

South Africa Killings Met By Strikes

Racist Slaughter Horrifies World

As horror and indignation swept through many countries at the mass slaughter of South Africa's freedom fighters, Negro workers in the Capetown and Johannesburg areas, where the shootings took place, went out on strike.

"It was estimated that 50 to 90 per cent of the total labor force stayed away from work," the March 24 New York Times reported. "Among the industries crippled was a vast plant of the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation at Vanderbijl Park."

Police in sound cars cruised through the Negro settlements urging a return to work.

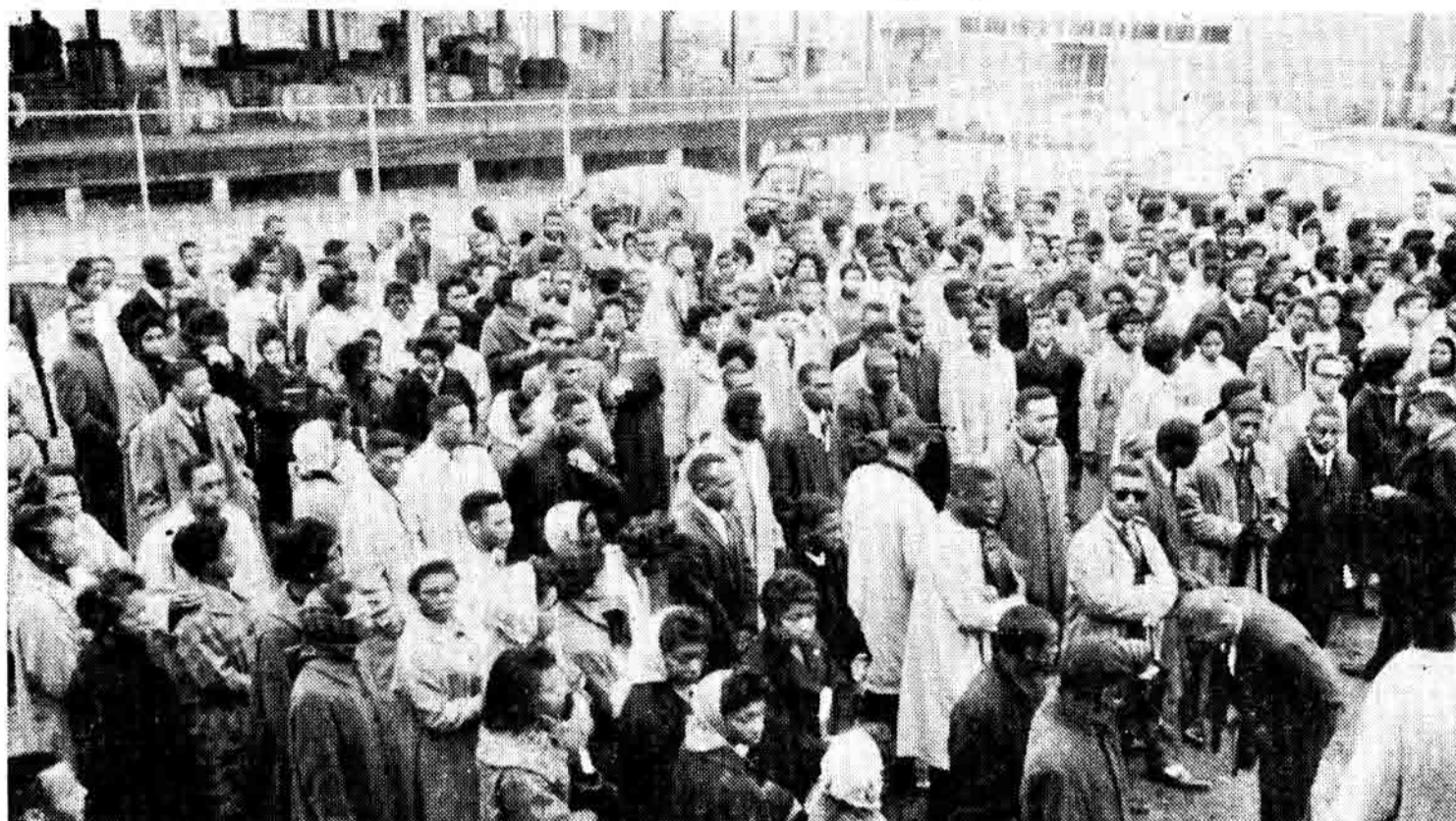
Machine-Gun Fire

On two consecutive days—March 21 and 22—police opened machine-gun and rifle fire on Negroes demonstrating in Langa, near Capetown, against white-supremacy laws. In these wanton attacks and the even bloodier one at Sharpville, near Johannesburg, the cops admit to killing 72 people and wounding 184. Unofficial estimates place the casualty figures much higher.

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg has charged that police used dum-dum bullets. The slaughter was the answer of pro-apartheid officials to a "fill-the-jails" movement organized by the Pan-Africanist Congress, an offshoot of the African National Congress.

The demonstration was organized as part of a mass campaign for abolition of the law requiring Negroes to carry passes at all times under penalty of arrest. The Pan-Africanist Congress called on the people to go to the police stations without their passes and surrender to the cops for not carrying them.

America's Freedom Fighters



Held in a stockade for parading against segregation in downtown Orangeburg, South Carolina, these college students waited several hours in 40-degree weather to be tried for "breach of peace." About 1,000 students from Carolina

State and Clafin Colleges participated in the orderly parade, March 15. When the cops couldn't stop the marchers with tear gas and fire hoses, they arrested some 450 of them. Later, buses took those unable to post bond to the state prison.

How Cold War Shaped Nine Young Boys

Residents of Yonkers, N. Y., have been given a taste of how the incessant anti-Soviet cold-war propaganda can warp the thinking of young people.

Nine boys, 13 and 14 years old, admitted to police that they had been smearing swastikas on churches and apartment buildings. At a clubhouse maintained by the boys, police found Nazi war souvenirs, including flags, helmets and nine bayonets. This is how one of the boys explained the purpose of the club: "In case this country is invaded we would have something to defend it with."

"News" Spills Beans On Anti-Castro Drive

By M. L. Stafford

The real aim of the campaign now being waged by the State Department and the majority of the American capitalist press against Cuba is a counter-revolution like the one engineered in Guatemala in 1954.

When the Cuban press or prominent members of the Castro government make this charge, spokesmen of the State Department fly into an official rage, shrieking that the United States is being "attacked" and that the charges "worsen" relations. The hypocrisy of this attitude can be judged from an editorial "The Nature of the Enemy" which appeared in the March 15 New York Daily News.

Whether he is a Communist or only a prisoner of Communists, Castro is dragging Cuba toward catastrophe," says the venal hack who is paid to express the opinion of this reactionary sheet. "In the process, he is wrecking the once excellent and mutually profitable relations between Cuba and the United States."

Dobbs' Statement

Commenting on this ominous cry for a counter-revolution, Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers' presidential nominee, observed: "It is not generally in the nature of the Daily News to tell the truth, as we can see again from the false charges it makes against Castro. But in expressing hope that the cloak-and-dagger section of the State Department is quietly blowing the taxpayers to a repetition of the foul business in Guatemala, the News indicated in its own way what is really afoot."

"Another indication appeared in the March 14 New Leader, Harry Schwartz, who enjoys a reputation for accurate reporting in the New York Times, wrote in an article on Cuba that dispatches from Washington 'tell of Government officials debating whether the U.S. won't have to send in the Marines.'"

"With such evidence we can only come to the conclusion that top circles in Washington are really plotting an armed imperialist adventure in Cuba, involving the use of American troops."

"Such an attempt at counter-revolution would prove to be an even greater catastrophe for the people of America than Truman's ill-advised intervention in Korea."

(See editorial page 3.)

Just the Beginning

Two workers suffered an overdose of radiation at an atomic energy center near Paris March 15. It was the first such accident reported by the French.

Two Capitalist Parties Win Ceylonese Elections

Two capitalist parties share a majority of seats in the Ceylonese parliament as a result of the general elections held March 19. The reactionary United National party won 50 of the 151 seats, and its leader, Dudley Senanayake, has been appointed prime minister.

He will be able to maintain control in parliament, however, only through the support of the Great Ceylon Freedom party, which won 46 seats. This party split from the UNP in 1951. It masqueraded as "socialist" under the late Premier Bandaranaike, but has since abandoned this pretense.

The revolutionary-socialist Lanka Sama Samaja (Ceylon

Fight Continues In Labor Party Over Clause 4

By Murry Weiss

The deepening crisis in the British Labor party has found its focal point in the struggle over Clause Four of the party's constitution.

Clause Four formulates the socialist objective of the Labor party, calling for the public ownership of the decisive sections of the economy. For all its vagueness and inadequacy as a statement of socialist principles, it nevertheless does commit the party to a socialist goal. This is exactly what the right-wing bureaucrats of the party, headed by Hugh Gaitskell, proposed to scuttle shortly after the Labor party's electoral defeat last October.

