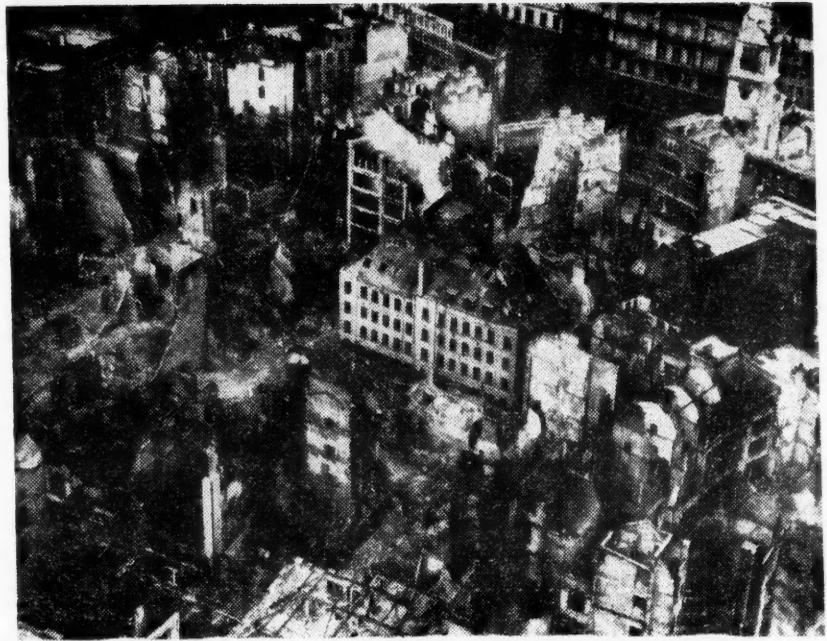


A 20-year-old reminder to the statesmen of the world



This was the Fuehrer's arrival in Danzig, September, 1939



This was the view from St. Paul's in London two years later

AS THE WORLD WAITS HOPEFULLY

There's plenty of ice for Ike and K to melt and the Bomb's No. 1

By Kumar Goshal

WASHINGTON HAS BEEN flooded with suggestions and invitations for Soviet Premier Khrushchev's forthcoming visit to the U.S. Most of them want him to sample what the writers consider products of the "American way of life."

A youngster in Virginia urges Khrushchev to see a football game. The Chamber of Commerce in a city in New York State thinks he should visit the St. Lawrence Seaway. A New Jersey housewife wants him to meet her Girl Scout troop. A Brooklyn civic club recommends a trip to what it calls "the finest example of the working man's paradise—Coney Island, the playground of America."

Khrushchev has been invited to attend church services, appear on TV, address clubs and organizations in many cities and small towns and partake of American meals from elaborate banquets to modest lunches with servicemen.

LOOK HOW WE LIVE: These suggestions and invitations, some impractical and some absurd, are well-meant and without malice. Others, however, are specifically meant to create trouble and confusion. There have been demands for the withdrawal of the invitation altogether; some warn Americans against being "brainwashed" by him; others insist he be shown U.S. military installations and luxurious living standard to impress him with America's superior

power and unparalleled wealth and prosperity.

There are undoubtedly aspects of American life with which Khrushchev is unfamiliar. But Americans who have visited him have been impressed by his remarkable knowledge of the U.S. in general and of its military and industrial power in particular. Khrushchev, in fact, has often expressed the Soviet Union's ambition to catch up with and surpass the American standard of living. And President Eisenhower's invitation to Khrushchev is a tacit acknowledgement of the Soviet Union's rapid progress in this direction.

FAR-RANGING TALKS: Khrushchev and Eisenhower are meeting as equals, as both have said, to melt the cold war ice a little, to exchange information and

opinions informally on the highest level. They are meeting to try to create an atmosphere in which outstanding issues which divide the world's two greatest powers may be gradually resolved.

Their discussions will surely be wide-ranging, for there is hardly an area in the world where East and West are not in conflict, scarcely a subject on which they are not divided in their approach. Such issues as the reunification of Germany, Korea and Vietnam, and restoration of Taiwan to China, will take time and development of better East-West understanding.

Solution of the problems of the Middle East will no doubt be painfully slow. Wide-scale disarmament will require greater trust between East and West, which can grow only through cooperation in more limited undertakings. But suspension of nuclear weapons tests,

removal of East-West trade barriers, and even recognition of China may be achieved within a reasonable period.

CLOSE TO A TREATY: A nuclear test suspension treaty has been so tantalizingly close that this should be the easiest to solve. Before they recessed two weeks ago, American, Soviet and British representatives at Geneva had agreed on 17 of the 21 articles of a treaty, after each side had made a number of concessions. Issues that remained were: (1) number of on-site inspections; (2) composition of control post staff members; (3) financing of inspection teams.

Experts last summer agreed that there might be 20 to 100 occurrences each year that control posts could detect but not positively identify as earthquakes. These would require on-site inspection. The

(Continued on Page 4)

'A HAZARD TO THE WORLD'S POPULATION'

Congress report warns against new A-tests

By Louis E. Burnham

IN A REPORT described by the N.Y. Times as "reassuring but cautious," the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy summarized on Aug. 24 the results of four days of public hearings last spring on the danger of radioactive fallout.

The Committee's sole "reassurance" was that from nuclear weapons tests already conducted "man's exposure to fallout radiation is and will be relatively small compared to 'normal background' radiation." But even this finding was clouded by the revelation that scientists who testified at the hearings "generally agreed" that "any dose [of radiation], however small, produces some biological effect and that this effect is harmful."

On the other hand, the Committee's cautions were numerous.

HAZARD TO THE WORLD: Despite the fact that its findings were heavily weighted by the opinions of scientists of the Atomic Energy Commission, which has long sought to discount the danger of atomic explosions, the Committee warned against resumption of nuclear tests. The

report said that if tests were conducted during the next two generations, or even for a shorter time, "following the same pattern as the past five years . . . a hazard to the world's population could result during this period."



The Omaha World-Herald

NOT MUCH PROTECTION

The hazard was seen primarily in terms of strontium 90 in human bones. The Intl. Commission on Radiological Protection has settled on 67 strontium units as the maximum permissible body burden. Resumption of tests, the report predicted, would bring the average concentration of the cancer-inducing, death-dealing isotope to a dangerous 48 units.

While certain of the havoc which would follow high doses of strontium 90 and the equally harmful long-life isotope cesium 137, the scientists emphasized that it is still undetermined whether there is a minimum or threshold level below which no body harm will occur.

