

"Apartheid Means Bloodshed"



The mass murder of freedom fighters by the Verwoerd government of South Africa was denounced at the demonstration called by the Socialist Labor League in London's Trafalgar Square, April 2. Part of the crowd of 1,700 is shown above. Signs read, "Down with Imperialism," "Support the African Revolution."

Socialist Rally In London Hits Apartheid Rule

"It is not enough to sympathize with the South African people. We want you to recognize that our struggle in the colonial world is part of your struggle to make a better world."

Linking South African Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd's regime to British big business, Burnham said, "The South African people are being shot down like dogs and Verwoerd can be sure that there are those in high places in Britain who will agree with him."

At the rally, which protested the jailing of South African political prisoners, other speakers demanded a boycott of all South African goods and an embargo on all South African goods by both the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Brian Behan, chairman of the rally, introduced a resolution, demanding the release of "all the political prisoners." Only two of the 1,700 present voted against the resolution.

The importance of the African revolution as a "great blow against those who prepare for nuclear war" was stressed by Bob Pennington, London secretary of the SLL. "A victory for the colored people of South Africa, the smashing of British imperialism in Kenya and the overthrow of French imperialism in Algeria, would make sure that there would be no nuclear

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Strikes in Africa Hit Where It Really Hurt

Summing up the impact that the three-week heroic struggle waged by the South African working people against apartheid has made on the ruling class, Leonard Ingalls wrote in the April 10 New York Times as follows:

"... in the last few tumultuous weeks of racial strife one lesson among many others has been brought sharply home. The lesson is that without black African labor the South African economy would wither and possibly perish."

"Should the Africans feel driven to withdraw their labor completely to realize their political, social and economic goals they could easily cripple the economy."

The strikes in major industrial areas following the March 21 and 22 police massacre of unarmed Africans, have already cost the South African capitalist class \$60 million in production loss. South African securities have dropped in value on the world stock markets by \$900 million since March 1.

For the first time in the country's history the ruling class has been faced with a strike movement of national scope that was called by an African organization. Despite the savage reprisals it launched — which continue to this day, especially after the attempted assassination by a white man of Prime Minister Verwoerd — the ruling Nationalist party had to grant concessions to the embattled Africans.

At that, African workers in the diamond and gold mines did not participate in the strikes, because of their isolation from the South African mass movement. They are brought in from distant "reserves" or from surrounding countries as "contract

labor" for short periods, then sent home. They are forced to live in secluded "compounds."

Nevertheless, so broad is the scope of the freedom fight now sweeping the African continent, that African leaders are confident — and the white bosses are fearful — that in the next stage of the struggle, the mine workers will be involved. The resulting nationwide general strike will set up the death blow to racist domination of the country.

Meanwhile the resistance of the Africans continues despite stepped up repressions of the most bloody kind. In Capetown, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the organization which initiated the "fill the jails" protest movement on March 21 against the hated "pass" laws, is stepping up its campaign "to prove to the authorities that the African people do not want to carry passes any more."

After having temporarily suspended arrests for not carrying internal passports, the government is again seeking to make it mandatory for Africans to carry "identity cards" and is seeking to force new ones on the thousands of Africans who burned their "passes" in bonfires during the last few weeks.

The government has outlawed the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. Leaders of the PAC have announced that their movement will go underground. They say they have six layers of leadership prepared to take charge of the work and to continue the struggle despite the fact that more and more militants are being jailed or banned from the urban areas.

Struggle for Civil Rights Spreads to Mississippi

NAACP Scores Vote Bill

The "right to vote" bill adopted by the Senate with only token Dixiecrat opposition actually "makes it harder and not easier for Negroes to vote." This was the verdict of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in an April 9 statement by the organization's executive secretary, Roy Wilkins.

"Either party is welcome to try to claim credit for the enactment of the wretched remnants of what was not very much at the outset," Wilkins declared.

Under the bill, Negroes denied the right to vote may complain to the Justice Department, which turns the complaint over to a federal judge, who turns it over to a "referee," who investigates and reports back to the judge, who then gives the state authorities involved ten days to answer the findings and then may rule that the Negroes are entitled to vote. If the judge's ruling is ignored, the Negroes may then seek a contempt citation.

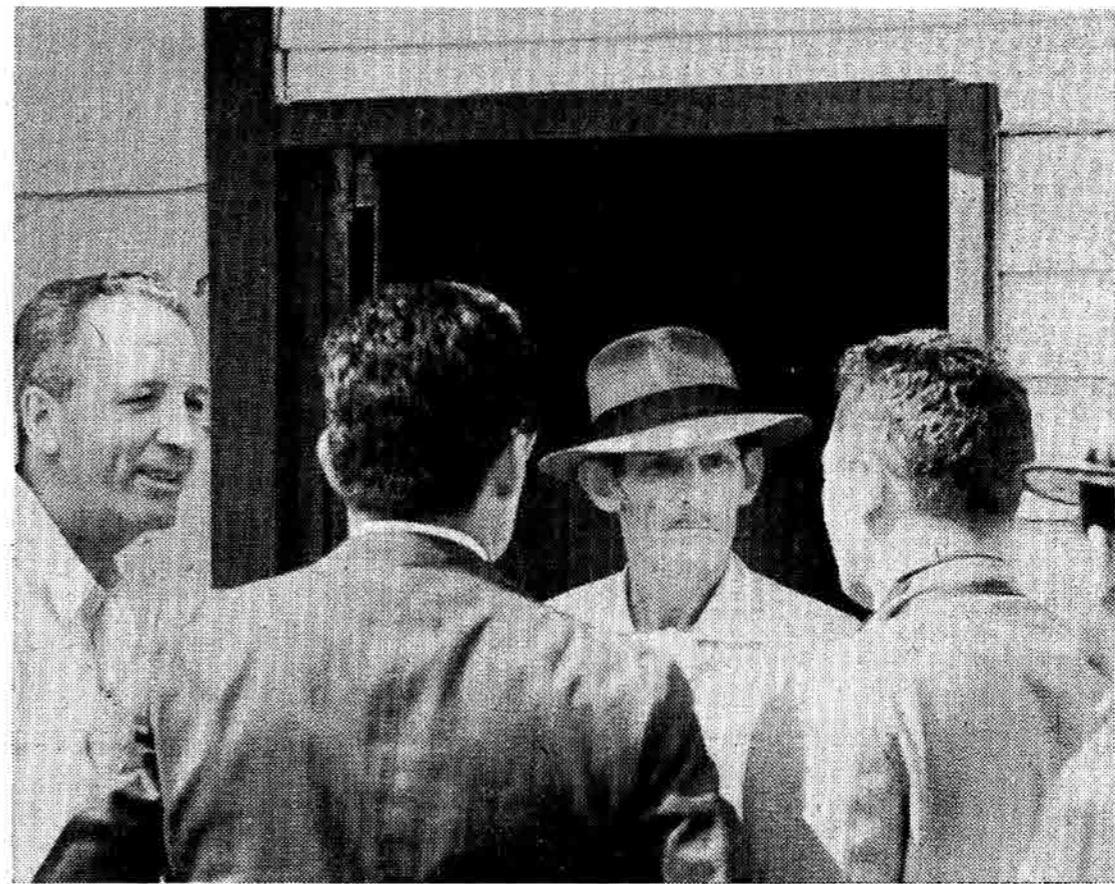
Few senators tried to claim that the bill should be credited to their party. On the contrary. "A hollow measure," said Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.). "A pale ghost," added Sen. Morse (D-Ore.). "A victory for the South," said Sen. Javits (R-N.Y.).

On the Dixiecrat side, Sen. McClellan (D-Ark.), who thunders about lack of democracy in the unions, hailed the Senate bill as a Southern victory over "far more odious and obnoxious proposals."

The pro-civil rights forces, said Sen. Clark (D-Penn.) suffered a "crushing defeat." "The roles of Grant and Lee at Appomattox have been reversed." The reason for the reversal is not hard to find. Grant fought Lee, whereas the Northern Democrats and the Republicans, though outnumbering the Southerners by a ratio of four to one engaged in a mock battle.

"The Southerners had ample assistance... from the leadership of both houses and even from the liberals... everyone, at some stage" had a hand in killing the civil-rights provisions of the "civil rights" bill, said the April 12 New York Times.

At a Co-operative in Cuba



Standing in the doorway of his room at Los Pinos, an agricultural co-operative in the province of Pinar del Rio, a co-operator explains to visitors how much better things are since the Castro government came to power. Formerly, some 12 workers were employed on this estate of a Batista henchman. Today, at the height of the season, about 4,000 work the recovered holdings. Farrell Dobbs (left), presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, listens with pleasure to the gains. (Photo by J.H.)

Dobbs Calls for Use of Flit Gun On Batista Men in State Dept.

NEW YORK, April 14 — Friends and partisans of former dictator Batista are being kept on the State Department payroll to help plot a counter-revolution in Cuba, Farrell Dobbs charged today.

The socialist presidential candidate, in his first statement to the press upon returning from Cuba, called for use of a "flit gun" on Batista agents in the State Department.

Dobbs called for a policy of friendship toward the Castro government.

He said that resentment is high among Cubans over use of the word "Communist" as a label for their revolution; but that he found demonstrative friendliness toward Americans.

All Cuba seeks in foreign affairs, said Dobbs, "is equality and respect for her sovereignty."

The full text of Dobbs' statement is as follows:

"Is the State Department seeking to repeat in Cuba what it did in Guatemala in 1954?"

This question was asked wherever I went in Cuba. Workers, farmers, students — virtually everyone I talked with — expressed deep misgivings about the meaning of the current campaign of the Eisenhower administration against the new government of Cuba.