All sections of the left wing, from the Victory for Socialism group to the Socialist Labor League, opened a vigorous attack on Gaitskell's proposal to banish socialism from the Labor party.

At the stormy March 16 meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Labor party, pickets lobbied the committee demanding that its members stand firm in defense of Clause Four. The Newsletter, weekly journal of the Socialist Labor League, reports, March 19, some of the responses to the lobbying which was conducted by SLL members, trade-union branch delegates, representatives of constituency Labor-party organizations and members of the Victory for Socialism group.

"I'm with you on this," Frank Cousins, general secretary of the 1,300,000-strong

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Readers Back Oregon Strike

Unionists at the strike-bound Portland Oregonian and Oregon Journal are making significant headway with a door-to-door "cancel your subscription" campaign. More than 9,000 cancellations have been obtained since the papers combined and began running in scab editorial and printing help five months ago.

Negro Sit-Ins Spread Despite Fines, Jailings

NAACP Calls for Nationwide Boycott of Dime-Store Chains

By Harry Ring

MARCH 24 — Now entering its eighth week, the lunch-counter integration battle continues to spread in the South despite a mounting campaign of jailings and stiff fines by racist authorities.

Meanwhile, the 350,000-member National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued a call March 17 for a nation-wide boycott of the Woolworth, Kress, Kresge and Grant chain stores. NAACP attorneys have mapped legal strategy for coping with the mass arrests in the South, and the organization has pledged to defend each victim of Southern courts.

Memphis Struggle

In Memphis and other areas, the student-inspired integration movement is being taken up by the entire Negro community.

Memphis had its first sitdown last Friday when 12 youths took seats at a downtown dime-store lunch counter. They left quietly when the manager closed the entire store, but the integration targets were quickly broadened.

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Special Roundup On Rights Fight

The Young Socialist has added four pages to its March issue in order to give full coverage to the student struggle against Jim Crow.

The special eight-page edition carries stories and photographs of the sit-ins and of the picketing in many cities. Copies may be obtained for ten cents each, or \$7.00 a hundred, from Young Socialist, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y.

ACLU Backs Wilkinson in Court Appeal

A new effort to curb the House Un-American Activities Committee in its uncontrolled attacks on constitutional freedoms is being made by the American Civil Liberties Union, which has asked the Supreme Court to review the case of Frank Wilkinson, one of the committee's victims.

Wilkinson is secretary of the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. He was convicted of "contempt of Congress" after he had refused on First-Amendment grounds to answer the committee's stock question, "Are you now a member of the Communist party?" at a 1958 hearing in Atlanta.

A leading figure in the campaign to get Congress to abolish the inquisitorial committee, Wilkinson had gone to Atlanta to rally public opposition to the hearing, which was supposedly probing for "communist infiltration" of Southern industries.

He was immediately subpoenaed, the ACLU said, even though he had never been in the South previously, and though the committee members did not even try to establish that he had any knowledge of the field they claimed to be investigating.

The reason they put him on the grill was that he had sought to develop "hostile sentiment" to the committee.

Filibusterers Hold Key Posts in Senate

By Arthur Jordan

Eighteen Southern Senators talked for a little over a week, and another civil-rights bill was on the way to being gutted—by a legislative body of 100 members. The uninitiated might well ask: How do the eighteen do it? What spell do they cast over the Senate?

The March 21 U.S. News and World Report supplies part of the answer. The Southerners are not ordinary senators. With the Democrats in control of the Senate, they chair nine of the fifteen standing committees. The nine Southern chairmen "dominate action in a broad field—defense, taxes, finances, agriculture, foreign relations, the courts."

The leader of the filibuster, for example, was Sen. Richard B. Russell (Ga.), who chairs the Armed Services Committee. He has a controlling voice in the disposition of the armaments budget, currently standing at forty billion dollars a year.

If Senator Russell is eyed with respect by arms-contract-hungry corporations (and their representatives in the Senate), so is "elder statesman" Harry F. Byrd (Va.), architect of "massive resistance" to school integration.

As chairman of the Finance Committee, Byrd "works in close harmony with his Virginia colleague, Chairman A. Willis Robertson of the Banking and Currency Committee." These two determine who pays what taxes and how much. They also put "a damper on proposals for public housing [and] urban renewal."

Byrd and another filibuster cohort, Agriculture Committee chairman Allen J. Ellender (La.), will have much to say about giving the State Department the power to cut Cuba's sugar quota. Other Southern committee chairmen are similarly relied on for key legislation by the same Administration that presented the now watered-down "official" version of the civil-rights bill. The services of the filibusterers, however, are also in

great demand in the liberal camp. Lister Hill (Ala.), chairman of the Labor Committee "is said to have exerted his influence . . . on the side of moderation" in the passage of the Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy bill (for which he voted), while J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), is counted on by the liberals to step up spending for "foreign aid."

Fulbright himself is reckoned as a liberal, though some people "think it embarrassing, with the colored peoples of the world who stirring," that the head of the Foreign Relations Committee should represent a state which has had "serious racial troubles."

All in all, the Southern senators form a highly influential group with Republicans and fellow-Democrats alike, and it is not surprising that Robert D. Novak should write in the March 21 Wall Street Journal that "King Filibuster" should have "emerged from the battle . . . stronger than ever," having helped accomplish the Southerners' aim of rendering the civil-rights bill innocuous.

Sinatra Hires Screen Writer On Blacklist

MARCH 21 — Screenland's political blacklist suffered another jolt with yesterday's report that Frank Sinatra has hired Albert Maltz, one of the "Hollywood Ten," to write the film adaptation for his independent production of "The Execution of Private Slovik."

The ten Hollywood figures had been jailed in 1947 for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee on First Amendment grounds.

Since then, those like Maltz who have gotten work in the industry have been able to do so only by writing anonymously or under pen names. Earlier this year, independent producer Otto Preminger hired Dalton Trumbo, and Stanley Kramer hired Nedrick Young. Trumbo and Young, both writers, had been blacklisted.

He'll Go in Style

A group of Americans presented Pope John with an air-conditioned Cadillac. He said, "We are all traveling toward Heaven."

Does Waiting on Negroes "Enslave" Slenderella?

Expressions of anti-Negro bigotry by highly placed officials are by no means confined to the South. Two judges of the Washington State Supreme Court recently provided a Northern sample of racist thinking in the case of a Negro woman who won a damage suit against Slenderella Systems of Seattle.

Mrs. Ola Browning charged that Slenderella had violated the state's public-accommodation laws when the weight-reducing outfit refused her patronage. The manager told her: "We have never served anybody but Caucasians, and I just know you won't be happy here."

A trial court awarded Mrs. Browning \$750. Slenderella then appealed the judgment to the state supreme court.

A majority of the judges voted to uphold the verdict, but ordered the damages reduced to \$100, because, they said, Mrs. Browning had suffered only a minimum of embarrassment as no other customers were present when she was humiliated.

But that wasn't concession enough to Jim Crow for the two dissenting judges. They asserted that Slenderella's right to discriminate is guaranteed by the Thirteenth Amendment which outlaws "involuntary servitude."

They cited a Florida decision, which held that when "A white woman is compelled against her will to give a Negro a Swedish massage, that too is involuntary servitude."

An 1844 Argument Still Waiting a Reply

By Joseph Hansen

Eighth in a series of articles.

The food explosion, whatever fears it may have aroused about our being suffocated by corn and wheat, has proved how baseless were the fears of the Malthusians that the growth of population will eventually doom humanity to famine. This may still be news to the modern disciples of the gloomy parson of 1798. It is not news to Marxists, as the record will show.

Sometime in 1861-63 Karl Marx copied from the introduction to the "Origin of Species" the following acknowledgment by Charles Darwin: "In the next chapter the Struggle for Existence amongst all organic beings throughout the world, which inevitably follows from the high geometrical ratio of their increase, will be treated of. This is the doctrine of Malthus, applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms." Commenting on this, Marx with a single devastating sentence detached that portion of the parson's anatomy sticking above his starched collar:

"In his excellent work, Darwin did not see that his discovery of the 'geometrical' progression in the animal and vegetable kingdoms overturns Malthus' theory."

Marx then shook the parson gently to show that his head had really been relieved of its customary connection:

"Malthus' theory is based precisely on the fact that he opposed Wallace's geometrical progression of human beings to the chimerical 'arithmetical' progression of animals and plants. In Darwin's work, for example in his discussion of the extinction of species, we find a natural-historical refutation of the Malthusian theory, not only of its fundamental principle but also of its details."

This refutation, a century old, is, we see, of the same type we noted in the food explosion now worrying the Department of Agriculture — the facts demonstrate that the progression of animals and plants is not arithmetical as the Bible student of 1798 imagined it to be.

On the level of theory, Frederick Engels had already refuted Malthus years before the appearance of the "Origin of Species." In 1844, at the age of 24, he offered a solution to the population-food riddle that still sounds completely modern. Let's give young Engels the floor. (As in the previous quotation, our source is the selections published by Ronald L. Meek under the title "Marx and Engels on Malthus.")