THE SHORT-LIVED ONES: "The biological significance of low levels of radioactivity is still largely unknown," the report said. But it noted that long-term genetic effects are directly proportional to the amount of radiation received.

The committee focused attention on the significance of short-lived isotopes whose damaging effects have been minimized in previous inquiries. Such substances as strontium 89, barium 140 and

(Continued on Page 4)

In this issue

THIS IKE WE LIKE

Report to readers . . . p. 2

IRAQ: CIVIL WAR?

An exclusive report . . . p. 3

W. E. B. DU BOIS

U.S.S.R.'s 42 years . . . p. 5

AMERICAN LABOR

History and struggles . p. 6



For our children

ELLSINORE, CALIF.
World change and peace are inseparably linked with welfare of children. Heirs of the earth and of humanity, their basic rights to life and a better future are not to be questioned.

The world's workers, whose labor produces nuclear missiles and all the dread instruments of warfare, must use every effort to protect children who are being prepared for future responsibility.

We refuse to believe that the Lord our God, who created the earth and endowed humanity with the breath of life, is to permit His grand work to be imperiled or destroyed through the folly of mankind.

Mingling of the world's people, as they learn their vital problems are identical, and the care of children, shall lead to discarding weapons of warfare and to peace on earth and good will to men.

Harry F. Kane

Any more questions?

MIDDLE VILLAGE, N.Y.

To a certain extent I find that the slanted view of your weekly balances the somewhat (oppositely) slanted news of the New York press. But why slant at all? Why write (only) about everything that is good about the Castro government in Cuba? What about civil liberties in Cuba, rights of foreigners, bungling by untrained administrators, danger of hero-worship of Castro?

Why sell Polish and Czechoslovakian linens, Russian books? This is not my idea of the function of a progressive newspaper. Sell British argyle socks and Japanese saki, if you want to get ridiculous. Leave the quaint products of quaint countries for "national" group organizations or entrepreneurs.

Finally, in a recent headline you note that two Asian-Americans were elected to Congress. Absolutely no statement was made concerning their political outlook, platform, etc. Merely to indicate that they are Asian-Americans is in poor taste.

M. Winicov

(1) We have noted the vast progress in civil liberties in Cuba since Batista fled and Castro took over, are unaware that foreigners' rights have been violated, suggest that there will be plenty more on the Cuba story; (2) We sell Czech and Polish linens and Russian books because they are excellent buys, would sell argyle socks if they were not so expensive, doubt that saki will replace whiskey in the American taste; (3) We still think, with the President, that the big news in the Hawaii election

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The Russians like to threaten. They never stop threatening us over Berlin and yet they know that nothing could do them as much damage as a war. Granted that a war would hurt us just as much and perhaps even more, no matter what happens to us, all the newly-built establishments of Soviet industrialism would undoubtedly be wiped out during the first few days of a nuclear war. . . . What then would become of Soviet Russia? The cynic will ask, what will become of the United States, but that is not here the issue.

—George Sokolsky in the N.Y. Journal-American

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: G. F., Los Angeles, Calif.

was the seating in Congress of two Asian-Americans; the story itself discussed outlook and platform.—Ed.

Petran on Egypt

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I congratulate Tabitha Petran on her more realistic report on Egypt in your Aug. 17 issue. Time was when she sounded like an Arab propagandist but that was when Nasser flirted with the Soviet Union and tolerated the communists in Egypt instead of imprisoning them as he does now.

But Nasser was no different then than he is today: a militarist more interested in acquiring arms with the oft-announced purpose of "driving the Israelis into the sea" than in raising the pitifully low standard of the Egyptian masses or, by working for peace in the Middle East, helping to solve realistically the plight of the Arab refugees.

Miss Petran's error is that made so long by the American Left, which used the Soviet Union as the measure of all things.

A. S. Rosenthal

Alfred Wagenknecht

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Alfred Wagenknecht (1881-1956), old-time socialist and Communist, died three years ago, on Aug. 26, 1956, in Chicago. Beginning as a trade unionist at 17, he was at 20 a member of the Socialist Party set up by Eugene Debs in 1901 and became state organizer of that party in Washington. In 1912 he was state chairman of the Socialist Party in Ohio. In 1917 he was one of the first prominent socialists—along with C. E. Ruthenberg and Charles Baker—to be jailed for anti-war activity. In June, 1919, he was a leader of the Socialist Party's left wing and a delegate to the national Left Wing Conference in New York. And in September of the same year, in Chicago, he was chosen executive secretary of the Communist Labor Party at the same time that Ruthenberg became executive secretary of the Communist Party.

The two men played the main

role in forming the United Communist Party in February, 1920, which in its turn was the first step toward establishing the Workers Party, now the Communist Party of the U.S.

Wagenknecht's most remembered activity was in trade union and relief work. Of his 75 years, 55 were spent in socialist and communist organizing. He was a man of culture and kindness, a gentleman, a good fighter, a loyal comrade.

Oakley C. Johnson

Money's worth

BRONX, N.Y.

If I had nothing else but "The Case of the Louisville Prosecutor," (GUARDIAN, Aug. 10) for the \$5 that I paid for my subscription, it would be a great bargain.

Louis Stillman

Nuff said

WHITTIER, CALIF.

Whoa! Red Light on my address-plate! Enclosed \$5 to turn on Green Light. Just can't get along without the NG. The best news published. What more can I say?

Charles D. Tuttle



Wall Street Journal

"Don't turn on the news, dear, I don't feel up to it tonight."

Wanted: a home

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Can any reader of the National Guardian help a needy Negro family at present living in the slums of Brooklyn? The plight of this family came to my attention because two of the children are patients assigned to me in a children's psychiatric clinic. These children probably would never have needed our clinic services had the family had some decent place to live. The family consists of an unmarried mother with five children, ranging from 12 to 3 years of age. Since before 1955, when the first child started coming to our clinic, the family has lived in one room, sharing kitchen and bath with others. They own only one piece of furniture, a bed.

Over the four years that the two children have attended our clinic, an estimated total of \$4,000 worth of services has been given this family by the hospital—free, because the family is on Welfare. Most of this expense could have been avoided, since the real major problem, all along, has been the housing situation.

