

Rebellion Flares in Caracas

Betancourt Orders Army into Streets

DEC. 1 — The suspension of constitutional rights by Venezuelan President Betancourt and his use of military force to quell demonstrations of workers and students has brought that country the serious risk of a renewed army dictatorship.

After the hated Jimenez dictatorship was toppled in 1958, Betancourt was elected on the basis of promises to bring urgently needed social reforms to the country which suffers misery and deprivation while U.S. tycoons plunder its rich oil resources.

Betancourt's failure to carry out his campaign promises paralleled his efforts to stamp out popular sympathy for the Cuban revolution. His anti-Cuban stand has deepened labor and student opposition to his regime.

When the telephone workers struck Nov. 24, high school and university students quickly joined their demonstrations.

Instead of responding to the demands of the students, Betancourt turned the military on them. At last report, 242 had been imprisoned. At least nine people have been killed and several hundred wounded.

The brutal crackdown has stiffened the opposition of many of the workers and students. An undisclosed number of telephone workers ignored their leaders' back-to-work order. Bank clerks staged a new walk-out and students barricaded themselves at the University of Caracas and in high schools in the face of national guard sub-machinegun fire.

Thrashing about to preserve his position, Betancourt charged on the one hand that the demonstrators were attempting to establish "a regime here like Cuba," and on the other, that the ousted Jimenez forces were preparing a Trujillo-sponsored invasion from the Dominican Republic.

Most observers agreed that the real immediate threat to Betancourt's regime is the army which has ruled Venezuela for all but about six of the past hundred years. Reports are studded with such phrases as: "The army may hold the key" and "... if the army remains loyal."

A "reliable informant" of the New York Times said that Washington is considering lending Betancourt \$300 million and providing him with "light arms" to crush the demonstration—if there are assurances he has the support of the army.

Meanwhile, yesterday's Wall Street Journal spelled out "our" stake in the Venezuelan crisis: "For one thing, there is the U.S. oil company stake in Venezuela, a holding of immense strategic value. . . . For another, Venezuela's fall to Castroism . . . would risk a damaging snowball effect that might roll quickly over nearby lands."

2 Detroit Steel Locals Vote Against McDonald

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT, Nov. 26 — Donald Rarick won endorsement of the two large locals of the United Steelworkers here as candidate for international president of the union in the 1961 election. He defeated David J. McDonald, the incumbent president, after a lively campaign in his behalf by the OMR (Organization for Membership Rights), a union caucus formerly known as the Dues Protest Movement.

In Local 1299 Rarick won by 465 to 133, in Local 2659 by 225 to 155. Other OMR candidates also won endorsement.

Under the Steelworkers constitution, endorsement by at least 40 locals is necessary before a candidate for union-wide office can appear on the ballot.

The OMR now has promise of a strategic edge over the McDonald machine in this district in the referendum election next February, since out of 26,000 members the two locals have 10,500 members at Great Lakes Steel and 4,000 at McLouth Steel.

Disatisfaction with the appointment methods of the time-serving McDonald administration has been sharp-



Part of a picket line of more than 500 persons who demonstrated in front of the United Nations Nov. 26 against ominous moves of the U.S. fleet in the Caribbean.

The demonstration, called by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was held under the general slogan of "Hands Off Cuba!" but many participants brought their own placards, some of them homemade. These included: "Cuba is Now Free; Let It Remain So." "Don't Let United Fruit Drag Us into World War III." "U.S. Navy Supports Dictators." "Will

History Absolve the U.S.?" "Wake Up U.S.A. to the Needs of the Hungry Nations." "Cuba's Independence Cornerstone of Puerto Rico's Independence." "In Oriente They Build Schools; In Tennessee They Bomb Them. Build Peace with Cuba." "Send Federal Troops to New Orleans Not to Cuba." "Cuba No Se Vende. (Cuba Is Not for Sale)." "We Want the Truth." "Gunboats Threaten Freedom." "Castro Is Not Alone." "Get Your Navy Out of Central America." "We Demand Fair Play for Cuba."

'Wonder Why The Runaways Are All White?'

DETROIT, Nov. 18 — "A puzzling thing," says Bill Lane, columnist in last week's Michigan Chronicle.