They pressed me about this without the least personal hostility. In fact, they went out of their way to demonstrate friendliness toward Americans, their wish for cordial relations, their concern about the deepening rift.

Although they are much interested in the relation between economic planning and what the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China have achieved, the great majority with whom I talked considered the use of the label "Communist" in connection with Cuba as nothing but a smear, part of a vile campaign to prejudice the American people against the Cuban revolution.

Not once, but dozens of times, I was told that although a Communist party exists in Cuba, the country has not gone "Communist." They meant by this that Cuba has "no totalitarian government, no concentration camps." Instead, I was repeatedly told, Cuba enjoys freedom of thought and expression to an extent heretofore unknown. Moreover, in the short time since Batista fell, living conditions for the working people have been strikingly improved.

"In face of such facts," I was asked again and again, "what is the meaning of the campaign against Cuba? Why is the American press and government against us?"

How Cubans Explain It

They have an explanation, the correctness of which is hard to deny. They see the hand of the giant American monopolies, some of whom have had to relinquish holdings rightfully belonging to the Cuban people.

The Cubans see the campaign against the Castro government as an ominous repetition of the campaign in 1954 against Guatemala which began by calling the legally elected government "Communist" and which ended with the overthrow of that government by mercenary forces.

Negroes Defy Racist Threats

By Harry Ring

APRIL 13 — A community-wide boycott of white business firms was launched in Jackson, Miss., April 8, extending the mass struggle for integration to every state in the South.

As the battle entered its eleventh week, similar boycotts were organized in many other Southern areas to back up the lunch-counter sit-in demonstrations.

Racist hopes that mob action, campus expulsions and mass arrests would smash the movement have not been realized. An April 8 Atlanta dispatch in the Christian Science Monitor declared:

"The Deep South's millions of Negroes are united as they have never been before, in a militant crusade for social, political and economic rights...."

"What in the 1950's was an anti-segregation fight conducted for the most part by national Negro leaders, with their batteries of strategists and attorneys, is now more of a popular movement of Negro men and women united by catalysts of student rebellion and church fervor."

Boycott Effective

The Mississippi boycott movement was launched by students of Campbell and Tougaloo colleges, both Negro church-supported schools, and won the backing of the state NAACP. Some white merchants are claiming that the boycott is not having a significant effect but others admit business has dropped. The manager of one Jackson shoe store, whose customers are mainly Negroes, said sales had slumped by seventy-five per cent. He asserted the Negroes were being "intimidated."

All of the machinery of intimidation is, of course, on the other side. The racist Citizens Council of Jackson has demanded that Negro workers be fired in retaliation for the boycott.

Meanwhile, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a Southwide integration organization, warned in an April 7 dispatch from Jackson that the Citizens Councils of America has opened a campaign for Congress to revive the state "sedition" laws invalidated by the Supreme Court in 1956.

The monthly paper of the Citizens Councils recently declared: "Let us not mince words; the 'sit-down' Negro

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Socialist Enters California Race

LOS ANGELES, April 12 — Erroll Banks, a packinghouse worker here, announced his candidacy today for Congress from the Twenty-third California District. He is the nominee of the Socialist Workers party.

In the opening statement of his campaign, Banks scored the Democratic and Republican parties for "riding roughshod" over the needs of the working people for peace, economic security and racial equality.



ERROLL BANKS

They'll OK the Democratic Hack

By Tom Kerry

At the recent AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Miami the top brass headily denied the rumor that organized labor would sit out the 1960 presidential campaign.

The rumor of a "sit out" had gained currency because of the outraged cries of "betrayal" and threats of political reprisals which followed the enactment of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin killer bill. Top labor leaders blasted the Democrats for knifing the unions. The Sept. 15 New York Times reported a speech by George Meany to leaders of three million metal trades workers in which the AFL-CIO president declared, "it was time to abandon the idea that electing Democrats means electing friends of labor."

Declaring that labor had erred in hailing as a victory the 1958 election in which the Democrats gained their largest congressional majority since 1936, Meany said:

"We soon found out that, if we got any more victories like we had in 1958, that victory might ruin us."

The Sept. 14 New York Times reported a caustic attack on the Democrats by Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, following a joint meeting of the top leaders of the state union organizations. Hollander "conceded that labor had been too close to the Democrats in past campaigns," and added:

"I confess that the state CIO made a mistake by allying itself solely with the Democrats. They double-crossed us and the Republicans ignored us because they felt sure we would be on the other side anyway."

Similar expressions of anger and frustration could be culled from the many statements made by prominent labor leaders immediately following the enactment of Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin. This gave rise to the rumor that the labor officialdom was seriously planning to adopt a posture of political "neutrality" in the 1960 election race. By remaining neutral, the election of a Republican would be assured and the Democrats would be taught a lesson — so the story went.

So widespread did the rumor of a labor "sit out" become that the Meany-Reuther leadership felt obligated to call a special news conference and adopt a resolution of denial at the Miami Executive Council meeting. "No one in the official family of the AFL-CIO, including myself," said Meany, "has any inclination to 'sit out' the 1960 presidential election campaign."

Meany's press conference statement was bolstered by a resolution, adopted Feb. 11, asserting that: "Political neutrality would be a disservice to the men and women we represent and we reject it." So much for the record. The sit out rumor was officially disavowed and the policy of "political neutrality" specifically rejected. So far so good. No neutrality!



MEANY

Having disavowed political neutrality it would be reasonable to assume that the labor statesmen would be constrained to espouse a policy of political partisanship. That is, of actively intervening in the determination of candidates; of expressing a preference for the candidate who best represented the interests of labor; of giving the nod to labor's best "friend." To expect such straightforward action would be a mark of ignorance of the political twisting that is the stock-in-trade of every true labor faker.

Point number one in the Ex-

ecutive Council resolution disavowing neutrality is an admonition to all "state and local branches" to refrain from participating "in primary elections except in one-party states." This is reinforced by an instruction to all state central bodies to "refrain from endorsing or supporting slates of delegates pledged to the support of candidates for the presidential or vice-presidential nomination of either party" — that is, to remain "neutral" so far as indicating a choice of candidates is concerned.

Then, says the resolution, AFTER the two parties have named their candidates, the Executive Council will meet and weigh "the voting record of the parties" and the individual records of the candidates. After both parties and candidates have been duly "weighed" the General Board will determine the AFL-CIO position and its recommendation to its members."

Its a very neat trick, worthy of the most accomplished political twister. The labor statesmen started out with the fact that labor was stabbed in the back by the Democratic party. This aroused great indignation in the ranks who had been led to believe that labor had won a great victory in 1958. Our error, confessed the labor leaders, was in keeping the labor movement tied to the Democratic party machine. With uplifted eyes and quavering voice they vowed

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Birmingham and Johannesburg — 'It's a Difference of Degree'

In a survey of race relations in Birmingham, Ala., April 12 and 13, New York Times reporter Harrison E. Salisbury reported that "Some Negroes have nicknamed Birmingham, the Johannesburg of America."

In light of the recent massacre of unarmed South African men, women and children by police and troops this may seem an exaggeration. For example, here is one South African's account of the Sharpeville slaughter, as reported in the April 10 New York Times: "The police . . . suddenly raised their weapons and started to fire. No order had been given to disperse. . . I turned to run and was shot in the buttocks. . . Certain children were shot during the firing."

During the police terror that followed, a New York Post reporter in Capetown received this phone message from a Negro woman in the nearby Nyanga settlement: "Can nobody help us? It is murder here. The troops will not let us out and police with whips and clubs and sticks are beating us all. . . I have welts all over my body and my head is bleeding."

Where is the comparison between Johannesburg and Birmingham? One Negro explained to Salisbury: "The difference . . . is that here they have not yet opened fire with the tanks and big guns."

But let Salisbury tell the story: "Every channel of communication . . . every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism, reinforced by the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob, the police and many branches of the state's apparatus."

"Volunteer watchmen stand guard 24 hours a day over some Negro churches. Jewish synagogues have floodlights for the night and caretakers. Dynamite attempts have been made against the two principal Jewish temples in the last 18 months. In 11 years there have been 22 reported bombings of Negro churches and homes. A number were never reported officially."

Describing the "vagrancy" arrests used against integration leaders like Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Salisbury explains there is no bail on this charge and "a person arrested on a vagrancy warrant simply disappears for three days."

"If fear and terror are common in the streets of Birmingham," he continues, "the atmosphere in Bessemer, the adjacent steel suburb, is even worse. . ."

"One of the students who participated in the 'prayer for freedom' lived in Bessemer. An evening or two later seven carloads of hooded men roared into the street where the youngster lives with his mother and sister."

"Armed with iron pipes, clubs and leather blackjacks into which razor blades were sunk the men attacked the boy and his mother and sister. The mother and sister protected the boy with their bodies. The men broke a leg of the mother, smashed open her scalp and crushed her hand. . ."

"The next day two deputies visited the mother in the hospital. She recoiled in horror. They were two of those who had beaten her, she said. No charges were lodged. . ."

"The list of beatings, intimidations and violence could be continued almost indefinitely. . ."

"The police force is not the only power frequently used to terrorize the citizenry, both white and Negro. The distinction between exercise of state power and mob power is being eroded. . . Ku Klux Klan groups . . . flourish in the present atmosphere. The burning of crosses as an intimidation or threat occurs daily in one locality or another. . ."

"While Klan terror is directed principally against Negroes and against whites thought to have some sympathy with Negro aspirations, it also carries strong anti-Semitic undertones. Sometimes there are overt ones. . . A policeman investigating the attempted dynamiting of a Birmingham synagogue was asked if he did not think it was a terrible thing. 'It is bad all right,' he replied. 'But you have to admit that you Jews brought it on yourselves by encouraging the Negroes to integrate.'"