Does anyone living in Brooklyn have, or know of, an apartment available of at least four rooms, renting for no more than \$90 per month? (The Dept. of Welfare might be persuaded to pay this amount for rent.) Does anyone have any usable furniture to dispose of, to help this mother furnish such an apartment? Could someone contribute \$15 so that the older boy could join an organization he wants to join, whose uniform comes to this amount? Could anyone contribute \$1 to enable this boy to join a neighborhood community center, from whose recreation services he could benefit?

And, needless to say, all the children could use clothing, toys, and books.

Sue Browder, M.D.
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Vol. 11, No. 47



September 7, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

This Ike we like

IT WAS COINCIDENTAL BUT ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE that the President of the United States, who was the Supreme Commander of the Combined Allied Forces in World War II, should be back in the European Theater of Operations on the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War—September 1, 1939. It was fatefully appropriate that on September 1, 1959, his mission was not war, but peace.

Lest we forget: When the Panzer divisions of Hitler's Wehrmacht ground across the Polish border on Labor Day, 1939, it marked the start of a nightmare which involved 61 nations—80 per cent of the human race. One hundred ten million men and women were mobilized into the armed forces of the participating nations; 32,000,000 were killed and 35,000,000 wounded in battle. More millions of civilians were butchered in the villages and towns which were turned into furnaces, and in the furnaces of Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau. In Lidice and in Oradour men, women and children were murdered according to plan. At public scaffolds in remote villages of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia guerrilla patriots were hanged by the Nazis who thought this would help them sleep nights.

It did not. In a mighty effort which transcended clashing political beliefs and class and color, East and West joined, as we believed, to crush fascism—so that not only the guerrilla fighters but all mankind could come out from under cover and live without fear.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THIS CHERISHED DREAM in the last 15 years is only too painfully clear to the world. The cold war chilled the hearts of men until it seemed there could never be a thaw; until it seemed we would have to go through the whole ghastly nightmare again, compounded by methods of destruction perfected since Harry Truman's bomb at Hiroshima.

But there is a thaw, and there is hope once again, blazing with promise in the exchange of visits between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev. It was hard not to feel a burst of anger that the President's first call should be on the former enemy in Germany. But the reports of the reception for the President dispelled even that: it was immediately clear that the vast crowds who greeted Ike in Bonn cheered not so much an ally of Chancellor Adenauer but a man in search of peace. The applause was so manifestly for Ike that the President, like the better half of a vaudeville act, had to point to his straight man to get a rise out of the audience for him. At one point a group of German young people held up a sign reading: "Ike Go On—Don't Let Him Slow You Down." Him was the Chancellor.

As the President went on to Britain, where the scars of war still show in the cities of a brave and fine people, the cheers and the tears of relief were real. In France, where a stiff-necked General places pride and profits before peace, the people once again broke through with their real feelings. Again, the message was clear. Whether it was expressed on the streets of Moscow to a visiting American performer, or on a wall in Coventry, it said: "Please, no war. Please, let us have peace and friendship."

WAS THERE A THINKING PERSON in this nation whose heart was not gladdened by the way the President slapped down Harry Truman for his churlishly stupid comment that the President's trip to Moscow would erode the prestige of his office? We can forgive the President for all the failings of his syntax and style for what he said at his press conference on Aug. 25:

"I think here that it would be far-fetched to say it erodes Presidential prestige because the next President is certainly free to make his own decisions. But I will tell you this: What we are talking about is finding some little break, some little avenue yet unexplored through which we can move toward a better situation. It seems to me that everybody is forgetting what we are doing to ourselves. We are putting now, just in the engines and the training and the preparations for war, something on the order of 41 billion dollars every year. No one seems . . . to stop to think about what this is doing to this country . . . If this thing goes over, goes on and on, indefinitely into the future, where is the explosion point?"

"Now, these are the things, it seems to me, that the facile critics ought to stop and think about. This is a serious business and I think any President that refused finally to use the last atom of prestige or the last atom of his energy in the, or by the failure to do this, to do this discovery, if it is possible to discover, then I think he ought to be condemned by the American people . . . We are talking about the human race, and what is going to happen to it."

This Ike we like. May he have the full power of the people of this nation and the world behind him in the pursuit of his discovery.

—THE GUARDIAN

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

UNTIL LAST WEEK, PEEKSKILL, N.Y., was an uneventful Hudson Valley community . . . This week Peekskill is the most talked-of small town in the world because of an ugly and ominous occurrence there on Saturday night, Aug. 27, with implications reaching far beyond its rustic environs.

What happened was the suppression of the historic right of free assembly by mob violence, instigated by a local newspaper and condoned by state and county law enforcement authorities . . . In the course of the attack—on an outdoor concert at which Paul Robeson was to have sung—would-be concert goers, including women and children, were beaten and stoned, cursed and reviled for their religion, race, origins and supposed politics; their automobiles overturned and smashed. Literature and music for the concert was burned on a pyre of camp chairs. From hillside overlooking the scene Klan-style fiery crosses burned.

—National Guardian, Sept. 5, 1949

14 MONTHS AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Inside Iraq: Is there a peril of civil war?

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

BAGHDAD, IRAQ

WHEN ARMED ATTACKS on trade unionists in a number of towns here recently were followed by the arrest of the victims rather than the perpetrators, Iraq's 275,000-strong trade union federation protested to the Prime Minister and demanded the release of all who had been jailed.

The government's first reaction was to arrest federation leader Jabr El Felaki and to close the federation office. Later, the office was permitted to reopen and El Felaki was released along with some of the 2,000 arrested here before and after the Kirkuk events (see box below).

Continued detention of hundreds of progressives throughout Iraq underlines the fact that the powerful democratic movement has suffered a setback the severity of which cannot yet be determined. Recent developments suggest that the reactionary upsurge may have been partially checked. Yet one year after the Revolution, the state machinery—local as well as central—remains largely in the hands of reaction, posing a growing threat to the revolution's democratic achievements.

MOSUL AND AFTER: Today's complex situation has its origins in the Mosul revolt of March 8 and its aftermath. The outside world is largely unaware that the revolt was crushed mainly by the people themselves: the People's Resistance Forces (PRF), the mass organizations and rank-and-file soldiers who revolted against their reluctant officers. The democratic movement thereby won great prestige and power. Throughout Iraq the PRF maintained order and security. Democratic organizations—peasant union, trade unions, women's, students' and professional associations, something wholly new in the Middle East—flourished. Their membership runs to a million or more—in a country of six million.

The democratic advance occurred at a time when the Army was revealed to be split. Liquidation of the Mosul revolt was thus a turning point, marking an important change in the relationship of forces. In the July 14 revolution, army officers played the leading role and the people followed. At Mosul, the people led while the Army was largely immobilized and the government at first vacillated.