"When Castro marched into Havana after coming out of the mountains the newspapers and magazines showed pics of his men. They were of all colors. So it was when the Cubans were in NYC recently, and in pics in Look taken in Havana recently.

Jim Crow Clubs

"Unlike it was when Batista was in power and backed by a lot of loot from U.S. hoodlums who built night clubs and hotels that actually refused to admit Negroes from the United States.

"The puzzling thing is that whenever we see pics in Life or in the U.S. newspapers of Cubans who have run away from Castroland or are getting ready to reinvade the Cuban isle we always see the Cubans shown as all-white. No dark ones in the mobs at all. Wonder why?"

How Ydigoras Helped Dodge Local 3 Urges Fight for 30-Hour Week

The proclaimed reasons for sending U.S. naval forces into the Caribbean have been exposed as a crude hoax.

Eisenhower announced Nov. 17 that surface and air units were on their way to that area to halt the landing of Cuban armed forces and supplies in Guatemala and Nicaragua. He said he was acting at the request of dictator Somoza of Nicaragua and dictator Ydigoras of Guatemala, both of whom claimed that the Cuban government was aiding rebel forces in their countries.

The daily press here was hard put to justify this contention. The State Department "has no firm evidence that Central American invasion forces are at sea," reported the Nov. 18 Washington Post. "There is no hard evidence that the central direction of the rebel movement comes from Havana," said the Nov. 15 New York Herald-Tribune.

But the real give away came Nov. 26 in a gleefully candid report from Guatemala City by Scripps-Howard correspondent Albert Colegrove. He revealed how Ydigoras had used "the Barnum technique" to pin the label of Cuban "aggression" on the aborted army uprising against him.

Colegrove said that the rebel army officers, with about 900 men behind them, were simply disgruntled at the lack of opportunity for advancement. He cited an American "who was close to their activities," as observing: "They were the poliest rebels I ever saw. They respected private property and didn't push anybody around."

Colegrove adds: "Others agreed there were no signs of left-wing activity or pro-Castro sentiment among the rebels."

Then, to illustrate Ydigoras' Barnum-like flair for selling fake sideshow attractions, he wrote:

"But somehow or other—and without really getting specific — Gen. Ydigoras got across the impression that the whole plot was hatched in Cuba . . . and a visiting United States Senator emerged from a private talk with Gen. Ydigoras to declare that Guatemala had been 'the first to break the Castro offensive.'"

But the Pentagon really wasn't swindled into sending its gunboats into the Caribbean. It had its own weighty reasons for doing so. In fact David Lawrence, the reactionary columnist, suggested approvingly in the Nov. 18 Herald-Tribune that the "in-

Dodge Local 3 Urges Fight for 30-Hour Week

DETROIT — UAW Dodge Local 3 has called on the UAW to "make the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay the number one demand in the 1961 contract negotiations."

In a resolution, adopted at a membership meeting for the special UAW convention next April that will formulate contract demands, Local 3 also called for:

Action "to persuade the new 87th session of the U.S. Congress to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act so as to reduce the legal work week."

National Campaign

Development by the international UAW of "a national publicity campaign around the need for a reduction in the hours of labor as was done in the case of pensions and supplementary unemployment benefits."

Circulation of the Local 3 resolution to all UAW locals, urging them to take "parallel action."

The resolution said 30-for-40 is needed because of layoffs, automation and speedup.

Copies of the full resolution, which appeared in the Nov. 19 Dodge Main News, may be obtained from UAW Local 3, 8425 Joseph Campau, Hamtramck 12, Mich.

'Stabilized Eggs'

Last June, the federal government began buying up dried eggs to "stabilize" the price. Since then eggs have shot up 17 cents a dozen in the Chicago wholesale market.

Not Even an Ex-cop Is Safe — Especially If He's a Negro

DETROIT — Not even an ex-cop is safe from police brutality, especially if he's a Negro ex-cop.

Jesse W. Ray, 39, who gets a pension for partial disablement after 13 years as a policeman, found that out last week.

Two white plainclothesmen in a car, not liking the way in which he was driving, told him to "pull over to the curb, you black son of a bitch."

