present colossal repressions mean that their hysteria has become open and they are in the middle of a great crisis they cannot resolve.

What the masses need now is to read the signs aright. What they need now is to feel the weakness of the rulers in their bones. Indeed, they are already beginning to feel this, and must be preparing themselves for the next inevitable surge forward.

THE SPARK

Johannesburg, South Africa — On April 20 the first edition of an underground paper called the "Spark" appeared, calling for Johannesburg Africans to "beat the capitalist government" and form a workers republic.

The paper is issued by the Socialist League of Africa. The name "Spark" is the same one Lenin used in 1903 for the paper which prepared the cadres for the Russian Revolution.



TROTSKY

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LENIN

May Day — 1960

It is now 74 years since the American workers inscribed the eight hour day on their banner. They wrote that inscription with the blood of the Haymarket martyrs on May Day, 1886. They raised the slogan when the work-day was ten and twelve hours, and the work-week was six or seven days long.

But they won the eight hour day. And they won it from capitalists who were not nearly as rich as those of today. The workers now produce in eight hours, many times what they used to produce in ten and twelve. And they make the capitalists that much richer.

The capitalists are no more willing to grant the six hour day, than their grandfathers were to give the eight hour day. But the workers are stronger. They are far more organized. They are much more united. They can win the *six hour day at eight hours pay* with relative ease, once they all decide to do it.

It is time, and then some, for American labor to make it a **SIX HOUR DAY**.

Murder, Inc.

American big business is murdering Algerian freedom fighters at a fee of \$29,600 a murder, and charging it to the American taxpayer.

Two recent news dispatches verify the truth of this statement.

One by the United Press on April 2, quotes the Pentagon to the effect that French imperialism has received \$4,300,000,000 worth of arms in the past ten years. Another, by the Associated

Press, quotes de Gaulle to the effect that French imperialism has killed 145,000 Algerian nationalist fighters since 1954.

Since decrepit French capitalism could not possibly have armed and maintained its 500,000-man army in Algeria, this slaughter of 145,000 must be charged wholly to Wall Street. It figures out to \$29,600 for each Algerian killed.

Religion — Phoney Issue

The biggest issue that has been raised so far in this year's Presidential campaign is the issue of Catholicism versus Protestantism.

This is a false issue. Both the Catholic Kennedy and the Protestant Humphrey are honorable servants of the capitalist class. Whichever one is elected, he will let Catholic and Protestant Negroes be lynched with perfect impartiality. And he will see to it that unemployment and low wages hit all workers regardless of religion.

"Free Elections" in Korea

After three years of civil war in Korea (1950-53), the American capitalists called for North Korea and South Korea to be united by so-called "free elections" under the auspices of the U.S.-dominated United Nations.

Last month the capitalist dictatorship of Syngman Rhee in South Korea shot and killed a hundred people, mostly young students, for daring to want a "free election" within South Korea.

This would have been a good time for the Wall Street bosses to bring up the old North-South "free elections" idea again.

But they didn't. And they won't. Why?

The capitalist South Korea has more people and more votes than the workers state in the North. Why aren't the U.S. capitalists calling for "free elections" to unite the country under one social system or the other? Why?

Because they know what the outcome of such elections would be!

During the recent anti-Rhee "riots," big crowds appeared in front of the anti-Communist headquarters building in Seoul and tried to topple the giant statue of the reactionary American gen-

eral, Douglas MacArthur. The significance of this was not lost on the cynical "democrats" of Washington and Wall Street.

They have suspected for some time that the social system of North Korea and of Red China is tremendously popular in South Korea. And this act begins to verify their suspicions — and their fear.

The truth is that the great masses in South Korea would prefer to be united to the Northern, progressive half of their divided country. The truth is that they would prefer to be free from the domination of Wall Street capitalists and their Korean clerks and hatchet men like Syngman Rhee. And even in a capitalist-run election, under the barrage of mountains of capitalist propaganda, editorials, sermons, radio speeches, etc., the majority would still vote for socialism.