A major political power in the state, Salisbury reports, is the big industry of Birmingham and the biggest is "United States Steel, whose subsidiary, Tennessee Coal and Iron, dominates the city economically and to a considerable extent, politically. . . The relationship between company and city is suggested by the local nickname for the T.C.I.'s modernistic new headquarters. . . It is called 'Fort Weible,' after Arthur Weible, the chief executive of T.C.I."

Questions posed by Fred Pasley, writer for the New York News, to Leon Trotsky:

The News in an editorial published October 29, 1938, said in part that "Trotsky is a friend and adviser of Cardenas," and that therefore you were behind the expropriation of petroleum properties in Mexico. Your counsel, Mr. Albert Goldman, has demanded that the News retract the editorial by the News. Will you please state your personal views as to the truth or falsity of the News' allegations.

It has been frequently implied in the daily press of the United States, probably because the Cardenas government gave you asylum, that you were the inspiration of many of President Cardenas' policies; also that he has frequently consulted you, especially as regards his agrarian policy and the taking over of industry by the government for the benefit of the workers. Is that true?

Leon Trotsky's Answers: Since your editorial office has engaged itself by telegraph to reproduce my answers integrally, I will willingly answer your questions. The editors of the Daily News have expressed themselves in their articles on Mexico, its government, and my alleged participation in Mexican politics with a laudable frankness that would appear as brutality. I shall strive to avoid brutality, however, without damaging frankness.

Never Met Cardenas

The affirmation of the Daily News (October 29, 1938) that Trotsky is "a friend and counselor of Cardenas" is absolutely false. I have never had the honor of meeting General Cardenas or speaking with him. I have had no relations through

writing with him, except the ones concerning the right of asylum. I have not been and I am not now in any relationship, direct or indirect, with any other members of the government.

I have not engaged, and I do not now engage in any political activity connected with the internal life of the country, if we do not consider my unmasking the calumnies spread against me here by Stalin's agents. Finally, the program of the Fourth International, which I support, is very far from the program of the Mexican government.

It is not difficult, on the other hand, to understand that the Mexican government, preoccupied with the national prestige of its country, would never seek counsel from a foreign immigrant. I learned of the agrarian and other measures of the Mexican government through the newspapers, exactly like the majority of other citizens.

On the basis of what data did your paper arrive at its conclusion? Evidently on the basis of the simple fact that the government of General Cardenas accorded me the right of asylum. Is it not monstrous? In 1916, I was expelled from Europe as a result of my struggle against the imperialist war, and I found asylum in the United States. Without any passport, without any visa, without any absurd and humiliating formalities! Your immigration authorities were interested that I did not have trachoma but were absolutely unconcerned about my ideas.

Yet twenty-two years ago, my ideas, I venture to assure you, were as bad as now. At that time, it did not occur to anyone to draw the conclusion that President Wilson had given me the right of asylum in order to utilize my "counsels."

The Right of Asylum

You will object, perhaps, that this was in the remote past, when the United States had not yet been emancipated from the vestiges of barbarism; and that the present flowering of civilization began only after the great emancipatory "war for democracy."

I will not discuss that. Democratic civilization has now reached, it seems, such a flowering that the mere fact of the Mexican government's granting me the right of asylum immediately provokes the hypothesis: this government evidently sympathizes with Trotsky's conceptions.

Permit me, nevertheless, that granting the right of asylum to one's followers is still not democracy: this is done by Hitler, by Mussolini, by Stalin. This was done in the past by the Russian Czar and the Turkish Sultan.

The principle of the right of asylum, if we consider it seriously, supposes hospitality also towards political adversaries. I permit myself to think that the government of General Cardenas accorded me hospitality not through sympathy for my political conceptions, but through respect for its own.

Pasley: Mr. Henry J. Allen, former Governor of Kansas, visited Mexico in the Fall of 1938. He attended a seminar of American tourists at your Mexico City residence. He later wrote in part, "All through Latin America in the last few weeks Cardenas has sent emissaries preaching the rewards of confiscation. . . It is easy to guess who taught him this — Trotsky. . . Lombardo Toledano, who went to Russia to study the Soviet system and who is a follower of Trotsky, etc. . ."

Mr. Allen repeated the gist of these charges recently in New York City. Please state the truth or falsity of these charges.

Trotsky: I have answered Mr. Allen's insinuations in the Mexican weekly Hoy and you have the possibility of utilizing my answer completely. In Mr. Allen's articles and speeches, so far as they concern my life and activity in Mexico, there is not a word of truth.

You yourselves quote in your question Mr. Allen's assertion that Lombardo Toledano, Secretary of the union organizations, is my "follower." In Mexico this sentence is capable only of provoking a Homeric laugh, perhaps not very flattering to the reputation of the ex-Governor of Kansas.

It is enough to say that my curious "follower" systematically repeats in his speeches and articles that I am preparing . . . the overthrow of the government of General Cardenas. What basis does he have for such affirmations? The same as your paper. What is his aim? To secure my delivrance into the hands of the GPU.

I proposed to Mr. Toledano that an impartial commission be created for public verification of his declarations. Toledano, of course, evaded reply. I am ready to send the same proposi-

Trotsky's Answer To the N.Y. News

In the big-business campaign of fomenting hatred against the Cuban revolution, the New York News occupies a front rank.

Its incitations against the government of Premier Fidel Castro recall the kind of preposterous charges the News hurled more than twenty years ago against the government of President Cardenas, when this regime expropriated the holdings of British and American oil companies.

At that time, the News cooked up a series of articles proclaiming that Leon Trotsky had masterminded the expropriations as part of a worldwide "Communist plot" and that President Cardenas was acting merely as his stooge.

Trotsky, who was then living in Mexico where he had been accorded the right of asylum, threatened to sue the News for libel.

Thereupon the News agreed to publish Trotsky's replies to a series of questions that Fred Pasley, the author of the News' smear articles, would pose to him. The interview appeared in the Sunday News of Jan. 8, 1939.

We believe our readers will find Trotsky's answers, exposing the crude inventions of the red baiters, useful in combating the current falsehoods spread by big-business spokesmen against the Castro regime.

tion to the address of ex-Governor Allen. He, too, of course, will evade reply. Toledano and Allen are not identical, but symmetrical, at least, in the sense that they find themselves at the same distance from the meridian of exactitude.

Pasley: Your counsel, Mr. Albert Goldman, according to a story in the Mexico City newspaper, Excelsior, is quoted as saying that the instigator of "these editorials published in the Daily News (my paper) is a foreign correspondent living here, who has connections with the Communists in the United States and of Mexico. Inasmuch as Mr. Goldman has publicly made that charge against the News, may I have the name of the "foreign correspondent?"

Trotsky: Yes, I have information that the person who informed the Daily News about my alleged "participation" in the government policy of Mexico is a member of the Communist Party of the United States. You know how difficult it is in such cases to present judicial evidence even if the facts are indisputable. For your editorial office, it will not be difficult, however, to verify the exactness of this information.

Two groups exist, both interested in making the insinuations which have been repeated in your newspaper in a series of articles: on the one hand are the capitalists, discontented with the Mexican government and desirous of presenting its measures as alien "communism"; on the other hand is the GPU which would compromise my right of asylum in Mexico. The combining of efforts by these two groups is absolutely possible; they are also not identical but symmetrical.

Trotsky's Finances

Pasley: It has been publicly stated in New York City that your stay in Mexico City is being financed by a group of anti-Stalinists in New York City. Please state the truth or falsity of that assertion.

Trotsky: The source of my income is my literary work. And only that! But it is absolutely true that my friends in the United States as well as in other countries come with devotion to

Mexico in order to help me in my work and to protect me against possible attempts at assassination.

They do that on their own initiative, voluntarily sacrificing their time and their means or the means of their friends. They did so when I was in Turkey, in France, and in Norway. They did it then and they do it now not for me personally, but for the ideas which I represent. It is evident that these ideas have an attractive force.

Pasley: Is the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo "axis" a threat to world peace?

Trotsky: Of course, the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo "axis" is a menace to peace. But it is only one side of the war danger. To make war, at least two sides are necessary. Contemporary war arose from the irreconcilability of imperialist interests.

On the same rails of our planet, several trains are headed toward each other loaded with greed and hate. Of course, they must collide. Which engineer will be more "guilty," which less, this fact has no importance. Guilty is the regime of imperialism which concentrates the riches of the nations and of humanity into the hands of a few monopolists. It is necessary to put an end to this regime of monopoly; it is necessary to expropriate the expropriators.

Postscript by Trotsky: Now after receiving the issue of your paper dated December 10, I must make this addition to what I have said already.

When the Daily News affirms that I was the inspirer of the expropriation measures of the Mexican government, there is no calumny in that. It is simply false.

But your paper has now launched a second report, which, while a lie, represents at the same time a calumny. The Daily News affirms that Mexican oil is sent to the German government on my counsel, and that moreover, my aim is to cause Stalin damage.

The Daily News here in its own name launches the version which passed like a yellow thread through all the Moscow trials. The International Inquiry Commission un-

der the leadership of Dr. John Dewey declared that the Moscow accusations were frame-ups. The editorials of your newspaper are not capable of converting an unmasked frame-up into truth.

To whom the Mexican government sells oil is its own affair. I have nothing to say about that. I will add only that the "democracies" have a simple means of concentrating Mexican oil in their hands; they need only buy it.

Insofar as Great Britain, for example, boycotts Mexican oil, it obliges the Mexican government to sell oil to Germany, Italy, or Japan. Chamberlain's government apparently has more at heart, the interests of the oil magnates than the interests of national defense, not to speak of the interests of "democracy."