"[Under the competitive conditions of capitalism] a stage must ensue in which there is so much superfluous productive power in existence that the great mass of the nation has nothing to live on, so that people starve to death from sheer abundance. England has already been in this crazy situation.

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New Sugar Bill Aimed at Cuba

By Lillian Kiezol

The Cuban government's demand for a negotiated bilateral sugar treaty with the U.S. has been rejected by the White House and State Department. Instead, Pres. Eisenhower sent Congress a bill, March 16, that extends the present Sugar Act for four years. The law, in effect since 1934, empowers Congress to set sugar quotas unilaterally for foreign and domestic suppliers.

The Administration bill also contains a new clause asking Congress to grant the president emergency powers to cut foreign sugar quotas. At a news conference, March 17, Eisenhower insisted that the new clause would not be used to "punish" Cuba but is based on Cuba's current "activities" which might "endanger our source of [sugar] supply."

Others view the bill differently. Representative Harold D. Cooley (D-N.C.), chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, strongly opposes injecting diplomatic relations into the farm program, under which the sugar quotas fall.

Cooley said he believes the new clause might be used as a "weapon of reprisal" against Cuba and that the Administration has asked "for any club to hit anyone with."

Despite the campaign in many big business newspapers to "get tough" with Cuba by cutting its

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# Slums Change Their Location As Housing Problem Remains

By Herman Chauka

"The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished; they are merely shifted elsewhere!" (Emphasis in the original.)

That was how Frederick Engels summed up, eighty-eight years ago, the results of what is now called "urban renewal." (See his book, *The Housing Question*.)

Just eight days ago, on March 14, Roland M. Sawyer, Housing Consultant for the United Steel Workers of America (AFL-CIO), declared that "it is well known that slums and blights are still being created at a rate faster than our efforts to build new housing or to rehabilitate our used housing supply."

## "Musical Chairs"

Discussing the plight of racial minorities, who comprise 65 per cent of those being displaced by "slum clearance" programs, Sawyer drove this point home even more tellingly. Such minorities, he said, "are still forced to play a decidedly unamusing game of 'musical chairs' that forces them to move from one slum to another."

Sawyer's remarks were made at the twenty-ninth meeting of the National Housing Conference in Washington, D.C. At the parley, some important computations about the nation's housing requirements were presented by Boris Shishkin, secretary of the AFL-CIO Housing Committee.

He said that to meet the "rock bottom" national housing needs by 1975, 35 million new homes will have to be built. This calls for an annual construction rate of 2.3 million new units per year — nearly a million units more than the actual building rate maintained during recent years.

Shishkin broke down the need for new housing into the following categories:

First, some 15 million families are currently living in substandard homes. (Federal estimates, which are usually conservative, set the figure at ten million.)

Then, 7.5 million families are living in homes that will become substandard by 1975. Shishkin estimated that perhaps five million of the homes that are now substandard or will become substandard can be rehabilitated, leaving 17.5 million units that must be replaced.

Then, another two million dwellings will be destroyed by fire, storm or other calamities or be demolished to make way for non-residential construction. Thus about 19.5 million housing units will have to be replaced without providing a single home for the new families the country will have by 1975.

Shishkin estimates that these will number

14.5 million. And to this figure he adds another million families who are now forced to double up and who need separate accommodations.

As the first step toward closing the gap between housing needs and actual housing construction, Shishkin urged support for a stepped-up program of federally subsidized low-rent public housing development.

Secondly, the proposed measures to enable workers in the moderate-income bracket — between \$4,000 and \$7,000 a year — to purchase their own homes. "...virtually all low income families and most moderate income families are priced out of today's housing market," he said.

Now that we have some idea of the housing needs in this country, let's take a look at what the government has done about it. This was summarized at the conference by Senator John Sparkman (D-Ala.), who chairs the Senate subcommittee on housing.

Sparkman recalled that the problem is not new. The U.S. Housing Act — proclaimed as the measure that would abolish the acute shortage of decent homes — was adopted back in 1937.

But, he explained, circumstances have interfered with the "implementation of this policy." In 1939, the second world war began in Europe, and "domestic needs were subordinated to defense needs." The nation emerged from the war "facing housing conditions more critical than they had been in 1939."

## A "Great Year"

In 1949, however, a new turn toward public housing was made by a Democratic president and Congress, says Sparkman. In fact, he adds, 1949 was a "landmark," a "great year" for public housing. Congress authorized "a six-year program for 810,000 units of low-rent public housing." (That's an average of 135,000 new units per year. Compare this with the needs cited by Shishkin.)

But again circumstances wouldn't have it so. First came Truman's "police action" in Korea and, as in 1939, domestic needs were sacrificed for the war machine. Then, in 1952 a Republican president was elected, avowedly unsympathetic, says Sparkman, to public housing. So, like the forties, the fifties have been a period of housing "frustration."

The reason for the federal government's failure to solve the housing question over the last twenty years goes deeper, however, than Sparkman's alibi about unfavorable circumstances and unwilling Republicans.

Capitalism "does not want to abolish the housing shortage even if it could," wrote Engels in the book we quoted earlier. It looks as if Engels knew what he was talking about.

# The Dollar's Role in the World Economy

By Tom Kemp

Do the figures of increased investments in Europe by major U.S. firms mean that American business is taking over European capitalism? It would be premature to jump to dramatic conclusions. The degree of penetration is as yet not far advanced. In the mid-fifties, American-affiliated companies accounted for some four per cent of the total sales turnover of British manufacturing industry.

Whatever increased investment has taken place since then would not have transformed the picture either in Britain or in the continental countries, where the position is broadly similar. At the same time, allowance should be made for the fact that some American investments are strategically situated in such fields as petroleum; they are in relatively big blocks; and they are technologically advanced.

Tom Kemp teaches economics at Hull University in Great Britain. He is a frequent contributor to the British socialist publications *Labour Review* and the *Militant* as well as to the *Militant and International Socialist Review* in this country.

As far as can be seen the big business interests involved do not aim at "colonization"; they are after profits where they think they are biggest. In these terms, the European countries offer attractive possibilities. The French Commercial Counselor in Washington, in a recent report, mentions a Chrysler executive who declared, "It is absolutely necessary for us to remain competitive and, if competition demands it, well we shall move our factories abroad!" ("Problemes Economiques," No. 634, Feb. 23, 1960.)

In other words, one motive is to combat the working class in America by bringing in products made by foreign labor exploited by American capital in other lands. Such possibilities urge the need for American labor to become internationally minded if nothing else.

On the narrower question it would be a mistake to see in the present situation a weakening of American capitalism relatively to the other capitalist countries. After all, the apparently contradictory phenomenon of a "weaker" dollar and an adverse balance of payments on the one side, and the growing involvement of American capital with foreign investment on the other side flow from the same source.

We can define this in short as an effort to preserve the conditions for the extraction and realization of surplus value on a world scale in obedience to the inner laws of capitalism.

It is this which drives the United States government to vast military expenditures — imposed by the Cold War, but now indispensable to economic "balance" — and sends American businessmen in search of markets and investment fields in countries where costs are lower and profits higher. These drives are reflected in the balance of payment, which is not itself a causative factor.

At the present time, then, the new position of the dollar results from a series of factors operating in the international sphere including the still large outflow of military aid, as well as other government aid, and large private export of capital.

In one respect, however, we can ascribe the end of the dollar shortage for the advanced countries — temporary as it may be — to the fact that the international capitalist economy has become more viable, and more balanced than it was a decade ago.

American policy aims, as shown at Bretton Woods in 1943 and pursued hence forward, sought to secure the adoption of monetary and trade policies favorable to American capitalism in a restored world market safe for American investment. That meant policies ostensibly directed towards liberalization and the leaving of international monetary adjustments as far as possible to autonomous market mechanisms, thus harking back, in a way, to the example of British economic pre-eminence which rested on free trade and the gold standard.

These policies were implemented through the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Marshall Plan. International liquidity has now improved to the point where the dollar is no longer scarce. (The United States has 50 per cent of the world's gold stock, instead of 70 per cent at the end of the war.)

But though the capitalist world is now safer for the dollar, the real problem, which we shall not take on here, is how safe is the capitalist world?

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## The Weakest Link

A keynote here, too, is the interdependence of the American and the world economy, signifying that capitalism in the United States is no stronger than the world system of which it is a part. It was this, which was the underlying compulsion behind American policies in the postwar period and which now drives policy makers to more urgent consideration of the weakest links in the capitalist chain — the so-called "underdeveloped countries."

As economic aid to the more advanced countries becomes less necessary and the relay here is carried on by private capital investment, the threat of economic "competition" from the Soviet bloc becomes more acute in the colonial, semicolonial and former colonial areas.

From these areas come primary products without which the American economy could not function, and they constitute potential markets and investment fields for the future.

In the meantime private capital is only attracted to limited sectors of the economies of these countries, while their rulers, drawn from the nationalist bourgeoisie, are tempted by the vistas of rapid growth through industrialization and a more rounded economic growth than has been possible, given their dependent position in the world economy.