OUT IN THE OPEN: This basic change was not regarded with favor by the Iraqi bourgeoisie (represented in part by the National Democratic Party) or Prime Minister Kassim.

The bourgeoisie, while they have no desire to be swallowed by the big capitalists of Egypt, stood aside during the series of United Arab Republic conspiracies against Iraq. Before Mosul, the National Democratic Party worked formally with the other national parties, Kurdish Democratic and the Communist. Behind



WOMEN HOME GUARDS MOURN A VICTIM OF THE MOSUL REVOLT
They marched with rifles in a funeral procession in Baghdad last March

By this maneuver, the party hoped for a dominant hold on the government and to force the Communists into opposition. Outside Baghdad, open clashes between the National Democrats and Communists occurred.

CP ADMITS ERRORS: The campaign against the democratic movement, in which the rightists and feudalists now joined, was aided by what the Communist Party has since called "mistakes" and "exaggerations" committed by its own forces then "dizzy with success." These included:

- The way in which the demand for Communist participation in government was raised. The slogan dominated Baghdad's million-strong May Day parade and was even raised in the Army.
- The creation and composition of the National Front following the break with the National Democrats. The CP now holds that this impaired relations be-

tween the popular forces and the government.

- Under-estimation of the role of the bourgeoisie in the national struggle.
- Failure to curb "excesses of the masses." In some places, unorganized and provoked people, frustrated by continuance in power of old regime elements, "dragged bodies" and looted.

By mid-May the reactionary campaign made the mass organizations its principal target. For the first time it won some support from Kassim, worried by the situation in the Army upon which he relies to govern. For the Army, divided among itself, was temporarily demoralized after Mosul.

The campaign sought to convince Kassim that: (1) all discipline in the army was being lost because of the democratic elements among the officers and reserves; (2) the Communists, by terrorist methods, had won domination of the mass organizations.

A TURN IN AUGUST: Kassim, who had up to then maintained good relations with the CP, now moved to "strengthen" the Army and to take measures to curb the democratic movement. These were:

- Retirement and, in some cases arrest, of democratic officers.
- Demobilization of 1,700 reserve officers, most of them young democrats enrolled since the Revolution.
- Crippling of the PRF.
- Widespread arrests of democratic leaders (even of agrarian reform officials) and attacks on the "political activities" of the mass organizations.

These moves won Kassim the applause of reactionaries and the virulently anti-communist press which recently made its appearance in Baghdad. During this period armed gangs took over some towns and one or two districts in Baghdad and for a time an almost eve-of-civil-war atmosphere prevailed.

Early in August, however, tension began to ease. Factors in this turn were (1) Kassim's admission that "foreign hands" had intervened in Kirkuk; (2) his promise not "to permit any setback to the democratic forces"; (3) the CP's self criticism; (4) reactionary excesses which may have frightened the national bourgeoisie; (5) an order directing the release of all detainees held on non-capital charges (this order was only partially implemented and later revised).

These developments reflect the continuing strength of the democratic movement and its discipline under difficult conditions. But moves against it have not ceased and the situation remains shaky.



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The Reichstag fire that failed at Kirkuk

BAGHDAD

THE EVENTS IN KIRKUK, July 14-17, 1959, were intended to be the Reichstag fire of the Iraq Revolution—that is, to provide the pretext to crush the democratic movement. The world was told that the democratic forces were guilty of a "massacre of innocents" in Kirkuk and that similar "uprisings" elsewhere were prevented only by widespread arrests. What actually happened in Kirkuk? From responsible sources, the GUARDIAN has obtained the following account of the Kirkuk events.

Kirkuk, headquarters of the British-French-American-owned Iraq Petroleum Co., and center of foreign undercover operations in Iraq, contains Arabs, Kurds, Turkomans, Assyrians, Armenians. People of all these nationalities belong to the democratic mass organizations which, together with the government, planned a July 14 celebration of the revolution.

The only group abstaining was the pan-Turkish religious-political sect known as the Turanis. The Turanis flourished under Nuri Said's regime, opposed the Republic and still maintain the Turkish claim to northern Iraq. Some were arrested after the Mosul Revolt but were later released.

THE JULY 14 PARADE: On the afternoon of July 14, the official procession began. At the same time, about 400 Turanis, carrying provocative slogans, started marching on another street and eventually congregated at three points. When the official procession reached these places, it was stoned and fired at by the Turanis. Two were killed and many others injured. Soldiers marching in the procession opened fire on the Turanis who barricaded themselves. The shooting and the arrests continued.

Representatives of the democratic organizations contacted the commander of the 2nd Brigade who issued a curfew order. Everybody went home.

Next day about 9 a.m. the Turanis resumed shooting

from houses and centers of known reactionaries, some of them decorated with pictures of UAR President Nasser and Abdul Salam Aref, convicted former aid of Kassim.

At this point the Army called in the Peoples Resistance Forces and gave them arms. Together they set out to take the buildings from which there was shooting. This operation, in which about 50 were killed, took all day.

On the evening of the 15th, the remaining Turanis fortified themselves in the ancient castle which dominates Kirkuk. They rejected an army warning to surrender. On the 17th the Army took the castle.

THE AFTERMATH: Looting of Turani shops and some killings followed, some the result of longstanding communal hatreds between Turkomans and Kurds. During the whole period, members of the democratic organizations helped guard the areas in which their offices were located, including the homes of Turkomans and even Turanis. Especially the Peasants Union was instrumental in persuading thousands of peasants from neighboring villages, who flocked to Kirkuk when news of the Turani attack reached them, to turn back.

Responsible persons who were at Kirkuk testified that had it not been for the democratic organizations, "many more would have been killed." Altogether some 70 people are reported killed.

Following the events, arrests began. Those arrested included some democratic people, and some officers and soldiers who helped the government put down the uprising. After the event not a single Turani was arrested. All democratic groups in Iraq have denounced those guilty of looting and murder.

To hold the democratic movement responsible for Kirkuk is to stand history on its head. The Prime Minister's statement, Aug. 6, that "foreign hands" were involved in Kirkuk raised the hope that the truth may be eventually revealed.

—T. P.



Horizons, Paris

the scenes it pressed for exclusive control of the government and to check further democratic development of the revolution, which it sought to confine within the bounds of a narrow bourgeois democracy.