But this is still not all. When the masters of destiny in the great democracies give Hitler a present of Czechoslovakia for his birthday and then manifest discontent toward the Mexican government which sells its oil to whoever wishes to buy, it is impossible not to say that here hypocrisy surpasses all admissible bounds and thus becomes stupid and ridiculous.

Defends Nationalization

But I am preoccupied now with another aspect of the matter. The affirmation that thanks to Mexican oil, I want to help Hitler gain victory over Stalin is not only a lie, but also a calumny.

The USSR and Stalin are not the same thing. I am an adversary of Stalin but not of the USSR. The task of overthrowing the reactionary parasitic dictatorship of the Stalinist oligarchy is the task of the Russian workers and peasants. They cannot transfer this task to Hitler. Hitler is only the perfidious agent of German imperialism. Hitler's victory would signify frightful economic, political, and national slavery for all the people of the USSR and above all the restoration of the rights of private capital.

Or perhaps you think that I advocate expropriation of oil resources only for Mexico?

No, to defend the nationalization of the means of production realized by the October revolution — against Hitler as against all other imperialists — I consider this the elementary duty of every socialist, beginning with myself.

Advertisement

Series by Trotsky

Written in the tense days when the German workers faced the rise of Hitler, Trotsky's writings on the Nazi danger proved prophetic.

What others said at the time is largely forgotten, but Trotsky's observations still retain their vitality and meaning for the political struggle today.

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Too Many Babies? Were Coal Miners Decimated by Famine?

By Joseph Hansen

Eleventh in a series of articles.

Marx shows that an increased payroll can set more labor in action without increasing the number of jobs, or that a payroll of the same size can set more labor in action with the same number of workers on the line, or finally it can displace skilled labor-power by unskilled. Rapid as technological change is under capitalism, the production of a relative surplus population is even faster.

"The overwork of the employed part of the working class swells the ranks of the reserve, whilst conversely the greater pressure that the latter by its competition exerts on the former, forces these to submit to overwork and to subjugation under the dictates of capital. The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other part, and the converse, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists, and accelerates at the same time the production of the industrial reserve army on a scale corresponding with the advance of social accumulation."

Doesn't that sound as if it were written today about Detroit or Pittsburgh or the garment area of New York? Marx describes the various forms of the relative surplus population: the "acute" form during a depression; the "chronic" form during dull times; three permanent forms, "the floating," the latent, the stagnant." These include graduates of the youth brigades in the automatic factories who float from job to job, agricultural workers on the verge of being forced into plants, the irregularly employed who are found especially in decaying branches of industry.

Finally, the relative surplus population includes the paupers. Excluding the vagabonds, criminals, and prostitutes, Marx notes three types: First, those able to work but unable to find jobs. Second, orphans and pauper children. "Third, the demoralized and ragged, and those unable to work, chiefly people who succumb to their incapacity for adaptation, due to the division of labor; people who have passed the normal age of the laborer, the victims of industry, whose number increases with the increase of dangerous machinery, of mines, chemical works, etc., the mutilated, the sickly, the widows, etc."

Where in all the countless writings of the Malthusians, since the first tract in 1798, can you find a description like that of the anatomy of the surplus population? Was Marx accurate or not? It should prove instructive to hear something from the Malthusians on this — if they can leave off reciting that famous riddle about the arithmetical progression of bacon and eggs and geometrical progression of babies.

While waiting for a reply, let's continue reading Marx. He ridicules the "economic wisdom" that tells workers they should accommodate "their number to the requirements of capital." They don't need to accommodate their number. It's done for them by the mechanism of capitalist production and accumulation:

"The law by which a constantly increasing quantity of means of production, thanks to the advance in the productivity of social labor, may be set in movement by a progressively diminishing expenditure of human power, this law, in a capitalist society — where the laborer does not employ the means of production, but the means of production employ the laborer — undergoes a complete inversion and is expressed thus: the higher the productivity of labor, the greater is the pressure of the laborers on the means of employment, the more precarious, therefore, becomes their condition of existence, viz., the sale of their own labor power for the increasing of another's wealth, or for the self-expansion of capital. The fact that the means of production, and the productivity of labor, increase more rapidly than the productive population, expresses itself, therefore, capitalistically in the inverse form that the laboring population always increases more rapidly than the conditions under which capital can employ this increase for its own self-expansion."

Does this still sound a little remote? Perhaps too much like the difficult language you might encounter in an advanced treatise on physics or some other science? Marx follows with some seventy pages of illustrations of the

operation of the laws of population under capitalism. These pages constitute one of the most vivid exposures ever printed in the literature of protest and rebellion. To this day it remains one of the great models of socialist journalism at its very best. If you have never read "Capital" and you want an easy beginning, these pages are to be highly recommended. Marx listed them as Section 5 of his Chapter, "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation."

Let us, however, supply a modern example to supplement Marx's illustrations of how the capitalist laws of population operate.

From government statistics we learn that the average yearly employment of coal miners in 1920 was 784,621. By 1930 it was 644,006. In 1940 the figure had dropped to 530,588. In 1950 it was 488,206. The estimate for 1960 is some 200,000.

Why this terrific decline in the number of coal miners? What happened to them? If we were to apply the Malthusian assumption in full strictness, we would have no choice but to conclude that they must have reproduced too fast for their food supply and so famine decimated their ranks. Fortunately the rest of us don't have to worry about any lack of coal because of this tragedy. The increase of labor productivity in the coal mines has been sufficient to keep the country supplied with more than it needs. Moreover, the surviving coal miners are not the worst paid workers in the country, their average weekly earnings being \$118.70 with probably the best fringe benefits in the country. Yet the actual labor costs of coal per ton today are lower than they were ten years ago. How is this to be explained? Here is what Joseph A. Loftus says in the Jan. 11, 1960, New York Times:

"This is possible because the output rate per man has approximately doubled in the last ten years. The 1958 average was 11.33 tons a man-day."

Loftus indicates what is behind this great and continuing rise in productivity:

"The Pittston Company, for example, expects that in 1960 its Moss No. 3 mine in Southwest Virginia, will produce forty-five tons a man-day."

"The Pittston Company invested about \$30,000,000 in this modern mine, which includes a factory-type plant that dries, cleans and sizes 25,000 tons of coal a day with push-button controls."

"Productivity of European mines is said to be still below two tons a man-day. . ."

"The Peabody Coal Company strip mine near Freeburg, Ill., gets at the coal from the top with a huge power shovel. It takes a 105-ton bite of earth and rock overburden every forty-five seconds and dumps it a block away."

How do the coal miners feel about the spectacular decline in jobs? Loftus quotes John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, who, incidentally, is a firm believer in the capitalist system and a sterling anti-communist. Lewis reports for the miners:

"They understand the need for it. It has not been a social revolution of any magnitude. When men are laid off, the men in the younger age brackets move into other industries. [They join the "floating" section of the surplus population: the older ones join the "stagnant" or the "pauper" sections in the desolated towns around the coal shafts.]

"Some of the older men stay in the area and manage to get along with the help of relatives. Or they find other employment. There is public assistance and Social Security assistance in some cases. [Isn't that "some" a sensitive touch?] Pensions from the welfare fund help those who are over 60 years of age. There is a natural attrition [attrition?] of manpower, too. [That is, some die.]"

As a fitting comment on what has happened in the coal industry, let me cite Loftus, who has a truly capitalist appreciation of the trend:

"The central factor in this amazing story is productivity. While many industries bewail rising labor costs, rigid working rules, and the failure of the output rate to rise fast enough to meet the threat of foreign competition, the bituminous industry is the envy of the world."

(Next Week: This Hungry World.)

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Monday, April 18, 1960

The Right of Self-Defense

There has been abundant evidence in the press that the sit-in demonstrations of the Southern Negro students against lunch-counter segregation have been models of organization and self-discipline. The actions leave no doubt whatever of the peaceful intentions of the Negro youth who seek to win their elementary human rights.

What is obscured, however, or even unmentioned in the news dispatches and the editorial eulogies on "non-violence" is that the peaceful demonstrations of the Negro students have been subjected to a mounting campaign of violence by all agencies of white-supremacist rule in the South.

Moreover, this campaign of violence is directed not only against the demonstrators but against the entire Negro community. All the old forms of racist terror are now being intensified and new devices are being introduced.

The old-fashioned, hooded and night-shirted Ku Klux Klan, for example, is flourishing. But alongside this old gang of thugs we see a new, up-to-date institution. The Wall Street Journal April 5 reports that in Selma, Ala., where Negroes are fighting for their right to vote, "a newly formed 'sheriff's posse' of 75 mounted men rides through the streets."

More information on this Dixieland

version of Hitler's Brown Shirts is given by Harrison Salisbury in his April 9 dispatch to the New York Times:

"Since early March, when a Negro church demonstration nearly precipitated a blood bath on the steps of the Capitol at Montgomery, there has been the rapid spread through Alabama of a new extralegal device, volunteer organizations of mounted deputies."

One observer told Salisbury: "In many of the areas where mounted units have been formed, the only persons with horses and riding experience are plantation men, many of them already members of night-riding organizations. This gives legal license to their activities."

In the face of such fascist-like mobilization of racist violence, it is high time, we believe, that the leaders of the labor and Negro-rights movement turned their attention to the real task at hand.

The urgent task before the Negro people is the organization of self-defense. Notice must be served on the "deputized" lynchers on horseback and the other-white-supremacist terror organizations that the Negro people in the U.S. will not wait until racist violence assumes South African proportions before they organize to meet every act of violence with a full mobilization of the Negro people to defend themselves.

Where Do You Stand on Cuba?