These rulers, driven on their flank by peasants and workers desirous of improving their abysmal living standards, which they increasingly see as not the result of implacable fate but of social and economic institutions, must develop their countries or risk being swept away by the popular tide. They are quite ready to turn to the Russians or the Chinese if they can get what they need in capital and technical assistance from that quarter.

The underdeveloped countries have thus become key areas in the economic confrontation between the two irreconcilable world systems. The comings and goings of Eisenhower and Khrushchev bear witness to their growing significance in this contest.



South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee (r) has good reason to gloat. Every year he gets a big slice of the American foreign-aid pie — in fact, his government in recent years has been getting a bigger slice than any other recipient. Walter Robertson of the State Department also has cause to smile in this picture taken at the end of the Korean War. Rhee has been loyal to Wall Street.

Despite the great material possibilities of American aid to the underdeveloped countries it has, so far, made little impression on the problem. Politically it is easier to get dollars for military aid and to ward off a direct threat to American imperialism, than to put them into areas where immediate gains seem small and the ultimate gains remote. To conciliate critics at home the American administration has had, for example, to link the \$500 million aid under the Development Loan Fund to the purchase of American goods.

## "Aid" Tied to War Pacts

Moreover, a scrutiny of the destination of American aid outside Europe shows it linked up precisely and directly with short-term strategic considerations.

Thus more than two-thirds of aid to Asia in the years 1945-57 went to the four countries with whom the United States had military understanding — namely, Japan, South Korea, Formosa and the Philippines — and to the advantage of political regimes, which, to say the least, were embarrassing to "liberal" Americans.

While over this period, Chiang's "Nationalist China" received \$380 million for a population of 7 1/2 million, Nehru's India with some 400 million people, received a net total of \$250 million.

Independent of the will of the American policy makers, the economic impact of American capitalism on these countries can measurably weaken their economies and thus bring about a weakening of capitalism as a whole. This was demonstrated by the worsening of the position of a number of primary producing countries which resulted from the American recession of 1958.

While the United States economy may be able to weather successfully ups and downs more violent than those so far experienced in the post war period, the repercussions of these swings may prove devastating for the weaker capitalist countries, notably those in the underdeveloped category.

Further, the national bourgeoisie is by no means in a secure position in a number of these countries; political consciousness is growing and the basis exists for strong popular movements with socialist programs. That is why so many recipes are being recommended to deal with this so-called number one problem in American political circles.

Clearly, then, if the dollar problem of the advanced capitalist countries has been brought under control, that of the underdeveloped countries remains endemic. Further, this is essentially a problem of the entire capitalist world market and is recognized as such by experts in the field.

Even the apparent disappearance of the disequilibria of the late forties does not mean that

position may now be briefly summarized. Now as at all times since the 1920's the United States plays a decisive role in the world market. Its great productive capacity and financial power enabled it to restore the shattered economies of the other capitalist countries and make the world a safer place for American capitalism than it would otherwise have been.

It did not do this unaided; the complicity in this design of the right-wing labor and trade-union leaders and even, for a time, in the warm glow of Yalta and Potsdam, of the Communist parties must be emphasized.

Subsequently, the world capitalist economy, restored more rapidly than after 1918, swept into a phase of unprecedented expansion sustained by steady outflow of American dollars primarily determined by the new division of the world. Both the prosperity of the United States itself, and the buoyancy of the world market, depend markedly upon outlays — internal and external — which are directly related to the pressure on capitalism from the non-capitalist states.

Consequently, it would be a mistake to ascribe the prosperity of the fifties to the inherent soundness of the system. Moreover, the capitalist drives which Marxists are accustomed to discern propels the system into new contradictions. We may note here the dilemmas which arise in relation to the underdeveloped countries; the continued export of business capital, especially to the other industrial countries; and the underlying problems of international liquidity.

It is true that the forms in which the typical drives and problems of capitalism appear may be new, and that there have been great transformations in the world situation since the earlier part of this century.

However, there is no reason to see in these changes anything fundamental enough to require the marking-off of a new epoch; in fact, it can be highly misleading to build far-reaching hypotheses upon changes in one or a few components of the total picture.

Certainly the almighty dollar has not been dethroned, nor have the other capitalist states been subjected and dominated utterly by it. The tendencies upon which assertions of this kind can be built need to be inserted into the dialectical complexities of the international development of capitalism as a whole.

March 3, 1960

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### The Wall Between

By Anne Braden

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# ... Unanswered 1844 Argument

(Continued from Page 1)

in this truly absurd condition, for a considerable time. If the fluctuations of competition become stronger, as they necessarily do in such a state of affairs, then we have the alternation of prosperity and crisis, of overproduction and stagnation. The economists have never been able to understand this crazy state of affairs, so in order to explain it they thought up the theory of population, which is just as nonsensical, indeed, even more nonsensical, than this contradiction of the coexistence of wealth and poverty."

The main point to be noted in this approach is that Engels takes the population as a whole. The Malthusians isolate the poor from the population, certainly an arbitrary procedure, and then seek to explain the poverty of this segment on the basis of its size. This is obvious nonsense. Engels, on the contrary, takes the rich and poor sectors of the population as they really are, a living, interrelated combination. A "crazy state of affairs" is at once apparent. In the midst of abundance, part of the population goes hungry. It is self-evident to Engels that this is due not to the quantity of the poor but to the quality of the economic system in which they live — it dooms people to starvation in the shadow of bursting granaries and warehouses. Engels continues with his answer to the Malthusian fear that humanity will eventually produce too many babies for the food supply:

"For us the explanation of the matter is easy. The productive power at the disposal of mankind is immeasurable. The productivity of the land can be infinitely increased by the application of capital, labor and science."

To back this view, Engels cites calculations of the time indicating that Britain's production of wheat could be increased enough within ten years to support six times the population of 1840. Looking farther into the future, he declares:

"Capital increases daily; labor power grows together with population; and science masters natural forces for mankind to a greater extent every day. This immeasurable productivity, administered consciously and in the interests of all, would soon reduce to a minimum the labor falling to the lot of mankind..."

Engels considers the Malthusian theory a "vile and infamous doctrine," a "repulsive blasphemy against man and nature," the "immorality of the economists in its highest form."

"Now the consequence of this theory is that since it is precisely the poor who constitute this surplus population, nothing ought to be done for them, except to make it as easy as possible for them to starve to death; to convince them that this state of affairs cannot be altered; and that there is no salvation for their entire class other than that they should propagate as little as possible; or that if this is not practicable, it is at any rate better that a State institution for the painless killing of the children of the poor should be set up — as suggested by 'Marcus,' — each working class family being allowed two and a half children, and the excess being painlessly destroyed. The giving of alms would be a crime, since it would encourage the growth of surplus population; but it would be very advantageous to make poverty a crime and the workhouse a corrective institution, as has already happened in England under the new 'liberal' Poor Law."

Engels does not dismiss the Malthusian theory as utterly useless. He credits it as a "necessary transitional stage" which had the effect of drawing attention to the "productive power of the soil and of humanity, so that now, having triumphed over this economic despair, we are forever secure from the fear of overpopulation."

In this optimistic conclusion we must admit that Engels displayed overconfidence in the power of correct

theory to rid people of fears. As we know from the current scare stories in the press, quite a few eminent figures still exhibit neurotic anxiety in relation to the growth of population. Engels was even willing to grant a small kernel of truth to the Malthusian view:

"From this theory we derive the most powerful economic arguments in favor of a social reorganization; for even if Malthus were altogether right, it would still be necessary to carry out this reorganization immediately, since only this reorganization, only the enlightenment of the masses which it can bring with it, can make possible that moral restraint upon the instinct for reproduction which Malthus himself puts forward as the easiest and most effective countermeasure against overpopulation."

Summarizing his position, Engels considers the central calculation upon which Malthus based his whole system — that population increases in geometrical, food in arithmetical progression:

"The difference is obvious and horrifying — but is it correct? Where has it been proved that the productivity of land increases in arithmetical progression?"

Engels then advances arguments that sound as if they were written in the light of the "chemical revolution" which has brought an enormous increase in agricultural production in the United States in the past two decades:

"The area of the land is limited — that is perfectly true. But the labor power to be employed on this area increases together with the population; and even if we assume that the increase of output associated with this increase of labor is not always proportionate to the latter, there still remains a third element — which the economists, however, never consider as important — namely, science, the progress of which is just as limitless and at least as rapid as that of population. For what great advances is the agriculture of this century obliged to chemistry alone — and indeed to two men alone, Sir Humphry Davy and Justus Liebig? But science increases at least as fast as population; the latter increases in proportion to the size of the previous generation, and science advances in proportion to the body of knowledge passed down to it by the previous generation, that is, in the most normal conditions it also grows in geometrical progression — and what is impossible for science?"