The Mosul aftermath intensified its fear of the ever more powerful left. Thereafter, in its fight to check the popular forces, the National Democratic Party announced "suspension" of its political activities. This signalled a rupture with the other national parties; in fact party political activity increased.

Ike & K & ice

(Continued from Page 1)

West now demands inspection of virtually all unidentified occurrences. The Soviet Union wants inspections limited to a specified number by prior agreement.

Originally, the U.S. and Britain insisted on staffing control posts exclusively with nationals other than those of the host country; the Soviet Union called for staffing posts entirely with host-country nationals, allowing one or two "foreign observers."

MANY CONCESSIONS: The West then proposed that the technical staff in control posts be divided into three equal parts: one-third Soviet, one-third Anglo-U.S. and one-third from other nations. The Soviet Union agreed to consider this, provided the post chief is a national of the host country. Financing of the control posts has not yet been discussed.

Both sides have also made the following concessions:

- The West has agreed that the veto should apply to treaty amendments and revisions.

- The Soviet Union has agreed that a charge of treaty violation could not be vetoed.

- The Soviet Union has also agreed to the West's demand that a member may withdraw if it feels that another member is not living up to the treaty obligations.

HOPEFUL SIGNS: In a Senate speech Aug. 18, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), accused the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the Defense Dept. of



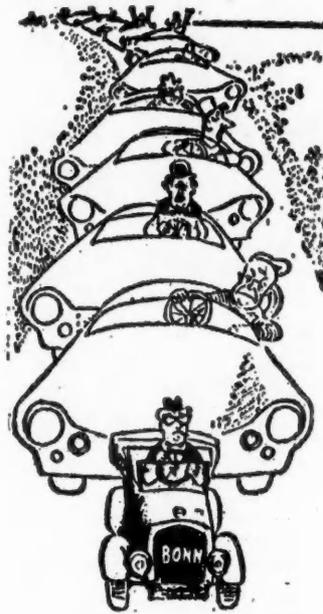
Cummings, London Daily Express
"Poor chap! He lived before his time!"

placing obstacles in the way of a test suspension treaty. He said it was "absurd to suggest," as the AEC does, that there should be 365 inspections a year—one a day—in the Soviet Union and a few less in the U.S. He noted that the AEC and the Defense Dept. favor a resumption of tests after the present temporary suspension expires. He added that such a move would provoke "an outburst of indignation and criticism by the people of other nations."

Recently there have been some hopeful signs that a test suspension treaty may yet be agreed on before tests are resumed. Early last month, Khrushchev wrote to Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral in London and to British scientist Cecil Frank Powell that Moscow would not resume tests unless the West did so first, and that it was ready to sign a treaty to discontinue tests immediately. Soon after Britain and the U.S. extended their test suspension from Oct. 31—when the present agreement expired—to Dec. 31.

UN AIRING POSSIBLE: During Eisenhower's visit to Bonn, Chancellor Adenauer, apparently satisfied that the status quo would be maintained in Germany, referred to disarmament as a field that the President might explore during his meeting with Khrushchev. The British also pointed hopefully in the direction of an agreement to suspend nuclear tests.

President de Gaulle's insistence on



Vie Nuova, Roma
—Road to the Summit

France's becoming a nuclear power, however, still remained in the way of a test suspension treaty. Should the Khrushchev-Eisenhower meeting fail to remove the obstacles in the path of a treaty, the Afro-Asian powers in the UN have served notice that they will ask for an airing of the whole issue in the General Assembly which opens Sept. 15.

Recognition of China is tied up with a test suspension treaty, too, since the treaty calls for control posts in that country. Among businessmen on the West Coast, and even in Congress, voices are being increasingly heard for negotiations with China.

As for lifting trade barriers, the Soviet Union has several times expressed a desire for long-term U.S. credits and removal of bans for vastly-increased Soviet purchases of American goods.

11 YEARS IN PRISON

Rosa Lee Ingram and 2 sons freed

ON AUG. 28 Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons, Sammie and Wallace, walked free after 11 years in prison. Two days earlier the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles had granted a parole to the Negro mother and her sons who had been imprisoned in 1947 for the defense slaying of John Statford, a white farmer.

Mrs. Ingram, then a 40-year-old widow and mother of 12 children, worked a sharecropper farm adjoining Statford's land in Schley County, Ga. Mrs. Ingram testified that Statford tried to rape her and died in the resulting scuffle. Her court-appointed white lawyer told the court the evidence showed "clearly" that Statford "assaulted the mother with a rifle and died from a blow on the head when the Ingram boys came to her defense." The sons were 16 and 14 years old at the time.

WIDE PROTEST: Original death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment after a widespread protest movement.

Committees to free the Ingrams were formed in several cities. Delegations visited the Governor of Georgia, the Pardons and Parole Board, the office of the U.S. Attorney General and various Congressmen. In 1949 W.E.B. Du Bois prepared a brief on the case which was presented to the UN by the late Dr. Mary Church Terrell. Delegates at the 1954 Afro-Asia Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, concerned themselves with the case.

In recent years, C. R. Yates, Negro druggist of Atlanta, headed a local movement for parole. Mrs. Ingram and her sons were paroled in Yates' custody.

Fallout report

(Continued from Page 1)

Iodine 131 have much shorter life spans in the stratosphere than the 30-year half-life of strontium 90. However, the scientists pointed out that fallout from the upper atmosphere occurs at a much faster rate than previously estimated. This, plus the possibility of the selective concentration of a short-lived radioactive substance in a particular organ (iodine 131 in the thyroid, for instance) magnifies the lethal threat of the short-lived isotopes.

THE "HOT SPOT" PROBLEM: The report discussed the question of radioactive "hot spots" in a way which I. F. Stone in his Weekly (Aug. 31) described as "disingenuous." Geographical "hot spots" are areas, notably in the Dakotas and Montana, where strontium 90 deposits in milk and wheat have reached proportions far above the national average.

Stone pointed out that none of the independent scientists from "hot spot" areas were invited to testify before the Committee and that AEC spokesmen ignored the Committee's invitation to discuss the problem. The result was the Committee's pronouncement that "the trend of testimony appeared to indicate that local 'hot spots' have no special significance to individuals so long as criteria are used which have meaning only in terms of a large population."

This, asserted Stone, is the "prize double-talk" of the report. He emphasized that average-nationwide criteria have no meaning when applied to "individuals in a North Dakota town which is getting several times as much strontium 90 as the national average."