It is impossible to have a really free election under capitalism. But phony as "free elections" are, it is still possible for the capitalists to lose.

So don't expect Wall Street to raise the question of North-South "free elections" again in Korea for a while.

MAIL BAG

WW in Nigeria

Dear Editor:

I have just finished reading a copy of the paper, *Workers World*, and I would not hesitate to say how much I enjoy it.

K., Lago, Nigeria

Forand Bill

Dear Editor:

I think your readers would be interested in hearing about the Forand Bill. Most newspapers that have mentioned the bill have been slandering and opposing it.

The Forand Bill would benefit all people over 65 years who have social security. It gives full hospital and surgical coverage for 60 days per year. It also gives 120 days of nursing-home care minus the time spent in the hospital. The payments would be made by a one-half of one per cent tax increase paid by the employer and the same by the employee.

The advantages of this bill over any other bill suggested are these: it gives longer coverage at one-sixth the cost of any other plan; the payments are made while the person is employed. (Therefore it is fully paid for by retirement.)

Great pressure is being applied to prevent this bill from passing. This is because the big insurance companies would lose money (esp. from their new profitable high-premium old age policies.) And the biggest, most powerful financial racketeers in this country run the insurance companies.

Of course the American Medical Association is against the bill. This big business group calls it "socialized medicine."

Actually, it is *not* "socialized medicine." But it is a big step forward in social benefits for the working class.

N.S., New York

More from Seattle

Dear Editor:

Yesterday, Saturday, April 17, 1960, I was in my second march. This time it was more of a strike because people on the line called out telling people not to buy in Woolworth's because they discriminate in the South. There were 45 or so people on the line. . . .

The good thing about this is that we're all working for the same thing—integration. . . . I enjoyed this picket line more than the last one because it was more lively. . . .

There were three police in front of Woolworth's. One was swinging his club back and forth in his hand. . . . Some remarks weren't good because people said "They don't segregate here, so why bother?" These people don't seem to see that no matter where there is segregation in the U.S.A. we must fight it everywhere. . . .

One young man made a remark like this: "Young people should be out having fun and not on picket lines."

But how can we be out having fun when we see our fellow man in trouble and being discriminated against???

D.W., Seattle, Wash.

Militant on Cuba

Dear Editor:

From the *Militant* I learned that Farrell Dobbs and Joe Hansen are visiting Cuba. . . .

But after reading the last two issues of that paper, I am afraid their reports have done the Cuban revolution no good.

Their worst offense is to leave stand, without very clear definition, the middle class idea that the Cuban revolution must be defended because it is "not Communist." Why didn't the *Militant* make it clear that the more "Communist" the Cuban revolution is, the more vigorously it should be defended? Why hasn't it said that the goal should be a workers and farmers government?

Why does Dobbs permit Communism to be equated with the concept, "no totalitarian government, no concentration camps"? (*Militant*, April 18) Castro was forced to execute hundreds of Batista's killers in a summary way, and may yet be forced to put the remainder in a concentration camp. This is totalitarianism according to many people.

But it is entirely justified if the gains of the working class are to be defended in the conditions of civil war that now prevail.

And calling for "us" to go through the State Department with a "Flit" gun to rid it of "Batista supporters" (as Dobbs does) is not only confusing, but childish. The *entire State Department* would have to be replaced to really help the Cuban revolution.

/ Fraternally, Mose Peterson

Vancouver meeting

Dear Editor:

Skip Wier was the guest speaker at the Stanley Park CCF Club Sunday Forum on March 27 in Vancouver, B.C.

He reminded us that Negroes were brought into the United States for cheap labor on plantations and all types of farming. With the advent of cotton picking machines, potato picking machines etc., the Negro laborer was forced to the industrial centers and had to work side by side with white workers. These white workers were equally exploited by their bosses, but because of prejudice, would not allow Negroes in their unions. This prevails particularly in the South and in many craft unions of the North.