Engels thus makes three central points: (1) Under capitalism the distribution of hunger in the population is not due to the abundance of the poor but to poor distribution of society's abundance. (2) Wealth can be increased without limit if society is so organized as to bring about the most effective combination of labor power and science. (3) Even if Malthus had a point in the sense that society sometime in the distant future might have to regulate the size of the population, this could not be accomplished under capitalism but only under the planned economy of socialism.

We can judge the power of these arguments from the incapacity of the Malthusians to answer them. To this day they have not done much more than to point with alarm to the long-exploded "mathematical" puzzler advanced by Malthus. They sound like a tape recording that repeats over and over a 1798 weather report predicting possibly disastrous floods within a couple of thousand years.

Still, as Marxists, we must admit that the young Engels in 1844, however telling his arguments, did not advance a scientifically grounded position. For a truly scientific handling of the subject we must turn to the major work in which Engels later collaborated with Karl Marx, "Capital."

(Next week: Marx's Scientific Concept.)

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**Think It Over**

If you measured the Democratic and Republican parties with a micrometer — a good micrometer, that is — do you think a difference between them could be detected? Say a little more liberalism in the Democratic party? A little less inclination to dance to the tunes called by big business?

If you believe so, we would like to ask you to consider two items in last week's press — the opinions of the two top Democratic chieftains on two of the hottest issues now facing America.

We think that after carefully thinking over what they said, you'll agree that the difference between the Republicans and Democrats has reached a mathematical zero, and that America needs nothing so much as a great big broom to catch up on some political housecleaning.

The first item is some remarks Harry Truman made at a press conference he called March 19 in Louisville, Kentucky, for the purpose of giving the world some pearls of wisdom he picked up somewhere in the Pendergast machine. "The only ambition I have is, to educate the kids and let them know what they have in this country and how they can protect it."

After offering that appetizing dish of hogwash, the former Democratic president got down to cases; namely, to put a pitchfork in the back of the Negro freedom fighters who have been conducting sit-down demonstrations at Southern lunch counters.

"If anyone came into my store and tried to stop business," said this former proprietor of a haberdashery, "I'd throw him out. The Negro should behave himself and show he's a good citizen. Common sense and good will can solve this thing."

To make dead clear what this racist attitude goes with and who profits from it, Truman said: "Private business has its own rights and can do what it wants."

This declaration of attitude toward the Negro students fighting for equality in the South, was a real service to the Democratic high command. What candidate — Democratic candidate in the North, that is — would care to express such racist sentiments while seeking a four-year lease on the White House?

Truman did it for them in his usual fearless, slam-bang style. Having had his turn in the White House, his only ambition now is "to educate the kids."

The Republican who can be considered the most authoritative spokesman for the same racist attitude did not, of course, reach Truman's high intellectual level.

Eisenhower could only mumble something about not knowing for sure whether or not a person who asks for service at a lunch counter has a legal right to get it . . .

The other item we would like you to consider is a declaration made to the press on the very same day that Truman was popping off in Louisville. The author was no one less than that outstanding liberal and two-time presidential candidate of the Democratic party, its present titular head, statesman Adlai Stevenson, champion political phrasemonger.

He got the correspondents together in Buenos Aires in order to slip a jeweled carving knife into the back of the Cuban freedom fighters who have been struggling to loosen the chains loaded on them by American imperialism.

Stevenson accused Castro of "destroying" U.S.-Cuban relations. "He is very much guilty, Castro and his government. I don't know who else is running his government. I don't think it's the Communist party."

As for the Eisenhower administration, which patted itself on the back for engineering a counter-revolution in Guatemala under Dulles, Stevenson had only praise for the "correct attitude" it has maintained toward Cuba, where it is plotting a similar counter-revolution.

Then speaking through his sombrero like the true spokesman that he is of the peoples South of the Border, he said that the heads of the Latin-American governments agreed "that the United States should take stronger measures against verbal attacks, expropriations of United States properties without consultation and other offensive attitudes of the Cuban government."

On hearing this praise, John Foster Dulles settled contentedly in his grave, knowing that his spirit was marching on in the shape of Adlai Stevenson.

So there you have it. A united front between the leading Democrats and Republicans against the Negro freedom fighters in the South. And a similar united front between the leading Democrats and Republicans against the Cuban freedom fighters in Latin America.

Do Truman and Stevenson speak for the American people? We think that you will agree most emphatically that they do not. One more question — don't you think it's time to strengthen the socialist opposition to the Democrats and Republicans? Then why not get behind Dobbs and Weiss, the socialist candidates!

**On Guard Against Internal Foes**



A crowd in Havana seeks to get hands on Roberto Salas-Hernandez, charged with attempting to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. The demonstration occurred during a one-hour stoppage last Oct. 22 that was part of a series of rallies against counter-revolutionary moves. Revolutionary vigilance of this nature will continue making it difficult for enemies of Cuban freedom to prepare a pro-imperialist coup.

**The Saying of Today Is 'Go South, Young Man!'**

By Jose Valdez

SANTIAGO, Chile, March 9—The title to this article paraphrases what Senator Smathers of Florida told us quite openly at a meeting held in the University of Chile in the middle of January this year. In the past century the Yankee bosses used to say, "Go west, young man!" Now they say, "Go south, young man!"

In the old romance the advice covered the Yankee colonization westward where the Indian people lived. In the present century this colonization is toward the south, toward South America, whose "Indians" (with their rich raw materials) constitute the best pasture for the imperialist appetite.

Following the "good advice" of his grandfathers, Eisenhower made a trip through Latin America. Down here we see the trip as dictated by an offensive-defensive strategy in relation to Latin America. On the world plane, Eisenhower pursues his trips not only in Latin America, but in Asia and Africa, to consolidate the U.S. position before the coming conference with the USSR.

Since 1940 American imperialism has been in full offensive against the Latin-American peoples, an offensive that has been concretized in a colonization plan, not only economically but politically (through military pacts and the creation of the Organization of American States).

But the world economic "recession" of 1957-58 had such serious repercussions in the Latin-American countries that their governments, despite being pro-imperialist in the majority, began to petition the U.S. and demand better prices and a more stable market for their raw materials.

Thus in 1958 a surreptitious regroupment of the cowardly Latin-American bourgeoisie began which culminated in the "Operation Pan-America" of Kubitschek, president of Brazil, putting on the agenda discussion of a Common Market. At the same time, anti-imperialist actions took place, ranging from the demonstrations against Nixon to struggles of greater force in Cuba, Panama, Venezuela, Bolivia and Brazil.

All this — united with the critical world situation facing imperialism — obliged Wall Street, for the time being, to take a defensive attitude, dialectically interrelated with its permanent offensive line.

In his defensive posture, Eisenhower sought to placate the demands of his Latin-American "junior partners," who would like more economic aid, better prices for raw materials, creation of a Common Market. In brief, he sought to defer and attenuate any protest movement of the Latin-American bourgeoisie, as well as impede them from trading with the USSR.

But U.S. imperialism is not in position to resolve or even ameliorate the contradictions of these semicolonial countries. In fact it can't even do much about their immediate demands. It can't offer better prices for raw materials or increase purchases. It can't permit the "full" development of a Common Market.

On the offensive side, Eisenhower sought to form a common front with the Latin-American bourgeoisie against the Cuban Revolution, to isolate it, blockade it, in order in this way to prepare the conditions for an imperialist blow (whether from within or from without). At the same time he sought to co-ordinate a strategy with the capitalist rulers of the various countries against the Latin-American workers' movement which is daily becoming more anti-im-

perialist in its thinking and more aware of the necessity of Latin-American unity.

**The Anti-Imperialist Movement**

Despite all the mistakes and vacillations, the trade-union organizations, the nationalist movements, the class-conscious currents and the revolutionary workers parties, have advanced some.

Above all, in the union organizations, the "people's" parties, and petty-bourgeois intellectual circles, a Latin-American consciousness has appeared; a conviction of the unity of the Latin-American peoples and a realization that without this unity, it is impossible to resist Yankee imperialism effectively.

This is appreciated best in the trade-union movement. Because of this, we Trotskyists, who won approval for the slogan in the latest congresses of the workers' organizations, believe that the time has come for vigorous agitation for a Latin-American Trade-Union Conference.

We base ourselves on these developments: (a) last year's decision of the Confederation of Cuban Workers to call a Latin-American conference of labor; (b) a proposal of the Venezuelan Federation of Labor to hold a Latin-American trade-union conference in Caracas; (c) last year's resolution of Chile's Confederation of Workers (the CUT) to organize a sponsoring committee; (d) a round-table discussion among various trade-union organizations held in Sao Paulo earlier this year; (e) similar decisions of the Bolivian Federation of Labor and the Argentine General Confederation of Labor.

The Communist parties are hampering immediate formation of a Latin-American labor federation because they know they would be in a minority if it took place now.

This was seen very clearly at the second congress of the CUT last year when the Stalinists, opposed acceptance of the invitation of the Confederation of Cuban Workers, whereas the Trotskyist delegates backed the Cuban proposal. However, despite everything, the movement for Latin-American trade-union unity cannot be stopped.