THE LIFE OF CARBON 14: One of the substances released by past tests, carbon 14, is expected to inhabit the atmosphere for 8,000 years. This "could constitute a genetic hazard to the world's population," the report said. But the Congressmen could not be sure how to assess a hazard that occurs over such a long period of time. On Aug. 6, however, two Columbia U. scientists reported that "because of the testing of nuclear weapons, the atmospheric concentration of radioactive carbon 14 has increased 15% in the Northern Hemisphere during a three-year period."

In response to a widespread demand that the Atomic Energy Commission be replaced as the leading governmental body dealing with fallout problems, President Eisenhower on Aug. 14 set up a Federal Radiation Council to study and set "safe" standards for radioactive fallout. Members of the Council are the Secretaries of Defense, Commerce, and Health, Education and Welfare, and the chairman of the AEC. The President's special assistant for science and technology, Dr. George B. Kistiakowsky, will serve as consultant.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), chairman of the Senate Disarmament subcommittee, protested that the President had by-passed scientific experts and

Kids—or killers?

IF KHRUSHCHEV is going to try to make a judgment of us and the way we live, I would think he should also want to see what we thought we could show him about the military capability of this country. —Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy.

BELIEVE Premier Khrushchev might be more moved by American school children or by an American seeking an answer to the grim riddle of cancer than by a panorama of American weapons and factories." —Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore).

named "politically-appointed, policy-making officials to hand down technical scientific judgments."

SUSPENSION EXTENDED: That the AEC would continue as a major influence on national policy was indicated when acting chairman John H. Williams announced that the agency will continue its studies of radiation damage to humans but will render "all possible assistance" to the newly established Council.

On the heels of the Committee report, the State Dept. announced that the U.S. will extend its one-year moratorium on tests for two months beyond the Oct. 31 deadline. During this interval the Geneva atomic disarmament talks will reconvene to seek a formula for ending all tests.

THE DEAD AND WOUNDED: One week after the release of its fallout report, the Congressional Joint Committee publicized findings based on another investigation conducted earlier in the year. After totting up the havoc likely to result from a surprise nuclear attack on the U.S., the Congressmen listed 50,000,000 Americans dead, 20,000,000 seriously injured, and half of the nation's dwellings destroyed.

Revealing again its penchant for the brighter side of things, the Committee underscored the point that "a nuclear war of the hypothecated proportions would not extinguish all human and animal life." Furthermore, the report said, total fatalities could be reduced from 25% to about 3% of the population by use of a nationwide system of air-raid shelters.

The report was seen as an effort to boost the civilian defense program and to resolve the question whether the \$20,000,000,000 needed to build the shelters should come out of the Federal treasury or directly from the individual citizen's pockets. Nevertheless, Committee Chairman Chet Hoffield (D-Calif.) warned against any let-up in efforts to prevent nuclear war. The most important task facing mankind, he said, is the quest for peace.

ON THE '60 ELECTIONS

Independent-Socialist conference Sept. 26-27

INDEPENDENT AND SOCIALIST voters in New York have been called to a conference to discuss the role they may play in the 1960 presidential elections. Sponsored by the United Independent-Socialist Committee, the conference will be held Sept. 26 and 27 at Fraternal Club House, 110 W. 48th St., New York City.

The UI-SC is the continuations body of the Independent-Socialist Party which ran a full slate of candidates in last fall's state elections. Announcement of the conference was carried in the summer issue of its Newsletter.

The Newsletter also initiated a debate on Left tactics for 1960 by carrying the differing views of several UI-SC leaders.

Invitations to present their views to the conference have been sent to the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

Further information on the conference may be obtained from the UI-SC, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.



Herblock, Washington Post
"Well—ha ha—none of us is perfect."

THEY ARE ACHIEVING A DEMOCRACY THE WEST IS LOSING'

W.E.B. Du Bois: Forty-two years of the U.S.S.R.

When Premier Khrushchev arrives in the U.S. he will be asked a thousand questions about policy and practice in the Soviet Union. To appreciate his replies, some feel of the history of the U.S.S.R. and its struggles is essential. The following article, by a distinguished and sympathetic American historian, will help put the Khrushchev visit in focus.

By W. E. B. Du Bois

I HAVE, IN A SENSE, seen the Soviet Union grow, from its birth pains in the first quarter of this century until today when it is one of the most powerful nations on earth. As a schoolboy I read the older and more honest George Kennan as he wrote of the tyranny of the Czars. I followed the phony emancipation of Russian serfs which matched the equally phony emancipation of American Negroes. When Revolution burst in 1917, with most Americans, I rejoiced. Then came Mensheviks and Bolsheviks and, with New England conservatism, I leaned toward the Mensheviks until Kerensky began to play the fool for capitalism.

But I was puzzled by the contradictory reports. The Russians were starving; they had stopped fighting in the "War to End War." Lenin was surrendering



to capitalism. All Russian women were prostitutes. Yet John Reed lived the ten days which "shook the world" and Lincoln Steffens had "seen the future and it works." The Czechs called Russia the land where Tomorrow already was Yesterday. I was not sure just what to think.

Then one morning there walked into my office at the corner of Fifth Ave. and 14th St., where I was editing the *Crisis*, three persons: a bloated German viking; a Russian official and his aristocratic wife who spoke English, French and Italian. They asked me to help persuade the United States to recognize the Soviet Union. I laughed. I pointed out that the political power of an American Negro of my type was near nil. They persisted and I fell back on my real excuse for not more strongly defending the Soviets: I did not know what was occurring; my news was contradictory. Would I not like to visit the Soviet Union and see for myself? Of course I would and, with their help, I did.

I HAD THOUGHT the war had ended in 1918. Not for the Soviet Union. It had hardly ended in 1926. Gorki was in half ruin; Kiev was staggering toward recovery. Out of the sewers of Moscow, dirty and ragged children were crawling. Primitive peasants with wrapped legs were staring curiously at the Kremlin and long lines of citizens were waiting daily for bread.

Yet in the very midst of all this, I was uplifted by the effort of this new nation which had beaten back the world—not only its guns and soldiers, but its spies and bribed traitors, its liars and thieves, its scum. I saw the new factories with nurseries; the beginning of a new system of fine schools, free for all; a printing shop for 200 tongues, staffed by volunteers; and above all a desperate attempt to build a nation not for the rich and privileged and powerful, but for the poor, uneducated toilers in the dirt. It might not succeed but the effort was wonderful. I believed in the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the whole world was fighting it.