Explaining his topic, "Leadership, The Negro's Guarantee," Wier said that Negroes must be led by Negro leaders and from the ranks of the Negro working class; and not by Negro leaders who have exploited their own people and are now in the millionaire class.

A Negro capitalist will readily ally himself with a white capitalist when his own interests are at stake. And for this reason, his kind of leadership certainly cannot be trusted said Wier.

He emphasized that the racist tendencies prevailing in the present Negro struggle for equality must be changed to that of a class-conscious struggle.

He related an incident of true solidarity, when 400 Negro strikers were rounded up by the boss, and the boss said, "Who started this strike? Whoever he or they are, STEP FORWARD!"

All 400 stepped forward.

That, fellow workers, was true solidarity!

H.M., Vancouver, Canada

Raleigh conference

DEAR EDITOR:

Recent Lunchcounter sit-ins and other protests by students of the South, that tremendously significant development for freedom and human dignity in America prompted a youth leadership meeting on the campus of Shaw University at Raleigh.

It was a two to three day meeting, beginning on Friday afternoon and continuing through Easter Sunday afternoon.

Representatives, black and white, from all areas of recent protests from 11 states or more, came together with their Northern sympathizers and told of their heroic experiences. They attended workshop sessions, engaged in bull sessions, and mapped out plans for future struggles in this fight to be recognized as human beings.

Adult leaders, such as King and Shuttlesworth, were on hand. But the meetings were centered on the youth.

"We identify ourselves with the struggle in Africa!" one student exclaimed. They voted to re-affirm the policy of non-violence and for "Going to jail rather than paying bail."

Other resolutions were passed:

Endorsing other protest movements.

Commending lawyers who had contributed their services.

Setting up a temporary co-ordinating committee with headquarters in Atlanta.

Inviting CORE and other similar groups as non-voting members along with a student representative from each Southern state for a strategy meeting in May.

Publishing a pamphlet summarizing the conference.

Many students thought as did one of the speakers who made a statement that the NAACP, like other organizations which are conciliatory to the enemies of Negro liberation had outlived its usefulness and was now voicing the program of the bourgeoisie.

A.T.S., Raleigh, N.C.

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NAME

STREET

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

Soaring Sixties Sizzled Out Soon in Youngstown, Ohio

Mose Peterson

Youngstown—Propagandists pushing the line that these are the “soaring sixties” or “sizzling sixties” are getting an increasingly sour reception in the Youngstown area.

Steel production has dropped well below the dropping national average in this area. It is now below 65 per cent of rated capacity here, and several large fabricating plants such as Trucson are shut down completely. Unemployment, which remained chronically high through the period of the brief post-strike “boom” is now swelling by thousands each week.

The “best contract in history” touted by McDonald at the end of the steel strike is almost completely outside of the consciousness of the steelworkers

since it fails to solve the burning problem of unemployment.

Fear of the morrow is the steelworker’s constant companion and is permeating the small businessmen’s ranks also.

Meanwhile, the Youngstown Vindicator hammers on the theme that the continuous threat of crisis is caused by wages being too high.(!) But so far, the steel union bureaucracy has made no effort to combat this vicious company propaganda.

What the steelworkers really need, of course, and will need more as more layoffs hit, is a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. In Youngstown, where layoffs are always greater (due to less economical plants with more antiquated equipment, etc.), the 30-hour week may become a battle-cry in the near future.

Defense Guards Needed Here!

Macon Police Help Klan Erect Cross At Negro Home

By Pedro Sanchez

While Martin Luther King and his friends are praying for capitalist white supremacy to reform itself, the *Ku Klux Klan* is riding again and threatening the life of every Negro who wants his rights and of every white who supports him.

In Macon, Georgia, on April 21, a gang of 50 Klansmen in full regalia erected a 15-foot cross in front of a Negro home on a “white” street.