He parked, but before he could get out of the car by himself, they were pulling him out. "Now, just a minute, I've been beaten by you fellows before," Ray began. He was referring to an accidental beating given him by fellow officers

'Not Frightened,' Declare Negroes In New Orleans

Stand Solid Against Racists In School Integration Battle

By Arthur Jordan

With undampened resolution to win the battle for their own and all their city's Negro children, four New Orleans families sent six-year-old daughters back to court-desegregated first-grade classes Nov. 28.

After a week's recess, New Orleans schools reopened with continued demonstrations and a school boycott designed to break the will of the Negro parents.

The parents have the solid support of the Negro community. When one father was fired by his filling-station boss last week, a construction job was quickly found for him.

Neighbors instantly reassured another family when a hearse pulled up at their house, followed by the delivery of a funeral wreath.

Reprisals may increase if a segregationist wins his suit to obtain official rolls containing the names of the four girls.

But the grandmother of one six-year-old quietly observed: "There is no victory without labor." And another parent summed up for the group: "We are determined for our children to stay in those schools. . . . We were not frightened at first and we still are not frightened."

A longshoreman's wife spoke for Negroes who have suffered because they backed the girls' parents. Her 19-year-old son had been beaten, kicked and stabbed. On his release from the hospital, she said: "I am sorry they hurt my boy, but I still think the schools should be integrated."

A few white families are also standing against the pack. New Orleans schools reopened under a concerted drive to force the transfer of white pupils to adjacent St. Bernard Parish (county). No white children appeared Nov. 28 at desegregated McDonogh 19 School and only two at William Frantz School. Two more were picked up at Frantz and driven home where their parents were told to enroll them in St. Bernard.

But next day there were four white children at William Frantz, escorted by their parents through a screaming, kicking mob. Running the gauntlet at Frantz with his daughter, whom he has kept in school throughout the desegregation "crisis," one white, Rev. Lloyd Foreman, showed he meant it when he said that sooner or later everyone of us "is called to stand and be counted."

Klan Defied By Students In Atlanta

Defying robed and hooded Klansmen, Negro students in Atlanta, Ga., renewed their sit-in and picket-line actions aimed at winning integration of variety and department store lunch counters.

Hundreds of Negro students resumed the protest action in downtown Atlanta Nov. 25 after a month of fruitless negotiations with local merchants. Ten lunch counters were closed down by the sit-ins.

The next day about a hundred Klansmen appeared in front of Rich's department store, a major Jim Crow holdout, with banners calling for "action now" against the Negroes.

A large number of Negro youths arrived and set up well-organized picket lines across the street.

They carried placards reading: "Wear old clothes with dignity. Don't buy here"; and "The presence of segregation is the absence of democracy. Jim Crow must go."

Then six Negroes and two white girls walked into a neighborhood Rexal drug store where a Klansman, draped in all his bed sheets, was seated at the lunch counter.

While the hatemonger glowered from his pillow case, the eight young people took seats beside him and requested service. The manager shut down the counter.

The integration fighters scored a victory Nov. 30 when five sit-in demonstrators were served without incident at the Young Women's Christian Association public cafeteria. A spokesman later emphasized that theYWCA board of directors had not adopted a formal policy of desegregation but had decided that if Negroes insisted on service they would be allowed to eat.

Meanwhile in Jacksonville, Fla., ten teen-age Negro boys and girls staged a sit-in Nov. 29 at a Woolworth lunch bar where demonstrators had been attacked by Klansmen last August. Woolworth officials closed the counter.

The current action was led by Rodney Hurst, 16, president of the Youth Council of the Jacksonville NAACP.

Bleak News for Steel Workers In Two 'Little-Noticed' Clauses

By Tom Kerry

Steel workers are being hurt by several booby traps written into the contract signed last January by the McDonald leadership following the 116-day strike.

The hollow boasting of the union leadership that it was the "greatest contract in history" is beginning to boomerang. The Nov. 7 Wall Street Journal carries a front page story headlined: "Two Little-Noticed Steel Pact Clauses Costly to Workers." The opening paragraph states:

"A couple of little-noticed clauses in the steel labor contracts signed last January are about to explode into the headlines — and they'll make bleak reading for both employed and unemployed."