The Eisenhower administration has adopted a stance toward the new government of Cuba that warrants the closest scrutiny. The group who serve as brains for the White House's golf addict have worked out a clever slogan for their game in Cuba. The slogan is, "Look how patient we are with Castro!"

The truth is that the real aim of the Eisenhower administration is to smash the Castro government and put in power the kind of government it feels most at home with — Batista, or another dictator like him. And it is impatient to achieve this counter-revolutionary aim.

Just as it misrepresents its real aim in Cuba, so the Eisenhower administration misrepresents the Castro government.

In the past year Cuba has taken big steps toward ending unemployment, providing land and homes for the campesinos, apartments for city workers and schools by the thousands. Rents have been cut as much as half for the lower income brackets, electric and telephone rates have been slashed and food costs lowered. The people feel free and elated and are rising to new stature.

With a great brush dipped in mud, the Eisenhower administration crosses all this out and writes, "COMMUNISM!" The State Department uses "COMMUNISM!" as a smear word to help brainwash the public in preparation for foul deeds.

Let us consider four recent moves. First was Eisenhower's letter to students of Chile who had asked him about U.S. aims in Latin America. The principal point of this letter was that lovers of democracy had put great hope in Castro but now felt that he was betraying the Cuban revolution.

Although it was not stated, the implicit conclusion of this is that Eisenhower would be justified in sending marines to restore the "betrayed" revolution.

Another alternative implicit in the letter, an alternative that does not contradict the use of marines, is to foment counter-revolution in Cuba and an invasion by mercenaries.

Eisenhower succeeded in a plot like that in Guatemala in 1954. The United Fruit Co. felt betrayed by an election that had ousted the venal government ruling in its interests. Eisenhower, as a "genuine" revolutionary, corrected this "betrayal" by helping a gang of sordid mercenaries shoot their way into power.

The three other moves taken by the Eisenhower administration consist of three letters in reply to protests made by the Castro government:

(a) Havana had sought to buy four helicopters in the U.S. for use in the agrarian reform. The request was callously turned down. Havana protested. The State Department responded to this by claiming that helicopters can be used for war as well as agriculture.

Can a more ridiculous argument be imagined? The mighty United States, spending more than \$40,000,000,000 a year for war purposes, with a stockpile of nuclear weapons sufficient to overkill all life on this planet hundreds of times, denies four helicopters to tiny Cuba! Meanwhile not a week passes without small planes flying from bases in Florida to carry out incendiary bombings of Cuban sugarcane fields.

If Cuba now turns to a Soviet coun-

try for helicopters, the State Department will use this as "proof" that the Castro government doesn't want to deal with the "free world" but only with "Communists."

(b) Havana protested the firing of a trade-union leader at Guantanamo Naval Base, the area seized by the U.S. when it sent an army to occupy the island at the time the Cubans won their independence from Spain.

Here is part of the insulting reply sent by Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal: "I learned that Mr. Figueras has repeatedly made unfounded and slanderous public statements designed to incite feeling against the United States and against the base and to perturb relations between the two countries."

One trade unionist can "perturb relations" between "two countries" by expressing his opinion!

The truth is that the Eisenhower administration insists on doing on Cuban soil what it is accustomed to do in America: fire workers if they venture to voice independent political opinions.

In Cuba a worker cannot be fired without just cause; and this must be proved in a labor court.

(c) Havana protested the withdrawal of American agricultural inspectors from Cuban ports where they had helped expedite the shipment of agricultural products to the U.S.

Bonsal's reply to this was that the Cuban government had been given due notice. If they really wanted the agricultural inspectors to stay, they should have answered the notice in time. Now it is too late. Sorry!

Then, evidently feeling the necessity to bolster this absurd excuse, Bonsal advanced an argument to make logicians weep: "because of the shortage of personnel . . . it is not possible to meet the request. . ." Besides that, Cuba doesn't need U.S. inspectors any more because the U.S. inspectors trained Cubans who can now replace them. . .

"All right," it may be argued, "what do you expect from Republicans? Now if the Democrats were in charge!"

Stevenson has made it as clear as a capitalist demagogue can that the Democrats back the Republicans 100 per cent in Cuba. Here is how the New York Times interpreted Stevenson at his latest press conference April 11: "While Fidel Castro's Cuban revolution had initially been popular in Latin America, Mr. Stevenson said, its mass killings, expropriation of private property, press suppression, assaults on other countries, abuse of the United States and 'disdain for democratic processes' have caused grave anxiety."

That line is nothing but an accurate condensation of the lying State Department propaganda.

Is it any wonder that the world today views America more and more the way it once viewed Hitlerite Germany?

As Americans interested in truth, the good name of our country and the welfare of mankind hasn't it become the duty of each one of us to examine where we stand on Cuba?

Are we with the Republicans and Democrats or with the poor people of Cuba who overthrow the dictator imposed on them by Wall Street?

Are we on the side of tyranny or of liberty? Let's make our position known!

By Constance F. Weissman
(Second of Two Articles.)

The day after our trip to Matanzas and the co-operatives, we went to the Palace of Labor to visit the Confederation of Cuban Trade Unions. We wanted to get a copy of the new labor laws in English. These laws are very liberal, specifying no layoffs, four weeks' vacation with pay (you are not allowed to work during these four weeks) and many health and welfare provisions. We thought they would be of great interest to workers in the U.S.

While we were waiting to see the president of the confederation, we browsed in the library, where several students were working. The part-time librarian was a young Negro woman who is a medical student. She spoke English perfectly and was very friendly. On the racks were newspapers and magazines from all over the world, in every language, with a great number of union and political papers from all parts of Latin America.

We showed the union officials copies of the Militant we had brought along and explained that articles on Cuba had helped convince us to visit Cuba and see the revolution for ourselves. We suggested that they might arrange to exchange subscriptions between the confederation's newspaper, Vanguardia Obrera, and the Militant.

They told us that the labor laws had not yet been translated, but suggested we visit the Department of State, where the public relations commission might be able to help us. They even wrote out the directions how to get there.

We followed this advice, and the Departamento de Relaciones Exteriores turned out to be a very busy place. We entered a beautiful white colonial-style building, crossed a courtyard planted with trees and flowers, and entered a huge new office building. Desks were being moved in, and everything was spanking new. We felt very much in the way, as everyone was working. A tired-looking but courteous official came out of his office and took us into a stock room where he loaded us down with pamphlets in English and Spanish, counting out three of everything for the three of us.

Visit to Telephone Union

Our next visit was to the headquarters of the Telephone Workers Union. We were looking for a friend of a friend in the U.S. We were never able to locate this individual, but the visit was a fruitful one nevertheless. We were received by the administrative head of the union, who invited us into his office.

We explained that we had come to Cuba so that we could see things for ourselves and tell the truth about Cuba when we got home. Soon about ten men and one young woman, a secretary, crowded into the small office. Copies of the Militant were passed around. Our trouble was getting them back — we needed them as our credentials and unfortunately had only brought along about ten copies.

They brought out copies of their magazine and presented us with a 1959 bound volume which started with Volume I, No. 1. They showed us the pictures of their revolutionary martyrs. One of these was a long distance telephone opera-

... London Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

weapons tested on the African continent."

Although the SLL had extended invitations to the Boycott Movement, the Communist party and the Movement for Colonial Freedom, all declined to send speakers to the rally, the first mass protest against the white-supremacist terror in South Africa since March 27 when 20,000 rallied at Trafalgar Square at the call of the Labor Party.

Meanwhile, British union bodies have begun to speak up against the racist terror in South Africa.

On April 5, the Executive Committee of the South Wales Miners carried a resolution calling on "all dockers and seamen, to whatever union they may belong, to refuse to handle goods destined for South Africa."

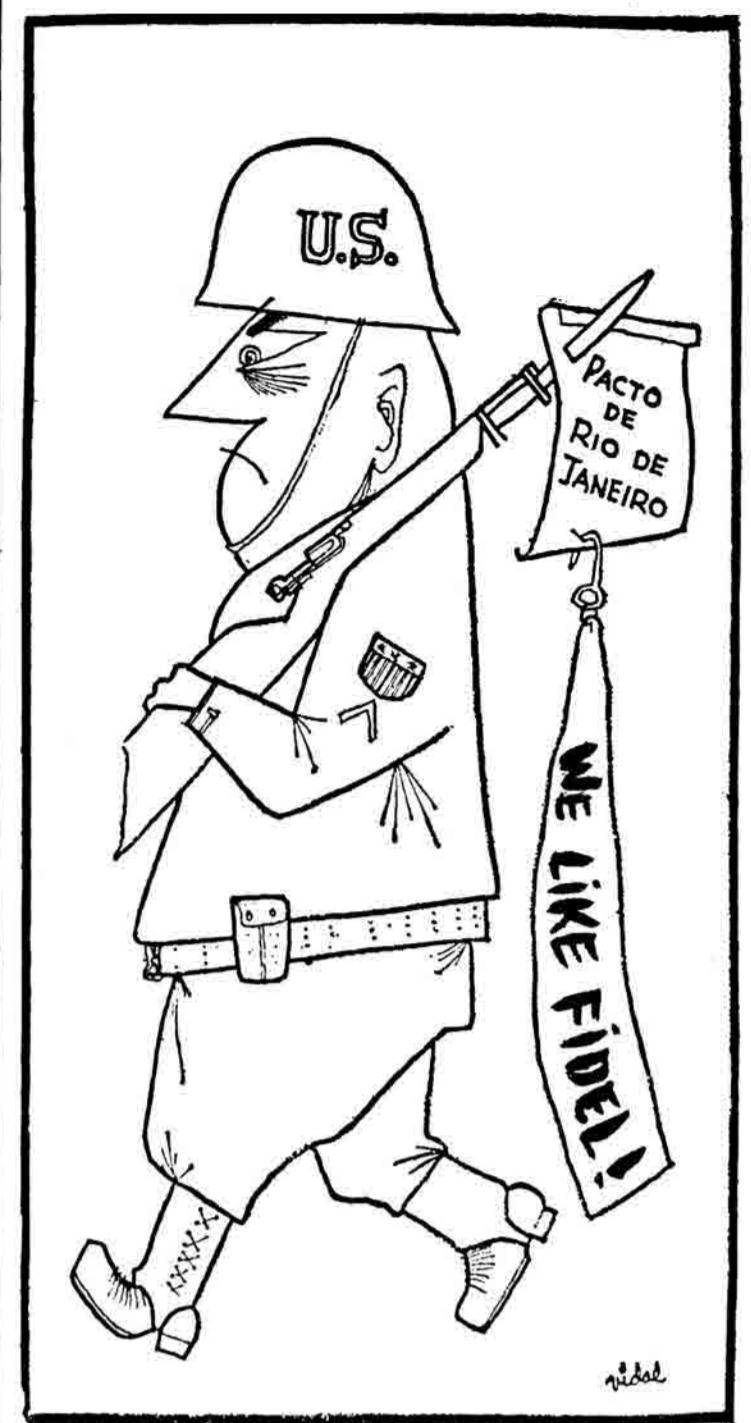
A resolution adopted by the Paddington Builders Union states:

"We . . . believe that it is not sufficient just to register our protest, but that the Trade Union and Labor movement should consider as a matter of urgency the calling of a national conference. The conference should consider ways and means of bringing the greatest pressure on the South African Government in an effort to bring about a change in its detestable policy of apartheid."

We Visit Two Cuban Trade Unions

Latin-American Coletilla

by Vidal



Among the lively uses of freedom of the press in Cuba under the government of Fidel Castro is the "coletilla" (little tail). When such newspapers as Prensa Libre or Diario de la Marina, the Cuban equivalent of the Hearst press, print an invidious article or editorial, the workers in the enterprise tack on a statement recognizing the democratic right of the employees to say what they please but also the equal right of the employers to point out that what has been said is a pack of lies or at least inimical to the revolution. In the above cartoon, reprinted from La Calle, Vidal points to a wider use of the coletilla in Latin America.

tor who was not even involved in the rebel movement against Batista. She worked at night, and was driving to work when her car was stopped for a search by a Batista soldier, a common occurrence at that time. She was told to drive on, and was shot in the back of the head. The soldier was not punished.

They told us that under Batista, the unions were only dummies. The officials were subservient to Batista. After the revolution, the unions had to be reconstituted.

It was suggested that we visit the president of the Railroad Workers Union. So the next morning at nine, Sarah Lovell and I were taken there by the Telephone Workers Union official. Here we found ourselves once again in a room crowded with interested trade unionists. A young woman and the union economist were our interpreters.

After we had explained the nature of our visit, and had passed around copies of the Militant, we asked if there were any political parties in Cuba besides the July 26 Movement and the Communist party. They said there were not; everyone was united behind the government.

Job Integration

We said that we understood that discrimination against Negroes had been abolished. We had noticed integrated crews in the printshops. We had also been delighted to see that whites and Negroes were in about equal numbers among the musicians playing at the Tropicana night club — the show place for tourists.

This, we said, was one of the struggles going on in the musicians' union at home — to get jobs for Negro musicians in both popular and symphony orchestras.

They said there was absolutely no racial discrimination on jobs in Cuba now, but that there had been under Batista.

We asked the economist how important the tourist business was to the Cuban economy. He said it was very important. The president of the union, Mr. Torres, told us that a group of unions were in the process of setting up a tourist commission.

They planned to send invitations to trade unions in the U.S., offering them special rates and inducements to come to Cuba. The government has taken over many large buildings that Batista used to own, and it is planning to set them up as apartments with kitchens so that American workers can come with their families. They were very anxious to

these workers are very proud of the part they played in the revolution.

While Sarah and I were at the Railroad Union, Dorothy Breitman visited a publishing house that printed documents in English (we were still determined to get the labor laws in English) and Havana University. Dorothy doesn't speak a word of Spanish, but she got along very well, traversing the city by bus. At one stop, ten passengers helped her to get off at the right street and cheered her on her way. At the University, an English-speaking student took her in tow.

An Interview

The evening before we left, we were interviewed for three hours by the editor of the Telephone Workers Union magazine. Our interpreters were a young couple who spoke perfect English. The wife had been a telephone operator and now worked in the office. The husband was an electrical worker.

We started out by telling them how impressed we were by the accomplishments of the revolution. We said that we had visited the cooperatives, everyone had been very kind to us and that we were going to try to get everyone who would listen to us to visit Cuba. We said that we were specially impressed by the housing, the abolition of all discrimination, the new labor laws and the voluntary contribution by the workers of four per cent of all wages towards a fund to industrialize the country.

They explained to us that Cuba was a one-crop country, but they were starting to diversify. We said that we had visited a rice co-operative.

They asked us if we thought they were "communist." We said we thought they were democratic and that we approved of the Communist party having the right to function legally.

They asked us why the U.S. government accused Cuba of being "communist." We said that "communist," as used by the U.S. government means "totalitarian" or "police state."

We said we didn't see how Cuba could be a police state when the government allowed the population to keep their arms. Sarah said that in the U.S. in a strike for perfectly ordinary demands, such as wage increases, the leaders of the strike were often labeled "communist."

They told us that certain interests in the U.S. were upset by what the Cuban government was doing. They couldn't understand why the U.S. harbored Cuban war criminals who are living high, wide and handsome in Miami, on money they stole from the Cuban treasury.

They asked about the planes. Two or three fly over the sugar fields every night and start fires

in the sugar fields. Did we think the U.S. government could stop them if they wished? This question we could not answer.

The editor asked us then how we felt about independence for Puerto Rico. We said we were for self-determination. We thought that many Puerto Ricans were for statehood, and that they demanded to be treated as first-class citizens in the U.S.

He asked if we thought Puerto Rico could survive economically without the U.S. We said we

Three readers of the Militant, Constance Weissman, Sarah Lovell and Dorothy Breitman, spent a week's vacation in Cuba last month. Besides enjoying the swimming at Cuba's beautiful beaches, the sightseeing on this gorgeous island and the glorious tropical weather, they found time to look into the revolutionary changes going on in the country.

didn't know the answer. He said that he felt the Puerto Rican movement for independence was growing.

They wanted to know about the elections in the U.S. Would there be any change if a Democrat were elected? We explained the bipartisan nature of American foreign policy.

They asked who we would vote for. We said Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss. We then explained the difference between the Socialist Workers party and Norman Thomas Socialist party.

One of the union officials asked if the Militant would print articles submitted by them. We said we believed it would.

We finally said we had to leave. Our interpreter asked us how we happened to be so well-informed. He said that in order to practice his English, he had tried talking to Americans on the beach. He was so shocked by their ignorance, not only of Cuban affairs but of their own country, that he had to give it up.

We said that as socialists we were interested in political questions, but that unfortunately the general level of interest in politics was not very high at present in the United States.

We were photographed with the editor of the Telephone Workers Union's magazine and the interpreters. We were told the interview will be published in a forthcoming issue.

Next day, the three of us left for home.

There is a sign at the Havana airport on the door which leads out to the planes. It says: "Traveler: Tell the world that you have seen a people that is ready to die to defend its sovereignty."

Indeed, we have seen such a people.

In Other Lands

NATO Seeks Base for Bonn

Says Training Space Is Needed

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is exploring the problem of where West German armed forces can train and store supplies within the NATO area. An international furor was provoked last month by the disclosure that the Adenauer regime has been negotiating with Franco for establishment of West German "training" bases in Spain.

The New York Times reported April 1 that "There were persistent reports that Bonn might still be looking to Spain and might ask NATO agreement to go there."

'Free World' Rule in Spain

A recent letter to the New York Times from fascist Spain's Prime Minister Castiella claimed that the Franco regime was a victim of unfair reporting by the world press. His assertions about freedom in Spain were effectively answered in a March 31 letter to the same paper by Paul Blanshard, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power."

Recently returned from a three-month visit to Spain, Blanshard declared: "It is more accurate to say that all Spanish freedoms, including political, religious and press freedoms, are victims of the semi-Fascist regime which Castiella represents."

"Every book, magazine, newspaper, play and radio program in Spain, with one exception," he continued, "is censored to eliminate every expression hostile to Franco's dictatorship. Every directing editor of every periodical must be approved by the National Censoring Ministry."

The sole exception, he said, is the official Catholic organ, Ecclesia. Other Catholic publications which are critical of Franco, he added, "are censored or suppressed almost as ruthlessly as if they were Communist organs."

De Gaulle Stages Second A-Blast

In the midst of Soviet Premier Khrushchev's tour of France, De Gaulle's regime exploded a second atom bomb in the Sahara, April 1. The timing of the blast was generally viewed as a deliberate rebuff to Khrushchev who has been urging a halt to nuclear tests.

Like the first one, the current blast came in defiance of worldwide protests, especially those of the African peoples most immediately subject to the dangers of radioactive fallout.

Morocco's Premier Ibrahim declared that the second bomb test had "worsened the already grave situation in French-Moroccan relations." When the first bomb was exploded in February, Morocco recalled its ambassador from Paris.

Pioneer Socialist Dies in Canada

Bess MacDonald, a pioneer Canadian revolutionary socialist, died in Toronto last month at the age of 71. She was the wife and steadfast collaborator of Jack MacDonald who became the first national secretary of the Canadian Communist party in 1921 and was one of the founders of the Canadian Trotskyist movement in which he was active until his death in 1941.