Instead of burning the cross in this congested neighborhood (as usual), the thoughtful Klansmen, with the aid of neighbors and the co-operation of the Macon police, strung up electric light bulbs to illuminate it.

(Their aim, of course, was to compel the Negro families to move off the

street. And they also threatened the white landlord who rented them the house.)

There were 13 Macon city police who calmly watched the affair — and protected the Klan from the wrath of at least 100 Negro people who had apparently gathered to defend their friends.

The Atlanta Constitution of April 22 says the cops “formed a cordon to keep Klan demonstrators and Negro spectators separated” . . . and . . . “a short time after the Klan convened, Negroes began to line the bank across the street and on nearby Antioch Road, an all-Negro section.”

It is easy to see that the Negro masses are more anxious to defend themselves than some of their turn-the-other-cheek leaders. They are no longer so intimidated by the Ku Klux Klan. They are ready to fight back.

All they lack is a fighting leadership who understands what the Klan is and what is behind the Klan, and is ready to break all its own connections with the American capitalist class to carry the struggle through to a successful end.

Atlanta Does it Again!

Another Integrated Picket Line in the Deep South

Colored and white students in Atlanta have once again demonstrated against segregation on the main streets of this deep Southern city.

This time they picketed two A & P stores as well as Rich’s, Atlanta’s leading department store. Members of CORE and the Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights took part in these actions.

The integrated group of CORE students went into Rich’s and attempted to eat at the snack bar there. They were refused service. So they set up a picket line outside the store.

Signs said: “Segregation: Atlanta’s Shame” and “They Like the Color of Our Money, But Not the Color of Our Skin.”

Other students from the Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights picketed two A & P food stores for the first time. They were apparently trying to force the A & P to hire Negro workers and clerks. Two of the signs the students carried said: “Negro Money. Why Not Negro Employment?” and “Our Money Isn’t Different. Why Are Our Jobs?”

This is an important step forward for the student movement. Students generally are thinking of jobs as teachers,

lawyers, doctors and so on. And a demonstration for the rights of the poor Negro worker to get a half-way decent

job is something new for students and something progressive for the whole Negro people.



Quotation Of The Day

Our quotation of the day comes from the Right Reverend Charles C. J. Carpenter, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Alabama:

“I don’t think the demonstrations will be productive or good . . . Christianity offers no detailed answer to segregation. If we make enough Christians, integration will take care of itself.”

Attendance at Christian churches in the United States is now at an all-time high.

Smart Answer!

The Valley National Bank of Phoenix, Arizona, recently held a contest to find a name for its new super-duper automatic electronic accounting system. (The system does the work of hundreds of ordinary clerical employees with one IBM attendant.)

One contestant came up with the name, NITRO. It means: “Not Intended To Replace Officers.”

Short Prayer

The AFL-CIO Central Labor Union in Minneapolis called on the national AFL-CIO to initiate a world-wide “five minutes of prayer” in May in sympathy with the oppressed masses of South Africa.

That’s real nice. But why not call a whole day of prayer during which no work would be done? This would have somewhat more effect upon the capitalists of the world who do business with the racist South African government, and make profits out of the black masses there.

Crocodile Tears Are Shed For Soviet Working Women

“A Primer on Communism,” put out by the National Research Bureau (a Wall Street “front” organization), has the following choice information for its readers:

“Under Communism the average house-wife is compelled to work outside the home, if the family is to survive, and in the Soviet Union women perform a large part of the heavy, unskilled labor.”

Of course, under capitalism, the average house-wife is not compelled to work outside the home at all, is she?

It is true that Soviet women do per-

form some of the “heavy, unskilled labor.” But they do infinitely less heavy labor than they did in pre-revolutionary, Czarist Russia.

But who does the highly skilled labor in the Soviet Union, and in the United States? How many women doctors are there for example, in the United States?