The first deals with the revised escalator clause. In the February issue of Steel Labor, union president David J. McDonald boasted that among the gains recorded in the new contract was that "we saved the principle of the cost-of-living factor." In exchange for the "principle" McDonald surrendered the substance of the union's cost-of-living clause.

Under the new clause the union was to be limited to a maximum of six cents increase under the escalator clause for the entire period of the contract regardless of how high the cost of living rose. This amounted to a limit of three cents per year.

The first cost-of-living increase is due next month. Because the cost of living has continued to rise, the union members should be entitled to an increase of three cents per hour. However . . . the escalator "principle" was further constricted by making the rise contingent on the estimated cost of the company-paid insurance programs.

It's a complicated bit of hanky-panky which the Wall Street Journal explains as follows:

"The first of the three-cent cost-of-living boosts is due December 1. . . . But the big joker is the steel companies' insurance costs. This is further complicated by two other contract provisions. One provides that U.S. Steel's costs are to be used as the standard for the entire industry, 'in order for the insurance escalation credits to be uniform as among all companies.' The other provides that possible cost-of-living increases be measured, not against what the insurance costs already are, but against what they're likely to be by June of next year, as best as actuaries can determine."

The companies are claiming that the insurance costs have gone up enough to offset any cost-of-living increase and that the steel workers are therefore not entitled to their three-cent hourly wage increase due under McDonald's escalation "principle" on December 1.

The alleged agreement of the corporations to assume the

Pacifists Face Jail for Protest On Atom Subs

GROTON, Conn., Nov. 22—Nine pacifists face fines and jail sentences for alleged trespass on the Groton Harbor area which was closed by the Navy during the launching of the Ethan Allen, the latest Polaris missile submarine.

The pacifists, members of the Committee For Nonviolent Action, have been demonstrating against construction of the submarines since last June.

Just before the ceremony seven members of the organization moved into the launching area in two rowboats and a canoe. The Coast Guard intercepted them and towed them out of the area. Soon after the launching, two other members of the group swam out to the craft and climbed aboard. They were arrested.

The navy had warned the Committee that their actions would subject them to one-year prison sentences and/or \$5,000 fines.

The object of the demonstration was to focus attention on the danger of the arms race. "When we climb aboard Polaris submarines and risk our lives, this is saying 'NO' to these machines and the policies they represent," said Bradford Little, CNVA National Secretary.

This is the fourth Polaris-carrying submarine to be launched. The Ethan Allen is larger and more deadly than its predecessors. It can cruise around the world submerged and fire its H-bomb missiles at targets 1,500 miles away.

The explosive power of the bombs on any of the four vessels is greater than all the bombs dropped during World War II.

American Press Is Not Telling Truth About Cuban Revolution

[This extract is from Mills' opening "Note to the Reader."]
 Until the summer of 1960, I had never been in Cuba, nor even thought about it much. In fact, the previous fall, when I was in Brazil, and in the spring of 1960, when I was in Mexico for several months, I was embarrassed not to have any firm attitude towards the Cuban revolution. For in both Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, Cuba was of course a major topic of discussion. But I did not know what was happening there, much less what I might think about it, and I was then busy with other studies.

about getting answers to them, I went to Cuba.
 That journey has forced me to the view — a view which for a long time I had rejected — that much of whatever you have read recently about Cuba in the U.S. press is far removed from the realities and the meaning of what is going on in Cuba today.
 I am not altogether clear as to how to explain this fact; I do not think it is simple. Unlike many Cubans, I do not believe that it is entirely due to a deliberate campaign of vilification. Yet it is true that if U.S. businesses adversely affected by the revolution do not coordinate your news of Cuba, business as a system of interests (which includes the media of mass communication) may nonetheless be a controlling factor in what you are able to know about Cuba today.
 It is also true that the news editor's demand for violent

headlines does restrict and shape the copy journalists produce. Editors and journalists tend to feel that the United States public would rather read about executions than about new lands put into cultivation. They print what they think is the salable commodity.
 Our ignorance of Cuba is also, in part, due to the fact that the revolutionary Government of Cuba does not yet have a serviceable information agency for foreign journalists. In Cuba today it is not easy to get firm facts, and it is impossible to understand what is going on without skilled help from the people who are themselves in the middle of their revolution. In many cases such people are quite unable to help, if only because they are so busy carrying out the revolution. But it is more than that: they are increasingly unwilling to help, for they feel that their trust has been betrayed. Due to what they rightly consider sad experiences, they have come to feel that North American journalists will not recognize, or will distort, the truth, even when they see it before them.