Bess MacDonald, who shared his political activities since 1915, was prevented from active participation in the movement in

recent years because she was compelled to continue working despite her advanced age. But she remained a staunch supporter of the revolutionary Marxist paper, the Vanguard, which her husband helped found in 1932.

LSSP Analyzes Vote in Ceylon

The capture of a majority of seats in the Ceylonese parliament by two capitalist parties last March has been widely interpreted as signifying a sharp shift to the right by the people. This view is challenged by an analysis of the popular vote in the April 1 Samasamajist, English weekly of the revolutionary socialist Lanka Samasamajia party. It shows that the actual relation of class forces, as expressed in the popular vote, remains essentially the same as in 1956.

The major victor, the United National party, won about 33 per cent of the seats with 28.9 per cent of the popular vote—a gain of only .9 per cent over its 1956 vote. (However, in 1956, an electoral agreement between the anti-capitalist parties held the UNP to only eight per cent of the seats.)

This year, the three parties generally regarded by the voters as Marxist — the Trotskyist LSSP, a group led by Phillip Goonewardena and the Communist party, won a combined total of about one-third the total vote but only 23 seats, about 15 per cent of the total.

The LSSP was cut down from 14 to ten seats in a larger house, but believes it made a significant showing by winning 10.8 per cent of the popular vote. Contesting on an island-wide basis for the first time, its clear-cut revolutionary program aroused the opposition of all other parties.

Some Statistics That Should Serve Militant As Guide

Editor: At an education conference of UAW Region 9 in New York recently, Carol Hutton, the new UAW educational director, reported some revealing statistics about the age and seniority of auto workers, according to the March 27 Worker.

He said 40% of General Motors workers, 35% of Ford workers and 25% of Chrysler workers are below the age of 35. Also, 42% of GM, 46% of Ford and 25% of Chrysler workers have less than five years' seniority.

This means that a large percentage of the workers now in the factories did not participate in the birth and early years of the industrial unions, and therefore are not acquainted with the militant and democratic traditions of the early CIO.

I think that the Militant, in

writing for such workers, and the Socialist Workers party, in its election campaign this year, should bear these figures in mind. If you want to influence the workers in the plants today you've got to carefully explain things that used to be taken for granted before World War II.

G. B. Detroit, Mich.

Efficiency Expert Tells Orchestra: Don't Fiddle Around

Editor: Perhaps your readers will be interested in how a time-study expert might appraise a symphony concert. My union newspaper, the RWDSU Recorder, recently reprinted the following item — an imaginary report of an efficiency expert — from the British labor press.

"For considerable periods the four oboe players had nothing to do. The number should be reduced and the work spread

more evenly over the whole of the concert, thus eliminating peaks of activity. All the 12 violins were playing identical notes; this seems unnecessary duplication. The staff of this section should be drastically cut. If a large volume of sound is required, it could be obtained by electronic apparatus.

"Much effort was absorbed in playing of demi-semi-quavers; this seems to be unnecessary refinement. It is recommended that all notes should be rounded out to the nearest semi-quaver. If this were done it would be possible to use trainees and lower-grade operatives more extensively.

"No useful purpose is served by repeating on the horns a passage which has already been handled by the strings. It is estimated that if all themer repetitions were eliminated the whole concert-time of two hours could be reduced to 20 minutes and there would be no need for an intermission."

H. C. New York

UAW Sponsors Picketing in Midwest Cities

"In the South WOOLWORTH'S MAKES MILLIONS ON SALES TO NEGROES BUT WON'T SELL THEM COFFEE." This statement headlined a leaflet distributed at simultaneous picket lines, April 9, in major mid-western cities, organized by Region 4 of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO.

"The F. W. Woolworth chain is typical of those chain stores who discriminate against Negroes," the UAW leaflet stated, "who in many cities in the South are the stores' biggest single group of customers.

"While their parents organize to win the right to vote in the South, Negro students are conducting a campaign to win equal treatment from the merchants.

"Members of the United Auto Workers AFL-CIO are picketing today to inform the public of Woolworth's undemocratic practices in the Southern states."

In Chicago, 500 Negro and white UAW members picketed Woolworth's at State and Washington Streets. They carried scores of banners calling for a boycott of the five-and-dime chain and for "Support to the Southern Students."

Many UAW leaders, veterans of the strikes following World War II, picketed. And as the lusty chant "Don't Shop at Woolworth's" boomed in unison over State Street, the crowds witnessed an impressive demonstration of Negro-white solidarity.

There was much handshaking among the pickets who greeted each other as upon a festive occasion. Many said, "This is good, now our union is waking up again."

3 Jim-Crowed At Math Parley

ATLANTA, April 4 — Two Atlanta University professors and a mathematics graduate student walked out of a mathematics conference held Friday, April 1 in Columbus, S. C. The three protested the refusal of the Wade Hampton Hotel to honor their room reservations (which had previously been confirmed) and their exclusion from participating in the Association's Friday evening banquet.

The two professors are Lonnie Cross, chairman of the mathematics department at Atlanta University, and S. E. Saxena of New Delhi, India. William E. Brodie is the graduate student.

The three had planned to attend the spring meeting of the Southeastern section of the Mathematical Association of America on the basis of the association's national policy forbidding racial discrimination. In addition, Dr. Cross had been scheduled to deliver a paper to the meeting.

Accident at Work Fatal To New York Socialist

Abe Marco, a veteran of the revolutionary socialist movement, died in New York April 9, a victim of the capitalist system's indifference to the problems of working people.

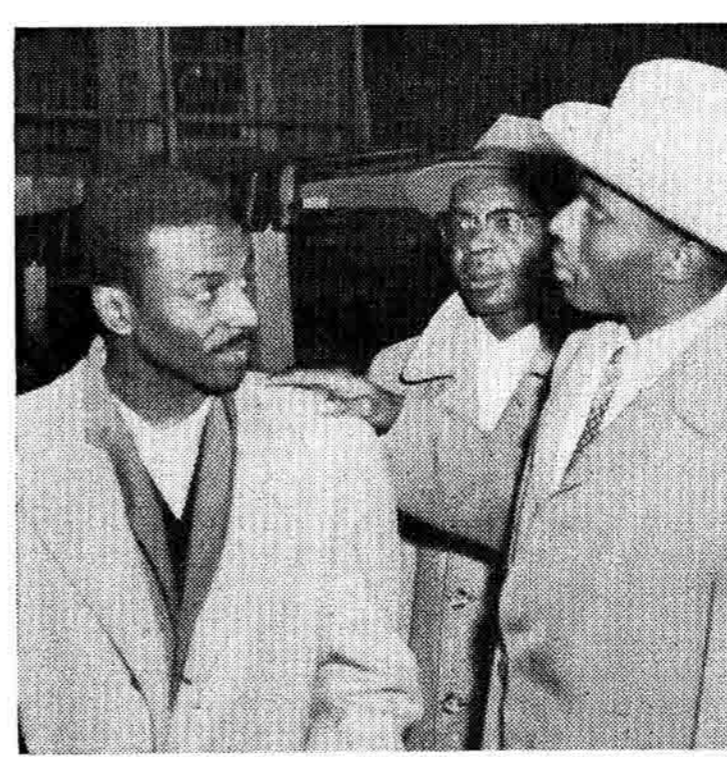
Abe was a sign painter by trade, but failing vision made it difficult for him to obtain inside bench work in recent years. He was compelled to turn to scaffold work on outside signs — a job that is dangerous even for people with good eyesight.

About three weeks ago he was doing maintenance work on a sign atop the seven-story Klein department store building. Returning from lunch, he was securing his scaffold when he lost his balance and fell to the sidewalk. He escaped instant death but his injuries were severe, and the hopes that he would recover proved unfounded.

Abe joined the Trotskyist movement in the early 1930's, and from the outset was an extremely hard-working and self-sacrificing builder of the Socialist Workers party. In 1953, however, he developed political disagreements with the party and left it with a faction led by Bert Cochran.

When the crisis shook the American Communist party following Khrushchev's attacks on the Stalin-cult, Abe became increasingly favorable to the SWP's efforts to achieve a regroupment of revolutionary socialists, and he renewed

Target of Racists



Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth (left), integration leader in Birmingham, has been repeatedly singled out for racist victimization. He recently was sentenced to two 180-day jail terms for "aiding and abetting" student sit-ins. He is shown above with friends after the bombing of his home on Christmas Day 1956.

... Mississippi Boycott

(Continued from Page 1)

demonstrators are engaged in a seditious conspiracy against the state and municipal governments. . . . We call upon all proper authorities — local, state and national — to take the necessary action to prosecute leaders of the 'sit-down' movement to the fullest extent of the sedition laws. . . .

The SCEF report noted that this declaration coincides with reports from Washington that Senator Eastland of Mississippi is preparing new moves for Congressional revival of the notorious "sedition" laws. A bill to do so was passed by the House last June, and hearings on it have already been held in the Senate.

Meanwhile, in Birmingham, Ala., the "Johannesburg" of the South, racist authorities carried out severe reprisals against the sit-down movement that erupted there March 31.

Ten Negro college students, in teams of two, simultaneously occupied seats at the lunch counters of Woolworth, Kress, and three other stores. Within minutes police were at each store to arrest them. As they led a pair of demonstrators from one store, Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor stood on the corner and told newsmen:

"That was quick, wasn't it? That's the way it's going to be from now on. We're not going to put up with that sort of thing in Birmingham."

The ten students were convicted of "trespassing" fined \$100 and jailed for six months. The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, fighting leader of the Birmingham integration movement and his associate, the Rev. Charles Billups, were given the same

New Victories

During the week, several partial victories were won by the sit-down actions. In Richmond, Va., four drug stores in the Chapel Hill section of the city agreed to desegregate their counters, but downtown dime-store chains and department stores refused to follow suit.