Hardly one in a hundred! But in the Soviet Union, there are 300,000 women doctors. This is more than all the doctors in the United States—men and women doctors combined.

How the General Did His Duty

“Of 42 inspected planes, 38 showed cracks in a (wing) tab (or clip), but that, according to General Quesada, does not make them dangerous. . . .” said the Senator.

The whole Civil Aeronautics Board (five members) called on General Quesada on April 14 to present their findings and urge the general (who has the executive power that they lack) to ground the uninspected Electras until they could be thoroughly gone over in the interest of public safety.

But Quesada was adamant. No grounding was necessary according to him.

Santiagos Speak At Civil Rights Meeting

An intensely interested audience heard Jose and Jo-Ann Santiago speak before the Suffolk Supporters of the Bill of Rights—in Patchogue, L. I., on April 24th.

Mrs. Santiago is a victim of persecution under the McCarran Act. The government is seeking to deport her. Although she has lived in this country most of her life, they are using a technicality to deprive her of her citizenship.

The real reason for her persecution is the long history both she and her husband have as fighters for the oppressed.

Jose Santiago spoke in English, and Jo-Ann Santiago spoke in Spanish to an audience composed largely of Puerto Rican people.

Now why would a Federal Aviation Administrator be so adamant against the urgent and apparently unanimous advice of the Civil Aeronautics Board? Why would he be so heartless about the 162 people already killed and so heedless of the safety of perhaps hundreds more?

One reason is enough. General Elwood Quesada became a vice-president of the Lockheed Aircraft Company after his retirement from the army in 1951 and has received hundreds of thousands of dollars in salaries and bonuses from that company.

The Conspiracy to "Contain" China

(How U. S. Hopes to Use Khrushchev at the Summit Conference)

By Sam Marcy

Soon the eyes of the world will be focused on the Summit Conference to be held in Paris May 15th. The paramount fact that stands out above all others is the exclusion of Communist China from this meeting.

It is incredible that the Soviet leaders should have agreed to meet with the imperialist powers without the representatives of Communist China. To have conceded in the first place to even sit on the UN Security Council alongside Nationalist China—or rather the remnants of the quisling Chiang Kai Shek regime—was bad enough. But to agree to meet with the primary imperialist powers for an overall settlement of world issues, more than ten years after the victorious Chinese Revolution—without the inclusion of the Soviet Union's biggest state ally, is much worse.

How can Khrushchev justify this in the eyes of the world working class?

The Twelve Party Declaration

In the middle of November 1957, representatives of twelve Communist Parties met in Moscow for the purpose of celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution. They adopted a resolution, the avowed purpose of which was to serve as a "guide for proletarian internationalism."

According to the text of the declaration, the parties pledged themselves to the "strengthening of the unity and fraternal cooperation of the Socialist countries." "The Socialist countries," the text went on to declare, "are united in a single community by the fact that they are taking the common Socialist road,—and by the requirements of mutual aid and support." The declaration went on further to state that they were bound by an "identity of interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism and for the victory of socialism and communism."

Now the question that arises in the minds of countless hundreds of thousands of Communists throughout the world, is whether this "identity" of class interests is being faithfully pursued by Khrushchev in relation to Communist China. It is not hard for any worker, let alone a Communist, to see that Communist China, as the authentic representative of virtually one quarter of the human race, should be represented at all councils of the Big Powers which concern themselves with world affairs.

This projected conference in Paris is, by Khrushchev's own repeated admissions, to concern itself not only with Berlin, but with almost all the most critical world questions. How, then, can China, admittedly a great world power, be excluded from such a conference? And how does it contribute to "strengthening the unity of the Socialist camp?"

The failure of Khrushchev to demand a place for China at the Summit Conference, *even if it were only for the record*—could not have escaped the attention of the imperialists.

The political motivation behind Khrushchev's position, while it may offend the sensibilities of his apologists, can nevertheless be explained in political terms. But we will return to this later.