A Good Economic Deal With Soviet Countries

Take our economic relations next. The Soviet Union and other Communist countries are buying our sugar and selling us oil as well as other things we need. We are doing business with them. It's a good economic deal — for us, at least, and we think for them too. You know "a good business deal" when you see one, don't you, Yankee? Your corporations that have dominated Cuba's economy, they certainly know! But we've already told you about their economic relations with the old Cuba. Do the Russians have that kind of exploitative relations with the Cuban economy today? They certainly do not. And as long as they don't, we're going to keep on doing business with them.

business together. We'll do it with you too, or anybody else, if it works out fairly to our mutual economic benefit. If you don't believe it, try us and see.
 As for our "recognition" of China, as well as our Chinese trade, the only thing we need to say is this: If your Government is so foolish as to think they can accomplish anything by not "recognizing" over 600 million people, we Cubans are not. We are not ostriches. We want news about China. We want to do business with China. They are very much a part of the world we all live in, and we want to live in it with them, not try to act as if they didn't exist. Besides, it's none of your Government's business what countries our Government recognizes, is it? It's none of our business, but still we'll say it: What you ought to do is pull your Government's head out of the mud and make it recognize the fact of China, too.
 But getting to what we suppose is your main worry — take communism as a military problem. We Cubans don't think this is nearly as important, at least now, as your Yankee politicians seem to.

It just happens that the Soviet bloc and the underdeveloped countries have many opportunities — in plain economic terms — to benefit mutually from economic traffic. As their own standards go up, these Soviet countries need more raw materials of the sort we in Latin America are producing. It's not merely a gift we're getting from them. We're doing economic

Has the Soviet Union set up a base on Cuban soil?
 No.
 But the United States has a naval base in Cuba.
 But, you may say, Cuba's so close to the United States—that had to be?
 But you also have bases all around the perimeter of the Soviet bloc, as close as you can possibly get them.
 So if we did allow the Soviet Union to build and to maintain a base in Cuba — and unless your Government forces us to, we are not going to do that — you would have no moral claim, no political right, to object. You have bases in Turkey, a few miles from the Soviet border, and in Japan, on Okinawa, on Taiwan — all of them, and others, just a little distance from the borders of China. If you do not see the point, please know that we do. So do most of the peoples of the world. And very soon — please do not doubt it — more of them will.

Calendar Of Events

DETROIT
 Friday, Dec. 9, 8 p.m. — "Room at the Top — For Crooks," a talk on crime, corruption and capitalism by Robert Fink. At Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES
 "The Kennedy Administration — Why It Won and Where It Will Go." Speaker, Theodore Edwards, radio commentator, socialist lecturer and writer. Friday, Dec. 9, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Contrib. 75 cents (students 25 cents).

NEW YORK
 For simpler, thrifter Christmas shopping, don't miss the Annual Xmas Bazaar. Saturday, Dec. 10. Doors open promptly at noon. 116 University Place (Off Union Sq.) Toys, books, records, hand-crafted leather goods and costume jewelry, clothing, household appliances. All at give-away prices. Ausp. N.Y. School of Social Science.

The Militant Labor Forum will not meet Friday, Dec. 9, because its hall is bulging with merchandise for the School of Social Science Bazaar. On Dec. 16 the Forum will feature a special discussion on "Listen, Yankee," C. Wright Mills' new book on the Cuban Revolution.

Local Directory

- BOSTON**
Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.
- CHICAGO**
Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.
- CLEVELAND**
Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203.
- DENVER**
Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.
- DETROIT**
Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135.
- LOS ANGELES**
Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon — 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. — 5 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE**
150 East Juneau Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS**
Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Federal 2-7781.
- 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., Room 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
- SEATTLE**
1412—18th Avenue, EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore.