Ten years passed. I was in Germany as Hitler was arming for conquest of the

world, especially—as I soon sensed—the Soviet Union. I determined to complete my study of Germany with two months in the Soviet Union. But the Soviets did not know me and had no desire for visitors from Germany. They said no, but granted me permission to ride the Trans-Siberian railway from Moscow to Manchuria. It was a privilege and an education.

BEFORE LEAVING, I got a day in Moscow. It was beginning to grow; Gorki street had doubled in width; the city had spilled over the river, the children were in school and not on the street. Everybody was at work and working hard. Industry was booming. There were few signs of crime and poverty; nor were there signs of wealth and luxury. But there was strain.

Slowly for ten long days I rode 3,000 miles across a world from Europe to Asia, yet wholly within one new and vital nation. I threaded Kazan, Sverdlov, Omsk, Novosibirsk and Irkutsk; I crossed the Urals and Siberia; I skirted the weird beauty of Lake Baikal. I saw crowds of varied peoples; they were not slaves; they were not longing to revolt. They crowded about us as we lingered at the stations.

There were the food lines and rags, but also there was food and little begging. There was increased independence and a sense of new power. The nation was on its feet and there was wide evidence of planning. Industry was leaving the west and climbing the Urals. Soldiers were being assembled to meet the threat of Japan. Guns and uniforms flashed by in the night. New towns and growing cities greeted us by day.

The train crew enlightened us. The conductor of my car said that without the Soviet government he never would have received an education. He had gone to school and been paid for studying, while the government took care of his old parents and educated his brothers and sisters. His own children were in school and he was looking forward to his own vacation soon with pay. He was quite content. Others, Russians and foreigners, talked and gossiped.

THIS NATION was fighting hard and the odds were still grim. Stalin, the tough Asiatic peasant, who had risen from jail and poverty to unwavering devotion to Lenin, had answered murder with murder; driven the selfish rich peasants to Siberia and fed the starving cities. Some called him tyrant, some called him Father. All lived without fear of conquest even by Hitler.

Thirteen years later, in 1949, after the great Peace Council in Paris, the Soviet Union invited 25 Americans to attend an All-Soviet Peace Congress in Moscow, with expenses paid. I hastened proudly to accept and was the only Amer-

ican who went. I defended America as a nation whose vast majority really wanted peace.

I found the Soviet Union strong, proud and glowing with victory despite the awful cost of this effort. They had won the war against Hitler and could not believe that the West was still determined to sweep Communism from the modern world by means of the crime of Hiroshima and in the rising shadow of the Korean War.

I WAS LED UP TO THE Lenin hills and shown where soon the great University of Moscow would rise. They showed me the expanding city of Moscow, its magnificent subways, its growing system of education and its mighty industrialization and housing. The old clutter of churches with tarnished golden domes had given way to office buildings, parks and museums; and priests selling nostrums were no longer in sight.

They demonstrated their grasp of the problem of agriculture and the relation of the farm to manufacture and commerce. There was in my mind, as I flew to the desolation and resurrection of Warsaw, a certainty of the firm foundation of a successful Communist world, which the West could overthrow only at the price of suicide.

I came home to fight for peace and was threatened with fine and imprisonment unless I admitted that I was an "agent of a foreign power." I refused. Even my acquittal, after insult and near impoverishment, did not stop persecution. For eight years I was informed that my travel abroad was not thought to be in the "best interests" of my country.

THEN, IN 1959, the Supreme Court made my passport possible and with cordial invitation I came to Moscow again and spent six months in the Soviet Union. They healed my body; translated my books; and let their students listen to my lectures. They opened their periodicals and press to my writing. By this time Sputnik had revolutionized the minds even of thick-headed Americans. The Soviet Union had the best system of education in the world. Her scholars



were leading science, her musicians were in the front ranks of artists and she published more books each year than all the rest of the world put together.

The Soviet Union is achieving a democracy which Britain, France and the United States are losing. Nowhere in the Western world are political policies so discussed and listened to as in Russia. That is the reason they reach a unani-

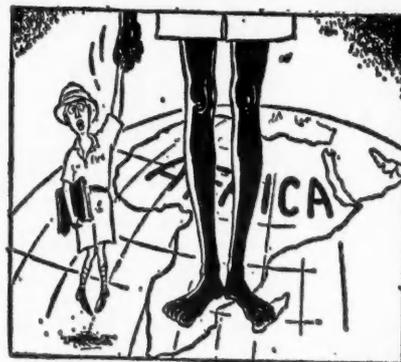
A stage for Nikita Khrushchev

ONE OF THE MORE FOOLISH Western reactions to Mr. Khrushchev has been shown in those condescending comments on his often repeated wish to visit the United States, as if he were a vulgar fellow who wanted to be received in polite society; or, even sillier, simply an eager tourist. When Khrushchev says he wants Western contacts, he is continuing his revolutionary and courageous break with the doctrines of Stalin. To react snobbishly is a nervous reflex as ludicrous as the disapproving jitters with which some commentators greet demonstrations that the head of the Soviet Government is a pleasure-loving character with a real sense of humor—the first to appear in world politics since Sir Winston retired.

AS FAR AS THE SOVIET PRESS is concerned, Mr. Khrushchev is like six characters in search of a stage; the Soviet press is simply not equipped to exploit his particular attack and put him across.

The Western press seizes on him with glee; he is the only living politician . . . who really knows how to exploit the fantastic apparatus of public relations offered by the Western press of today—a stage in search of characters.

—London Observer



Behrendt, Amsterdam Algemeen Handelsblad
"Of course, independence—but they must first learn to stand on their own feet."

mity which is normal since, under natural law, there are no two sides to every question but only one Truth which must be found and followed—or disaster follows.

Disaster, therefore, threatens the West for it is still determined to live off the slave labor and stolen materials of the "backward" world forever, and this in spite of the revolt of Asia, South America and Africa. The Soviet Union prevents this.

THE RULERS OF THE United States are straining every nerve to overthrow Communism. This cannot be done. It is utterly impossible—and the sooner America realizes this, the quicker mankind will recover its sanity.

Today Communism stands for peace. Capitalism stands for war. This truth the tenth meeting of the World Peace Council in Stockholm in April made crystal clear. It was a magnificent meeting. It was, as is so often charged, "Communist backed," because Communism today stands for peace. The Western world ignored the meeting and its message.

When the Soviet Union adopted in its last congress a plan to build the greatest industrial nation of the world, it knew and the world knew that it could and would do this. The world too realized that at last Communism had freed the Russian spirit; it had made fundamental criticism of itself possible.