Can U.S. put a wedge Between Soviet and China?

For almost a year now, the U.S. ruling class has been slowly but surely gravitating toward a new conception of its global strategy. This can be summed up in three words, "containment of China." The paradox of this policy is that it envisages the passive—if not active—collaboration of none other than Khrushchev himself. And the Summit Conference is the vehicle for it.

"In the years to come, the main issue of global politics will be the containment of China." These words were penned by Walter Lippman, the well-known, syndicated columnist, in an ominous front page article in the New York *Herald Tribune* of last December 10th.

This formidable task can be undertaken, explained Mr. Lippman, because "Russia has the principal interest in the containment of China."

It should be remembered that the development of this new strategy comes more than thirteen years after the birth of the old, but by no means discarded strategy designed for "the containment of Russia."

Now, Lippman is not just another foreign affairs analyst. Far from it. He is now, and has been

for many years, an authoritative spokesman for a substantial section of the ruling class, and as occasion warrants, unofficial spokesman for the State Department.

His value lies chiefly in the fact that he is usually associated in the popular mind with a policy of "moderation," "restraint" and recognition of the realities of the "new posture" of American imperialism. It is precisely Lippman, the erstwhile spokesman of sweet reasonableness in U.S. foreign relations, who is perhaps most useful and most qualified to put across the new "containment" policy of the State Department against revolutionary China.

Lippman and the "soft-sell"

Like in 1947, Lippman today is merely giving voice to the thoughts of his masters. Only now he is speaking for the more substantial section of the finance capitalists who run the government. They have need of his kind of approach at this juncture of history. The fanfare, bluff, and bluster of the McCarthy-Dulles period is now unsuitable.

This is the time when the military balance of power—if not the over-all balance of power—has at least temporarily shifted to the side of the Soviet bloc. Hence the necessity for the "soft-sell"—the quiet, soft-spoken manner, the radiant smile and glad hand in foreign policy—while all the time shoring up to the limit, military appropriations for the mightiest imperialist armada.

With this in view, Mr. Lippman completed a tour of the USSR, undoubtedly upon assignment by the State Department, for the purpose of obtaining a fresh appraisal of the situation in the Soviet Union. He interviewed Khrushchev and other high ranking Soviet officials, and undoubtedly made a full report to his superiors, which helped shape their new policy, and their plans for the Summit Conference.

"Don't put K on the spot"

Mr. Lippman considered the theme which the State Department handed him for his articles so delicate a matter, that he even ventured to admonish, "Senators and Presidential candidates and other addicts to speechmaking like (Army) Secretary Brucker and some of our more fluent generals (to) leave this subject alone. Otherwise they will put Mr. K. on the spot where he must reaffirm loudly his alliance with Peiping against Western anti-Communists. It is a risk even for journalists to talk about this delicate matter. But they at least can be ignored or disavowed."

Lippman, to date, has not been disavowed either in Washington or Moscow.

But if Moscow and Washington have thus far kept a discreet silence, Peking certainly has not,—not for those who can read between the lines. Within the limits of maintaining her indispensable alliance with the Soviet Union, China has been, with increasing tempo, expanding her divergencies from Khrushchev's interpretation of "peaceful co-existence," almost to the extent of open repudiation.

China sounds the alarm

Virtually on the eve of the Summit Conference, China sounded the alarm. Tearing away the image of the "spirit of Camp David," which Khrushchev and his cohorts have been so diligently painting up, *Hong Chi* (theoretical organ of the Chinese CP) on April 2nd charged, "while juggling with peace, Eisenhower is making actual preparations for war—" (NY Times, April 3). And stepping up its exposure, two weeks later Peking declared, "The Chinese people have made a timely exposure of the fact that the government of the United States, headed by Eisenhower is . . . still continuing to carry out actively, arms expansion and war preparations and enlarging its aggression."