**No Hero to Them**

Eisenhower was received with pomp by the bourgeoisie and their governments, but the public remained indifferent, save for those who greeted the president by waving little flags, bought with dollars shelled out by the U.S. embassies, like troops on review.

No massive anti-imperialist demonstrations occurred due to the extreme vigilance of the police and the brake applied by the Communist parties. But actions against imperialism took place in every country visited by Eisenhower, although the world press was silent about many of them.

In Puerto Rico, demonstrators openly demanded independence.

In Brazil, where they are very adroit at giving the police the needle, they put up a banner that read, "Welcome Ike." As the president drew abreast, down came the word, "Ike," to reveal a different name, so that the sign read, "Welcome, Fidel."

In Argentina, the Peronists organized an impressive nationalist demonstration. In Uruguay the students and workers made Eisenhower sense their protests when he got a good whiff of the fumes from a tear-gas bomb thrown against the demonstrators.

In Chile the leaders of the CUT raised a seven-foot-high

portrait of Castro as Eisenhower passed the headquarters and scattered a shower of leaflets approving the Cuban Revolution. In a display of servility to the U.S., the police responded by placing ladders against the building and breaking into the headquarters of the union.

In various countries, the Trotskyists distributed leaflets, made declarations, headed quickie demonstrations, carried banners supporting the Cuban Revolution, etc.

In Chile, in particular, Comrade Luis Vitale, a national leader of the CUT and a member of the Revolutionary Workers party, led the demonstration at the CUT headquarters, as a result of which he was seized by the police. Even at the police station he shouted slogans proclaiming the anti-imperialist position of Trotskyism.

In conclusion, we believe that the best way to counteract the influence of Eisenhower's trip is to form a Latin-American trade-union federation in short order. Thus we can hope for the day when imperialism, thrown out of Latin America, will no longer be able to say, "Go south, young man."

The new slogan will be, "Go to the moon, young man." That, we think, will be said after the American workers take power, not to subjugate people, but for the good of humanity.

**In Other Lands**

**Khrushchev Begins French Visit**

**Says Germany Is Key Issue**

Soviet Premier Khrushchev arrived in Paris March 23 for meetings with President de Gaulle and began pressing for a common Soviet-French position against "the rebirth of German militarism." He urged French recognition of the East German government, a stand quickly rejected by De Gaulle.

Khrushchev further developed his stand at public meetings of the Communist party and before other radical groups. The government had tried to block such public appearances by mapping a grueling tour of the country. Khrushchev rejected the proposed itinerary.

In his arrival speech, Khrushchev offered a tribute to dictator De Gaulle. He referred to the authoritarian general as "a great French patriot" for whom "the Soviet holds sentiments of respect." He also echoed De Gaulle's propaganda theme of the "greatness of France."

**Young People Form Large Majority of Cuban Population**

"Oddly but relentlessly," the Cuban birth rate "plagues the anti-Castro underground more than anything else," comments Ward Cannel in a New York World-Telegram article, March 19, entitled "Cuba Youth Turns Fidel Foes Gray."

Cubans under the age of 25 make up 60 per cent of the population, and of these, 40 per cent are under 15. "One anti-Castro plotter told Cannel 'If we have to count on youngsters to get rid of that lunatic, [Castro] we might as well give up now.' And another said, 'It is impossible to deal with an

**And It Isn't Science Fiction**

**A New \$58.50 Insurance Plan**

American businessmen are supposed to lead the world when it comes to anticipating the needs of the public. But it must be conceded that our Northern neighbors have beaten our go-getters to the punch in a field that might become increasingly important. However, it can at least be said that a U.S. firm is putting up the cash for the Canadian deal.

The new development was reported March 17 by Leonard Bertin, science editor of the Toronto Star in a column headlined: "Unique Policy Insures Atomic Birth Defects."

The new insurance being sold by Mitchell, Upjohn and Co. will cover "dwarfism, club feet or hands, blindness and 63 other defects since birth." The Continental Casualty Co. of Chicago will underwrite the policies and pay off the claims.

It is the first insurance of its kind to be offered in Canada and, according to Bertin, perhaps the first in the world. Here's how it will work. For \$58.50, the insurance contract will cover the mother for any number of children born during a three-year period. The policy will pay off on injuries, illnesses and other defects traceable to atomic radiation, providing they are defects dating from birth.

That there is real need for this kind of coverage was pointed out by Dr. Clement G. Martin, medical director for Continental Casualty, who says that today some 2.5 per cent of all children born in Canada suffer from some congenital deformation.

He did not offer any estimate as to how many cases were caused by atomic fallout. He merely said that only a small proportion of defective births is ascribable to an inherent defect in either parent.

Normally, prospective purchasers are warned to carefully read the fine print on an insurance policy. In this case, they'll need strong nerves to do so. Here, according to Bertin, is what they are likely to come across as they look up the various compensation rates:

- "For absence of parts, such as legs, arms, nose, ears, \$200 per part;
- "Club hand or foot, undescended testicle . . . hypospadias (hip out of joint at birth), ptosis (drooping eyelid), \$200.
- "Blindness (total to one or both eyes), megacolon (enlargement of the large intestine), mongolism (a condition evidenced by flattened skull, oblique eye-slits, short thumbs and idiocy), kernicterus (a type of jaundice affecting the brain), \$500.

"Heart with only one auricle or one ventricle (instead of two each), an open channel between the pulmonary artery (from the lung) to the aorta (which supplies the whole body), \$1,000.

"Siamese twins, narrowing of the pulmonary artery . . . and certain serious bladder defects, \$2,000."

**Cheerful Salesman**

Hugh Mitchell, president of Mitchell, Upjohn and Co., is going about the business of selling the new policy with optimism and good cheer. He observes:

"Happily, the majority of conditions can be corrected with routine surgery, but the surgical costs involved add to the natural anxiety of parents."

However, company officials feel that many wives or brides-to-be will be "superstitious" about even discussing the possibility of such defects afflicting their children. So it is anticipated that the husband will often buy the policy without discussing it with his wife. To facilitate this, the simple, streamlined atomic policy will not require the wife's signature.

Isn't it wonderful to live in a society that offers such intelligent planning and that shows such tender concern for the future welfare of the people?

— Alex Harte

**A New Hazard On the Roads**

TORONTO, March 17 — Drivers in the vicinity of the U.S. border here now have an added reason for driving safely. Ontario government officials confirmed yesterday that U.S. trucks laden with nuclear cargo are driving on Canadian soil between Buffalo and Detroit.

Minor government officials say they suspect that nuclear warheads are included in the radioactive shipments which pass through customs uninspected. This was denied by a defense department spokesman who said that some non-radioactive components of nuclear weapons might be transported.

Ontario fire marshal W. J. Scott points out that the radioactive shipments are a danger because the lead shielding on the trucks could be melted in a fire if there was a serious collision.

**The Daily News Attacks Castro**

To the New York Daily News goes the doubtful distinction of indicating about as frankly as is possible, given the lying nature of the American capitalist press, what the sinister aims of the State Department and its Wall Street patrons are in Cuba. As reported in an article on our front page, the objective is a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat like the one organized in collaboration with United Fruit against the legally elected government of Guatemala in 1954.

This is not the first time that the Daily News has made it its special business to start shouting "Communism!!!" when a country, suffering the accumulated effects of long years of imperialist oppression, has taken measures of self-defense such as those initiated by the Castro government.

On March 18, 1938, the Cardenas regime in Mexico expropriated the oil holdings of the British and American petroleum billionaires. This was Mexico's answer to attempts of the billionaires to push the Cardenas government around. When they got the only answer possible under the circumstances, the billionaires went to their own governments.

Roosevelt's administration threatened retaliation in the purchase of Mexican silver. Chamberlain launched a British boycott of Mexican oil.

And the Daily News in New York? It oiled up its hacks with whatever it takes to make the typewriters of these mercenaries run. A series of articles was cooked up telling the "grim" story of the "deterioration" of relations and how the "attack" schemed up by Cardenas was really master-minded by — Leon Trotsky.

Trotsky happened to be in Mexico at the time. Out of all the countries in the world, Mexico was the only one willing to grant the persecuted socialist leader the right of political asylum.

Trotsky in return had pledged not to intervene in Mexican politics, a pledge he kept although he was fascinated by the Mexican as well as the whole Latin-American political scene. The campaign of the Daily News was thus aimed at both President Cardenas and Mexico's distinguished guest.

The challenge had to be met. Trotsky asked his lawyer to call the attention of the News to the existence of laws regarding libel, thus touching the one nerve that can be considered sensitive in this newspaper — money. The News agreed to publish a reply by Trotsky in their Sunday edition (Jan. 8, 1939).

The gist of Trotsky's reply was that he had not had the honor of meeting President Cardenas; that he had taken no part in Mexican politics; and that in any case the Mexican government, concerned with its sovereignty and its international prestige would not turn to an immigrant for advice. Mexico was perfectly capable of running its own affairs. What Mexico did with its own oil was Mexico's business and no one else's. (In a coming issue of the Militant we hope to reprint this reply, which is of the greatest interest in view of the similar campaign which the Daily News is now waging against the Cuban government.)