Powerful Document Against the Liars

On this page we are publishing excerpts from "Listen, Yankee." In our opinion this book on the Cuban revolution is of extraordinary importance although it seeks to do no more than offer an impression of the views of the participants.

Since it is obviously a truthful and sincere report, based on friendly interviews and long conversations with top leaders, the book is certain to be singled out by the press for Operation Kill.

The fact is that the author, C. Wright Mills, a distinguished figure in the American academic world, went to Cuba unconvinced about the revolution. He thought some of the derogatory things appearing in the press might have validity.

What he discovered left him no choice. He had to speak out. "Like most Cubans, I too believe that this revolution is a moment of truth . . ."

"Listen, Yankee" consists of two notes to the reader and eight letters which a Cuban revolutionary might have written to an unknown Yankee. The letters are frank. The Cuban says exactly what he thinks about America and Americans and their relation to his country.

All the main issues come up — Wall Street, Batista, the July 26 Movement, agrarian reform, the take overs, the Communist party, economic relations with the Soviet bloc, what the Cubans want, what they are doing and where they are headed.

Americans concerned about the opinions of the rest of the world will be unable to put the book down. There's more than the Cuban view expressed here. The letters speak for all of Latin America and the whole colonial area.

"Listen, Yankee" is well worth a lengthy review. But we thought our readers might get a more vivid appreciation through a few samples. We are sorry that space confined us to what appears on this page.

"Listen, Yankee" is published in a 50-cent paperback edition by Ballantine Books and in a hardcover \$3.95 edition by McGraw Hill. It can be ordered through Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

Don't Care What Label You Put on Revolution

But for now, the overwhelming fact we think you ought to bear in mind is that our revolution is faster, deeper, and stronger than anything the Communist Party can accomplish today or tomorrow.

As we write this to you, it occurs to us that you may be thinking: "Well, maybe all that's so, about the actual Communist Party in Cuba. But so what? Your revolution itself, isn't it, after all, 'Communist'?"

Our answer is that the question is a matter of what words you want to use. We don't care what words you use. We're trying to tell you as frankly and honestly as we can what it's actually like in Cuba today and what we're actually doing. If you want to call it "communist," well, that's okay with us. We don't really care if you are too lazy to study the varieties of left-wing governments and movements in the world today.

On the other hand, if you're seriously interested, we can tell you this: Insofar as we are Marxist or leftist (or communist, if you will) in our revolutionary development and thought, it is not due to any prior commitment to any ideology. It is because of our own development. That is true in general and it is true in detail. For example, we Cuban revolutionaries read Mao Tse-tung on guerrilla warfare after we'd been in the hills — and then we knew that the military and economic way of our insurrection against Batista had many similarities to Mao Tse-tung's fight in China.

And we've already told you about our anti-Stalin economic pattern.

Just now we are beginning

Cuba Is Free

Remember, we are not going through any Stalinist kind of forced industrialization. Remember, too, how flexible our consumption on this semitropical island can be: we can live on less, if we have to. Remember, finally, that we are more fortunate than the Russians were, and even the Chinese, because they will certainly help us economically.

Our very lack of any political system has been working in a most direct and democratic way. We don't know what you mean by the word "democratic," but if what we're doing isn't democratic, then we don't want democracy. . . .

Also, we are not so dogmatic as many of you seem to be. We are not among those who assert that only under the particular system such as you have can men be free. We can quite well imagine real freedom, for example, in the Soviet Union in the future. But that really isn't the point.

Need For Plan

One thing that will influence our political system a great deal is our economic planning and our Government's control of our economics. Any underdeveloped economy that is really on the move shows you right away the need for such control: to avoid the waste of resources, if for no other reason. And for speed. There is so much to do and so little to do it with, really. The greatest crime today in Cuba is to waste our resources. So the economy must be planned by our Government. And this will, of course, be a main determining factor of our political system, whatever it turns out to be.

Yes, Count Me In

The Militant 116 University Pl. New York 3, N.Y.

Yes, I'd like to make sure I get the Militant every week. Count me in for a year's subscription. Am enclosing \$3.

Name _____
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The Rich Yankees Don't Care About World's Hungry Nations

Surely you must know that all over the world there's been building up the hatred of what your Government and your monopolies have been doing? Most of that hate has had no chance to get out as yet, much less to come to your indifferent attention. But some of it has, and a lot more of it will.