Such accusations, made on the eve of the Summit, and specifically singling out Eisenhower, have long, long, been absent from the pages of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. If these newspapers were to level the same charges against Eisenhower, let us say tomorrow, the imperialists would end the Summit Conference before it even starts!

For, an implied condition for their attendance at the conference, is Khrushchev's vouching before the eyes of the world, that Eisenhower (the po-

litical personification of predatory U.S. finance-capital)—"is sincere in his desire for the establishment of peace."

And now let us return to the paradox of the new global strategy of American finance capital: the "Russia will contain China" theory.

Does the Soviet Union really have "the principal interest"—or any interest in containing China, as Lippman asserts?

No, Mr. Learned Foreign Affairs Expert. You know that is a damned lie. It is a barefaced historical and sociological falsification, calculated to mislead the people at home and sow confusion abroad.

The Soviet Union, as a workers state, has absolutely no reason whatever to contain or in any way quarrel with its mighty revolutionary friend and neighbor.

Half a century ago, Mr. Learned Foreign Affairs Expert, when you were twenty years old and an ardent socialist, you knew that two countries which have a planned economy based on the socialization of the means of production, and the absence of a capitalist class, have every reason to live in peace and friendly cooperation.

What then is it that you, Mr. Lippman, and your imperialist masters seek on which to pin your hopes for the Soviet Union to help the West "contain China"? There must be some material basis for it. But one will look in vain for a clue to this in your series in the *Herald Tribune* during December, 1959.

However, just after you toured the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1958, almost a year before your "contain China" thesis, you also wrote a series for the *Herald Tribune*. At that time, you rather obliquely mentioned that many of the people you interviewed in the Soviet Union were either "awed" or "anxious" about the "faster rate of development of China towards communism," as you put it.

Who was "awed" And who was "anxious"?

But this amazing juxtaposition of words needs to be properly translated into the language of Marxism. Contemporary Soviet society reflects two as yet not clearly identifiable, but nonetheless existent political currents, reflecting two diametrically opposed class interests.

One current is Communist in its aspirations. It is indeed "awed," inspired and excited by the incredible achievements of the Chinese Revolution—by the self-sacrifice and heroic devotion of the Chinese masses to the Revolution—by their active participation in all phases of political life. The Chinese Revolution is still young, and the pendulum there is still moving in a leftward direction.

This first current, the current that is "awed," Mr. Lippman, reflects the historic interests of the socialist proletariat in the USSR. It searches for a way out of the bureaucratic, absolutist vise in which all Soviet society is held. It searches for a way out against the mounting privileges and ever-growing inequality which Stalin so sedulously cultivated, and which Khrushchev has deepened. This current is internationalist in its proletarian orientation. It sees the Chinese Revolution as an ally in its domestic struggle against the Soviet bureaucracy. And the Chinese Revolution sees in it a tremendous ally to get out of the vise of global containment.

Khrushchev and the other current

The second current, the current that you, Mr. Lippman characterize as "anxious," views the Chinese Revolution with alarm and hostility. It sees in it a danger to the privileges and emoluments which the bureaucracy has accumulated in decades of continuous expropriation of the fruits of the labor of the masses. This current is the transmission belt for the class interests of the world-wide imperialist bourgeoisie, and their hopes for the Summit.

It is on this current, on this social strata, that you, Mr. Lippman, and your co-thinkers and confederates in the State Department pin their hopes.

Khrushchev as you well know, is its leader and spokesman. When and if he attends that Conference, he will be there in a dual role; both as representative of the mighty working class fortress, which is the USSR—and also as representative of that social strata you know so well, and upon which you and your masters are counting. But Khrushchev better not disregard that "other current"—the current which represents the revolutionary proletariat in the USSR, that current which through all the trials and tribulations—through imperialist war, civil war and Stalinist repression—has survived and grown stronger with each new development.

It is that current which is the wave of the socialist future of mankind.