Initial sit-ins at 20 stores in Frankfort, capital of Kentucky, won service on an integrated basis at three of the stores. At the University of Texas in Austin, where about 200 Negro students are enrolled, campus demonstrations by Negro and white students won an administrative promise for improved, integrated dormitory facilities for Negroes.

Throughout the North, the supporting movement continued its activity. In Columbus, Ohio, a mass rally of 5,000 Negroes and whites, called by the Columbus NAACP, pledged solidarity with the Southern fighters. In New York, the Urban League joined in calling for a boycott of Woolworth's and other Jim Crow chains and the Congress of Racial Equality announced that it had begun distribution of a million cards pledging a boycott of Woolworth stores.

Aid to "Free World"

South Korea received more U.S. aid (\$293 million) than any other foreign country in 1959. Turkey, in second place, got \$172 million. Both are police states.

The Other South

By the Staff Of the Southern Newsletter A history, from colonial times to the present, of how progressive white Southerners have fought for democracy. First complete account of this subject ever compiled. Price \$1 Order from: Southern Newsletter Box 1307 Louisville 1, Ky.

Unionists, Students Hit N.Y. Dime Store

A pleasant surprise awaited youthful picketers who arrived at Woolworth's Herald Square store at 11 a.m. on April 9 to start their sixth consecutive Saturday's protest of the chain store's discriminatory policies in the South. The students, organized by the New York Youth Committee for Integration, found members of the Amalgamated Laundry Workers Union already marching the line. The unionists had started picketing a couple of hours earlier.

After the students arrived, two joint lines were formed at the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth street entrances, with members of each group carrying their own organization's posters. Recruits to the line from among the passersby took their choice of signs.

Later in the day, representatives of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) also joined the picket line. Throughout the day, about 300 people — young and old, Negro and white — participated in the demonstration.

The picket line drew plenty of notice because of the lively chanting of slogans such as "Pass 'em by, join the line, integration's mighty fine" and "Two-four-six-eight, Woolworth's got to integrate."

NBS-TV televised the demonstration and conducted street interviews for its evening coverage of picket lines held throughout the city.

When picketing broke up, representatives of the Youth Committee and of the union told each other, "It was a pleasure to have picketed with you."

Meanwhile, in Brooklyn, the Labor and Industry Commit-

TV Interviewer Gets A Surprise Answer

NEW YORK, April 9 — An NBC telecast tonight featured interviews with several customers at Woolworth's Herald Square store during the protest picketing. After talking to two whites, the interviewer stopped an elderly Negro woman coming out of the store.

What did she think of the demonstration? "Great, wonderful. Just what we need."

"If you feel that way about it," the reporter promptly asked, "why are you buying in Woolworth's?"

"Who's buying," she replied scornfully. "I just went in to look around."

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK Attend an informal welcome home dinner for Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, sponsored by a committee of friends, at the Weissman's, 325 East Seventeenth St. Dr. Rubinstein, whose national lecture tour took her to 30 cities and 18 campuses, will report on "the pulse of the country." Friday, April 22. Toasts at 5:30 p.m. and dinner at 6:30. Contribution, including dinner, \$1.50.

CELEBRATE MAY DAY!

Sunday, May 1, 8:00 p.m. at Hotel Albert, 23 East 10 Street. Hear the Socialist Workers party candidates:

- Farrell Dobbs, presidential nominee, just returned from Cuba. ● Myra Tanner Weiss, now in the South.

Guest Speakers: Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights attorney; Fred Mazelis, staff of Young Socialist; Elinor Ferry, Muriel McAvoy, William Price, former administrative committee members of United Independent-Socialist Committee.

Contribution \$1; Students, 50 cents.

Aspices: N.Y. State Committee for Dobbs and Weiss. N.Y. Students for Dobbs and Weiss Committee.

Local Directory

- BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10609 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TE 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. MILWAUKEE 180 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, Box 5520, Lake Street Station, Minneapolis, Minn. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7164.

The Frank Sinatra Story

By Herman Chauka

Last week, the New York television show, "Play of the Week," was about some of the nameless thousands, who come to Hollywood gripped by the dream of fame and fortune and who are wracked by bitter frustration as they fail to make the grade.

The play arouses your sympathy for these unfortunate people whose dream never comes true. But as I watched it, I thought about Frank Sinatra, one of those who made the grade, and I couldn't help thinking that he was a lot worse off than they were.

Sinatra's spectacular success, first as a singer, then as an actor, seemed like the perfect success story. He was the local boy who made good in a big way, did not let it go to his head and even seemed to remember where he came from and the people he left behind.

He had grown up in Hoboken, N. J., a small, highly industrialized soot-covered factory town. In the first stage of his rocketing career, he topped attendance records at New York's Capitol theater where he had worked as an usher during the depression.

Where Sinatra was concerned, people in Hoboken had more than the usual amount of pride in the success of one of their boys. They spoke of how he came home every so often to visit his relatives and neighbors and of how he would always lend a helping hand when it was needed.

I once worked in a shop with a young woman from Hoboken. She was a militant union member who took the fight for the underdog seriously. One of her proudest possessions was a photograph Sinatra had autographed for her on one of his visits home.

In Hollywood, he moved around in the company of people who had the reputation for being iconoclasts — people who refused to let the industry's top brass run their lives and who occasionally thumbed their noses at screenland's sacred cows.

Notes in the News

OUR ULCERATED SOCIETY — Ulcers kill about as many people in the U.S. today as tuberculosis or diabetes. Nearly three million Americans get ulcers every year and 10,000 deaths occur annually from the illness. Such psychological factors as nervous tension and emotional conflict are considered major contributing factors in causing ulcers.

HIT RED-BAITING AS CLOAK FOR RACISM — The 1958 firing as "Communists" of six professors in South Carolina was assailed April 8 by the American Association of University Professors. The six professors, five whites and one Negro, were fired from Benedict College and Allen University, both privately endowed Negro institutions, on the demand of former Governor Timmerman. The association charged that his intervention was an intolerable interference in the administration of private educational institutions and that the real reason for the action was that the professors were known to favor racial integration.

CROSS BURNINGS FOLLOW ELECTION OF NEGRO — Two crosses were burned at the University of Indiana following the election April 8 of the first Negro president of the student body. Tom Atkins, Jr., won the election running as an independent against a candidate backed by the organized party of the fraternities and sororities. The associate dean of students said the reports of the cross burnings were "exaggerated."

"SLOW STARVATION" — At least thirteen million American youths are members of families with incomes of less than \$3,000 a year, Robert Macrae, director of the Chicago welfare council, told the White House conference on children and youth March 30. He said that the federal aid-to-dependent-children provided an average of \$28.68 per child per month and branded such aid "slow starvation." Other speakers pointed to the double handicap suffered by children of low-income Negro families.

RACIST DIGNITY — A recent editorial in the Dallas Morning News may provide the answer. The editorial takes Senator Eastland of Mississippi to task for referring to Supreme Court civil-rights decisions as "crap" and "tripe." The paper says that while such nouns may be "accurate" they could be exploited by "Northern radicals." The senator is urged to conduct the fight "with dignity."

THROWS SPOTLIGHT ON SCHOOL 'LOYALTY' OATH — Edward Jahn, sixteen, senior at Bayside High School in New York, has sparked wide discussion in his school on the issue of compulsory "loyalty" oaths. He has refused to sign a state-required oath even though it means he will be denied a diploma. In the wake of his widely publicized stand, the

student newspaper published a number of letters on the issue along with an editorial condemning the oath requirement. The school administration then proposed that social-study classes organize discussions and that English classes assign essays on the pros and cons of the "loyalty oath." Meanwhile, Antioch College in Ohio, announced it will accept Jahn's entrance application even if New York State denies him a diploma.

ADVICE TO THE ELDERLY — The following exchange appeared recently in "Senior Forum," a question-and-answer feature in the Dallas Morning News. Q. "You had a column the other day about a widow who wound up with \$154-a-month income. You advised her to settle for a \$40-a-month apartment. Where in the world do you think a woman can find a \$40 apartment?" A. "In the slums. On the second floor of a house in a small town. In an Arkansas farmhouse. One of the tragedies of the later years is that too many people have been led to believe that they have a right to the way of life they are accustomed to . . . whether or not they still have the money for it."

THEY KNOW THEIR BOY — When Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson recently addressed a gathering of wealthy Texans, the Dallas Morning News observed: "Although his speech was politically 'liberal' and his audience heavily 'conservative,' Johnson received a standing ovation after his talk."

"THE KILLER" — Answering questions about the meaning of his play, "The Killer," avant-garde writer Eugene Ionesco leveled a blast at capital punishment. Referring to the case of Caryl Chessman, he said: "If the social machinery wishes to kill those who have ceased to do evil, it is Society that becomes the killer, it is Society that becomes unforgivable, because in doing that it justifies the apparition of enemies of Society; it prepares new killers."

TOUGH HOEING ON SOME FARMS — After listening to speeches at a conference sponsored by the University of Arkansas' department of agricultural economics, an Associated Press writer concluded that "farming is now a big business and it has to be financed like big business. . . . The little guy apparently faces tough hoeing." Speakers at the conference pointed out that it takes capital investment of \$30,000 to \$100,000 to operate a farm returning an annual income of about \$3,500. This income presupposes that a farm family performed all the labor itself. The cost of hired labor would otherwise have to come out of the \$3,500.

THE BRIGHT SIDE — Commenting on organized burglary by Chicago policemen, comedian Mort Sahl points out that at least in that town an introverted kid can play cops and robbers by himself.