Today the Daily News does not have a Trotsky whom it can seek to weave into its propaganda. But it does have the Soviet Union which Trotsky helped found. And with this it tries to make do.

The Daily News is hot for a counter-revolution in Cuba. It has expressed the hope that the State Department is quietly going about it as it did in the case of Guatemala. And what is the reaction of the State Department to this?

Did Herter scream? Did Ambassador Bonsal demand a retraction? Did a single congressman, either Democratic or Republican, rise to wave his arms in the halls of Congress about this patent attempt to worsen relations between Cuba and the United States?

Naturally not. This was one of their propaganda rags. It happened to spill a bit of the truth. Who around the State Department would dare challenge the accuracy of the Daily News?

But if Castro or a Cuban newspaper had ventured to make the charge — what an army of scoundrels in Washington would have wrapped themselves in the American flag to denounce the "attack!"

Critics of the commune program within the party, said the mess halls "deprived people of freedom" and served too little food and food that was bad.

**Jeanette Olson, Trotskyist Veteran, Dies in Norway**

Jeanette Olson, a Trotskyist since 1928, died last month in Oslo. She was nearly 86 years old. Her most active years in the workers' movement were between 1900 and 1914.

She was editor of several workers' papers in different parts of the country, and served as general secretary of the North-Norwegian fisherman's union during the First World War. She was also a leader of social-democratic and later of Communist activity among women.

From 1918-23, she was a member of the central leadership of the Norwegian Labor party and from 1923-28 of the central committee of the Norwegian Communist party. In 1928 she became the leader of the Trotskyist group in Norway and edited the monthly "October," issued jointly by the Norwegian and Danish Trotskyists.

**Filipino Movement Throws Scare Into U.S. Businessmen**

A "Filipino first" movement "aimed at helping Philippine citizens acquire a majority interest in their own economy" has American investors worried about "hard times ahead," reported the March 21 New York Times. President Carlos P. Garcia, however, sought to give assurances that the program would preserve parity between American and Philippine businessmen as guaranteed by a treaty between the two countries.

Woolworth Pickets Are Not a Quiet Lot

Editor: A young girl, a high-school student friend of mine, has been marching on the Woolworth picket lines. She commented on the attitude of the pacifists.

People keep joining the line. One Jewish woman about fifty years old marched all afternoon. She spots a woman acquaintance about to go in. "Watch this," she says, "I know that woman, she lives on East Tenth Street. She's very religious."

ment — at the very same moment that the International Federation of Free Trade Unions is trying to enforce a world boycott against the Trujillo regime!

Trent Hutter New York

Miners in England Fight Pit Closures

Editor: As a miner, I'm naturally interested in your reports on struggles of the American workers.

Here in Britain, we coalminers face pit closures, unemployment, attacks on contracts, excessive disciplines, etc.

G.S. Bilborough, England

Scores Longshore Leaders for Deal With Gen. Trujillo

Editor: Concerning the Dominican situation, I have just read in the New York Herald Tribune (March 9) that the International Longshoremen's Association has organized the dock-workers of the country with the blessings of the Trujillo government, whose "anti-communism" is being praised by the ILA leaders.

Well, I'm no youth any more, but on my first Woolworth picket-line duty at the Fourteenth Street Store last Saturday, nobody told me to be quiet — but if they had tried, they couldn't have stopped most of us from six to sixty.

Here's why. The crowds pass the store and hesitate to study the signs, to make a decision. You want them to do the right thing. So you holler with the others on the line, "Pass 'em by!"

"Let's Act Big"

A presidential straw vote conducted by Union News, official publication of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, AFL-CIO, turned up some interesting sentiments.

The great bulk of those voting declared themselves Democrats — 409 as against 91 Republicans — with the greatest number of Democratic votes going for Senator John Kennedy and Senator Humphrey as runner-up.

The balloting, however, expressed some desire for independent labor political action. Three members declared themselves in favor of a labor party and four named prominent union officials as their choice for president.

One voter who expressed himself for a labor party was Ray Dilworth, editor of Local News, published by the OCAW's Local Union 1-547 of Torrance, Calif.

The March 7 issue of Union News carries a letter from Dilworth explaining why he voted for a labor party. The text of his letter follows.

"Thank you for tabulating my one lone vote for a Labor Party, in the first straw vote count. I was a wee bit afraid it would be considered a joke and that possibly it might be voided.

"Let me assure you no humor was intended. I am dead serious about feeling a Labor Party is a requisite to the future well being of the labor movement. The 1960's are going to be rough years for us.

Notes in the News

KAPITALIST KOMEDIAN — The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Arleigh Burke (note that suspicious "k" in his name), says that from now on he's going to spell communism with a "K" because "it might help to testify to the fact that it is — a foreignism that will never be accepted voluntarily by a free people."

BIG BROTHER IN ACTION — George Orwell's "1984" and Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World," both political satires warning of the danger of totalitarianism, were withdrawn from Miami high-school book shelves after an anonymous telephone call to a school official complained the books contained "obscene" passages.

BEAT BUT NOT THROUGH — Last December, the Holy Barbarian, a small "beatnik" bar featuring cool jazz and poetry opened in St. Louis. It quickly won a wide patronage from all walks of life. But on March 8, the Holy Barbarian closed down.

TIME IS MONEY — "How's your time?" inquires a card distributed to employees of Service Bureau Corp., a division of International Business Machine Corp.

in our way of doing things, if we are to survive. We must accept the fact that our present modes of operations are obsolete.

"Our two-party system in America no longer serves the working people, who are the backbone of our nation. The two parties wrangle among themselves, leaving us to shift for ourselves.

"We are always on the defensive. It is high time we took the bull by the horns and do something about it. Let's show some initiative by taking drastic steps and elbow our way out of the fix we're in.

"Be positive thinkers. Think big, act big and be big. I don't mean be big in the sense of a bully. But be big in our own right.

"We have men within the labor movement who are capable of being President of the United States. Our labor leaders have shown themselves to be diplomats and statesmen. They possess executive ability and leadership.

"Let's look to the future. Plan ahead. Think about it — why not put a man of our own choosing in the White House?"

that "we" should be as careful about saving time as about saving money. To demonstrate the right attitude on saving money, a gift is attached — a plastic facsimile of a watch.

SMEAR AND RUN — The California Department of Education disclosed March 18 that at least six teachers subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee have been fired or forced to resign.

PRACTICALLY FOOL-PROOF — Students at Cornell University's College of Architecture in New York have designed a community underground atomic bomb shelter which they say will resolve the problem of psychological readjustment to subsurface life.

A SLUR ON FREE ENTERPRISE — Some subversive element in the top brass of the New York Police Department has posted notices in station houses advising the personnel that bribery is a crime.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS — Job injuries disabled 1,970,000 workers in 1959, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Approximately 13,800 of the job accidents resulted in death.

SOME FOLKS ARE NEVER PLEASED — Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas who called out the National Guard in 1957 to keep nine Negro children from entering Little Rock's Central High School, is running for a fourth term.

... Sit-Ins

(Continued from Page 1)

The next day, 41 Negroes were arrested when they sat down in two "white-only" public libraries. The prisoners included L. F. Palmer, Jr., editor of the Tri-State Defender, widely read Negro weekly, two of his employees and two newsmen from the Memphis World, also a Negro weekly.

On Monday, they were brought into a heavily guarded courthouse while hundreds of Negroes sang and chanted outside. "Disorderly conduct" fines of \$25 were slapped on 36 of the defendants and Palmer was fined \$50. Charges were dropped against the other four newsmen.

Undaunted by this victimization, ten Negroes marched back into the segregated library the next day and another 13 went to the local art gallery. All 23 were jailed.

Meanwhile mass meetings, attended by thousands, were organized by the Negro community. A rally of more than 2,000 initiated "stay away from downtown days." On Tuesdays and Thursdays, throughout the Easter shopping season, downtown white merchants will be boycotted.

Savannah Sitdown

In Savannah, Ga., eleven youths were jailed Monday for refusing to leave lunch counters at the Greyhound and Trailways bus stations and the local railroad station.

The next day pickets appeared at the city's largest downtown store urging Negroes to shop elsewhere. Last week state troopers were sent into the city after gangs of rock-throwing whites had assaulted Negroes in the downtown area.

Five youths were sentenced to 30 days in jail and fined \$250 in Little Rock last Thursday for refusing to leave a dime store lunch counter.

Immediately after the verdict was handed down, groups of college students sat down at five segregated lunch counters in the city. The counters closed.

In St. Augustine, Fla., eight

Backing Them Up



Negro and white students join in demonstration at Madison, Wisconsin to show solidarity for anti-Jim-Crow movement in the South. "This issue appears to have aroused" the present campus generation "as have few others," said the New York Times, March 20, in its front-page roundup of student picketing in the North.

Negroes were attacked by a gang of 100 whites after police had forced them to end a three-day lunch-bar sitdown. The cops didn't interfere with the whites.