When Khrushchev criticized Stalin, the Western world went hysterical with joy. This was the end. It was not. It was the beginning of normal self-criticism in a nation at last free from fear of foreign aggression. When a second-rate novel was excoriated by Russians, leaders of American literature hoped for the worst; but that worst was a new freedom of Russian thought and expression for which America ought itself devoutly to pray.

The Soviet Union had begun to let loose a free literature and art because its mass of citizens were at last intelligent enough to know the truth and the truth was making Russia free.

TO ME AS A NEGRO, one thing especially stands out in the Soviet Union, and that is the universal homage to a light-brown man with curly hair and distinctly African traces in his features: Alexander Pushkin. His statues dot the nation; the loveliest station on the Leningrad subway is named for him; the greatest Russian composers have set his plays to music and Russian literature and Russian radicalism call him master. Pushkin was the grandson of an African whom Peter the Great adopted; his father, a general, married into the Russian aristocracy and the family today is connected with British nobility. Pushkin married the most beautiful lady in Moscow and died in a duel in defense of her name. He wrote prose and poetry, led the radicals, suffered imprisonment and gained the plaudits of a nation. Always his statues in the Soviet Union are wreathed in fresh flowers.

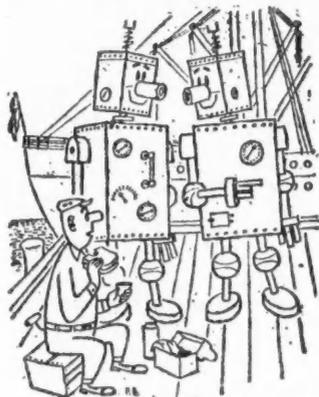
In the United States his African descent has denied him even a decent translation of his works.

BOOKS

American labor—past and present

SIDNEY LENS is head of a local union in Chicago and has worked a quarter of a century in the American labor movement, organizing the employed (mainly the auto workers) and, during the depression, the unemployed. He is an editor of *Liberation*, the pacifist magazine, and believes in nonviolence and active non-cooperation as a means of social change, but he does not push this viewpoint unduly in his current book, *The Crisis of American Labor*.

Most of his book describes the reciprocal action of Big Business and labor, with the familiar thesis that American business has made enough profit to cut part of labor in, and labor has made



ILWU Dispatcher
"Well, it's lunch time—let's go to the automat."

a useful accommodation. He talks much about Business Unionism and Social Unionism. Business unionism has gone so far, he says, that some of its leaders own and operate businesses of their own and run their unions like high-powered business executives, from the top down. Social unionism has made a modest effort to broaden the social role of unionism, but within fixed limits.

THE AMERICAN CRISIS, according to Lens, is three-fold: it stems (1) from automation; (2) from the millions still unorganized; (3) from "permanent world crisis." The gains of labor are the gains of a favored limited group, and automation is shortening the honeymoon. In 1956, for the first time white collar workers outnumbered blue collar, and the automation drawing boards are now busy dreaming up factories that produce and ship simultaneously. But more important than this, says Lens, the world crisis may gently lay aside all labor's gains unless labor is willing to put up a new-style political fight. He says:

"A ten-cents-an-hour wage increase is meaningless if hydrogen bombs begin to fall on Detroit and Chicago. It can't be won at all if there are eight or ten million unemployed ready to take over the jobs of the employed. It can't be won for the unorganized Negro down South until he first wins civil rights. It is decidedly secondary for the jobless, the aged, and the sick. No matter how the issue is viewed, labor's crisis returns invariably to its relative political impotence."

Lens would like to see inde-

pendent political action by labor. He feels that labor is apathetic within the two present political parties. Less than 40 per cent of American trade union members are registered to vote. In some unions it runs 30 per cent and lower. He says, let labor cut its ties with the Dixiecrat and the center segment of the Democratic Party and run candidates of its own on a limited scale. This would at least establish an embryonic structure awaiting the "next in the future."

Lens gives labor credit for all labor can take credit for, but he does say there is a need for a new idealism, for the dedication that goes back to the days when organizers lived close to the workers and workers fought for principles, not for strike allowances.

—Millen Brand

DR. JOSEPH G. RAYBACK is acting head of the Dept. of Labor Education at the Univ. of Pennsylvania. His *History of American Labor*** is a generous book in size and documentation and in outlook eminently fair to labor throughout. He traces labor's struggles on our continent back to Colonial times. His final chapter extending the book's scope through 1957 and the AFL-CIO merger, is necessarily more summary than history; but the earlier chapters are thorough-going treatments of labor's efforts throughout America's economic development to win for the nation's workmen wages and living standards commensurate with their rising productive power.

As a short history, Dr. Rayback's book deserves a place on the shelf with Philip Foner's volumes on American labor. In its treatment of such anti-labor attacks as the Mollie Maguire trials, the Haymarket executions, the Homestead and Pullman strikes, the IWW repression and the Palmer Raids, it confirms from a most scholarly source the much more partisan accounts contained in *Labor's Untold Story*, written five years ago by Richard Boyer and Dr. Herbert Morals.

THE BOOK *American Labor in Midpassage**** is a collection of 11 articles, many of which appeared originally in a joint issue of *Monthly Review* and the *American Socialist* in the summer of 1958. The opening



essay by Bert Cochran of the *American Socialist*, is a masterful if gloomy sixty-four page analysis of where labor's stands in this period, and how it got there. Its conclusion is that, for lack of any more optimistic sign, "the conviction must be retained that after sufficient trial and

error, the labor movement, each in their own way and time, will rise to the historic needs of our epoch."

Economist Paul M. Sweezy concludes that with the post-war return to "normal" employment (the "reserve army of labor" of which Marx warned) the era of important workers' gains has ended; and that American workers will have to face up to the implications of the fact that present society can provide full

employment apparently only through more war.

Other articles particularly relevant today are those by Leo Huberman and Dennis Anderson, giving the background to present measures for new anti-labor legislation; and by William Glasier, of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (Harry Bridges' ILWU), on the need for a labor program in the face of automation.

—John T. McManus

***THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN LABOR**, by Sidney Lens. Sagamore Press, 11 E. 36 St., N.Y. 16 318 pp. \$6.

****A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LABOR**, by Joseph G. Rayback. The MacMillan Co., N.Y. 459 pp. \$6.

*****AMERICAN LABOR IN MIDPASSAGE**. *Monthly Review Press*, 66 Barrow St., N.Y. 14. 196 pp. \$3.50.

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