Eight of eleven arrested sit-downers in Tallahassee last week chose 60-day jail terms over \$300 fines, and called for a "fill-the-jails" stand throughout the South.

In New Berne, N.C., between 25 and 30 high school students were marched away from a dime store by police. In the courthouse they sang and shouted slogans as they were booked on "trespass" charges.

Lunch counter action was extended last week to Bluefield, W. Va., when 17 students from Bluefield State College sat down

at Woolworth and Kresge lunch counters. Jim Crow movie houses in the town have been picketed for the past three weeks.

Victory in Texas

A victory was won in San Antonio, Texas, where five downtown stores agreed to desegregate their lunch counters after receiving notice from the NAACP Council of projected sitdowns.

A partial victory was scored in Suffolk, Va., when the local Woolworth lunch counter, closed for two weeks after demonstrations, reopened on a service-to-all, stand-up basis with stools removed from the counter.

... Fight in British Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

Transport and General Workers' Union, told the pickets. Bill Jones, London busman and member of TGWU executive council, "assured delegates that his union would oppose all attempts to amend Clause Four."

Among the other NEC members who told the lobbyists that they would defend Clause Four were Anthony Greenwood, Tom Driberg, Harold Wilson, Jennie Lee and Barbara Castle, retiring Labor party chairman.

Many of the right-wing union officials are on the side of the Gaitskell proposal, of course. But the socialist concept is deeply rooted in the ranks of British unionism, and finds expression in the constitution of the various unions. Trade-union officials feel this pressure and this tends to divide the right wing.

The left Laborite weekly, Tribune, reports: "The Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers — the largest in the country — supported the following resolution by an overwhelming majority: 'Arising from our own experience in connection with the mining industry and our demand for the extension of nationalization in respect of the distribution of coal, we reaffirm our belief in the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange as set out in Clause Four

in the Constitution of the Labor party.'

Tribune reports that the NUM in the South Wales area had already taken the same action and it was expected that the Derbyshire area would follow suit. Other unions, including the Union of Post Office Workers are considering similar resolutions.

Against this background of Labor party and union opposition, Gaitskell has been shifting and squirming in an attempt to draw off the heat and gain his objective by tricky maneuvers. Instead of calling for discarding Clause Four he is now proposing to add "clarifying" phrases to it.

Alasdair MacIntyre analyzes this strategy in the March 19 Newsletter. MacIntyre warns: "Mr. Gaitskell's change is not a retreat. But he has managed to give the appearance of one who has retreated. This could assist him in two ways. It is liable to disarm the Left and delude them into thinking that they have won a victory when they have in fact been defeated. And it could help to build the image of Mr. Gaitskell as a reasonable man who is willing to compromise, unlike those rabid fellows on the Left."

MacIntyre submits the Clause Four question to a searching Marxist analysis which discloses its historical background and the reasons why it has been the

subject for a war of "interpretations." "The political task of the moment," MacIntyre writes, "is not just that of defending the place of Clause Four in the constitution. We have also to give it socialist content."

Meanwhile the crisis in the Labor party has erupted among the Laborite Members of Parliament where at least 44 of the 257 Labor MPs are opposed to the official party policy on "building an independent nuclear deterrent" for England. The opposition, composed of pacifists and socialists, has come into increasingly sharp opposition to the imperialist foreign policy followed by the right wing. Richard H. S. Crossman, a leading member of the opposition, resigned from the party's "shadow cabinet" when Gaitskell tried to gag him by invoking the discipline of the Labor party's leading group in parliament.

Crossman's resignation from the "shadow cabinet" has stirred broad protest against the high-handed move to suppress the opposition to the right-wing's foreign policy. The issue is now whether MPs who are not in the "shadow cabinet" may dissent with right-wing policies.

When the capitalist press opened a red-baiting campaign against the Socialist Labor League and Newsletter over a year ago, the right-wing bureaucrats of the Labor party and the unions responded by joining the witch hunt and attempting to silence and expel the Marxist group. The SLL repeatedly warned that the witch-hunt against the Marxists was only the beginning. It appealed to all left-wing elements to rally to the support of its elementary democratic rights within the Labor party and the union. It pointed out that if the bureaucrats were allowed to victimize any section of the left wing with impunity, they would be emboldened and others would come under attack.

The episode around Crossman's resignation would seem to call for thoughtful consideration of this warning at this time and begin a more vigorous trend towards unity of all left-wing forces in the fight for union and party democracy, as well as the central fight for a socialist program.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

UAW Demands Met At South Gate Plant

LOS ANGELES, March 21 — Militant action by the membership of AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, Local 216, forced management of General Motors assembly plant at South Gate, California, to meet the major demands of the union in order to stave off a strike called for Tuesday, March 15.

The settlement came at zero hour Tuesday. A special union meeting called for 4 p.m., attended by some 1,500 members, rejected management's proposal on the speed-up issue. The union had demanded the employment of additional men. The corpora-

Rights Parade And Rally Held In Cleveland

By Bob Kingsley

CLEVELAND, March 20 — Demonstrating their support to the Southern "sit-in" fighters, 500 people including 200 students from colleges in the area, marched along downtown Euclid Avenue today from the Euclid Baptist Church where an overflow mass meeting of 3,000 was held. The meeting was sponsored by Local 3 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Union, Region 3 of the Textile Workers Union, the Cleveland branch of the NAACP and other organizations.

The march was initiated by the NAACP chapter at Western Reserve University. The group had originally planned a week-day demonstration at Woolworth's but were blocked by Police Chief Story who claimed that "violence" might result. Even today's demonstration might bring trouble, he warned as he told newsmen that "... there are a lot of emotionally unstable people and a lot of them are nigger-haters who would start violence — even in a peaceful protest."

But if any danger of violence had existed, it became a remote one as hundreds of Negro observers gathered along the line of march and many Negro-operated cars cruised up and down the avenue.

Unprecedented police restrictions were imposed on the marchers. They were forced to stay on the sidewalk, two abreast. They had to stop at every intersection because the cops gave priority to traffic. This was in contrast to Thursday's Saint Patrick's Day parade when traffic was held up for hours to let the dignitaries march by. In addition, the police sought to intimidate today's demonstrators by stationing cops on top of theater marquees and filming each marcher going by.

At the spirited mass rally, local as well as Southern Jim Crow was roundly condemned.

Spread Boycott To San Diego

SAN DIEGO, March 19 — Joining the nationwide movement in support of Southern students fighting Jim Crow, more than 100 Negro and white pickets marched in front of the downtown Woolworth and Kresge stores here today.

Organized by the local branch of the NAACP the action was originally planned as a two-hour demonstration. But so many people volunteered that it was changed to an all-day action.

At an open NAACP meeting of 500 last week — the biggest in many years — it was pointed out that Woolworth and Kresge both refuse to hire Negro sales clerks in this city. Picketing of these stores will continue.

tion proposal was "to add more manpower if the line speed were increased or to make up jobs when there was a line break down."

This vague proposal was met with the cry "where are you going to get them from—we don't have enough now." The members voted to back up the union's demand for six additional men. When the vote was taken on the management proposal only six votes were cast in favor.

No sooner had the meeting adjourned than management asked for another meeting with union representatives. By 7:30 Tuesday evening a satisfactory settlement was reached and the strike was called off.

In addition to the demand for additional workers to meet the speed-up pressure the union won the following concessions:

(1) A shift preference agreement. Management had previously taken the position that men would be assigned to a second shift without regard to seniority. This was knocked out and seniority provisions are to prevail in manning a second shift.

(2) Procedure for adequate relief. The union had protested the flagrant violations of "relief" privileges. Seventeen relief grievances had been filed and were being ignored. The situation had become intolerable. It was agreed "to establish proper and adequate relief for individual workers who find it necessary to leave the line for relief of personal needs."

(3) Limitation on the use of maintenance employees on the line. Management had made a practice of using maintenance men on the line to speed production instead of hiring relief men. It was agreed that maintenance men would be used on the production line "only in cases of extreme emergency, and then only on a temporary basis."

The most important aspect of the victory was the boost in union morale. The corporation had been riding roughshod over the shop grievance committee; union militants who filed grievances were harassed and victimized; disciplinary lay-offs were imposed in an attempt to break the spirit of union members; management kept tightening the screw to test the power of union resistance.

When the membership responded with a vote for strike action and showed they were serious about carrying it through the corporation beat a retreat.

So far as management is concerned such agreements are always made with tongue in cheek. The pressure will be on to soften up the ranks and weed out the militants. It will be up to the men on the job to see that the corporation lives up to the letter and spirit of the settlement.

Calendar of Events

NEW YORK

"WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW?" Hear George Lavan, staff member, the Militant, Friday, April 1, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Aspicues: Militant Labor Forum. Contribution: 50 cents.

GALA SPRING SOCIAL, Saturday, April 2, 9 p.m. 116 University Place. Music, refreshments and special surprise entertainment. Bring your friends! Contribution 50 cents.

Local Directory

Table listing local directories for Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Newark, New York City, Oakland-Berkeley, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Seattle.