But maybe it will show you what we're trying to tell you. But why are we blaming you for all this? Because of your power, first of all, as we've already said. With such power as you have, if you do not act, you are acting. Don't you see that? And you didn't act, Yankee. And because of that, now you are the main target of this trouble and of this hate. All those tens of millions of people, they didn't just happen to pick on Yankees. They had some reasons, maybe wrong reasons — some of them — but do you even know what their reasons were? Have you ever tried to find them out? Are you trying to answer them, to speak to their condition?

has certainly been closely enough tied up with Yankee action and Yankee inaction. Tomorrow the returns from what you do and what you fail to do, everywhere in the hungry-nation bloc, will be even more evident. But will they be obvious enough to distract you from the energetic pursuit of your private affairs? That's a real question for us Latin Americans. It's a question for all Americans in the Western Hemisphere.

About two years ago — remember? — your Vice President tried to make a good-will tour of South America. In Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia, Mr. Nixon and his company were often jeered and the questions put to him in press conferences got sharper and sharper. In Lima, Peru, "a serious demonstration" occurred. Mr. Nixon (we quote from your New York Times) "was spat upon and stoned by a howling mob." Then on to Caracas, capital of oil-rich, poor-people Venezuela. The rocks thrown got as big as melons; Mr. Nixon's limousine was attacked; the "angry mob" attempted to overturn it, or to drag the Vice President out into the street. Its windows shattered, spit-bedecked, the car "jumped the curb and escaped in the traffic." Later that day, the Army of Venezuela broke up demonstrations "with bayonets and tear gas." Then Yankee Marines and paratroopers were dispatched to Caribbean bases.

But you might now be saying to yourself: "Well, maybe so, but anyway that's all over now; it will all go away; and besides, all that's way over there in Asia."
 That's being provincial, Yankee. You must know that — with all your airplanes and tourism.
 But however that may be, you can't shrug Cuba off like that! It's less than a hundred miles from the Keys of Florida; and for over sixty years at least it

It's also a question about world history — today and tomorrow — a world history of which we are all a part, whether we want to be or not. What they are saying in the hungry nations, in the slum countries of the world, is that the rich Yankees pay attention only to money and to violence. And if you don't have the money, then all you've got left is the violence. Well, isn't that so? In the meantime, you've surely begun to realize that things are not under the old easy control. Your country — and so you, too, if it is your country any more — is becoming the target of a world hate such as easy-going Yankees have never dreamed of.

Sixteen months later, in October 1959, left-wing students in Buenos Aires bitterly protested Yankee assistance to Argentina's national universities; they forced a suspension of the program in the schools of economics and in engineering. And there have been many more such incidents, some reported, others not.

Then in the spring and summer of 1960 the results of what you are doing and what you're leaving undone really began to show up — dramatically, violently, as a series of little catastrophes for Yankeeedom abroad.

On Okinawa — one of the Yankee military bases around the world — the people got their first chance since World War II ended to demonstrate against the Yankee; and some students took that chance, snake-dancing and chanting angrily, "Go home, go home," to your visiting President. But don't worry — twelve thousand Yankee troops easily handled the generally grateful crowd, and the President got to the airport in a helicopter.

In Japan weeks of student rioting succeeded in rejecting your President's visit, jeopardized a new Yankee treaty, and displaced the big-business pro-Yankee Prime Minister Kishi. That's not the complete list,

On Taiwan, the eight million Taiwanese under the heel of your American-imposed dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, with his two million Chinese, grew increasingly restive. He's still there.

On Okinawa — one of the Yankee military bases around the world — the people got their first chance since World War II ended to demonstrate against the Yankee; and some students took that chance, snake-dancing and chanting angrily, "Go home, go home," to your visiting President. But don't worry — twelve thousand Yankee troops easily handled the generally grateful crowd, and the President got to the airport in a helicopter.

Xmas Book List

- THE POWER ELITE**, by C. Wright Mills. A study of the structure of our society. Paper, special \$1.
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By Joseph Hansen

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Logic of Gunboat Diplomacy

A lead article in the Nov. 19 Christian Science Monitor explains why U.S. gunboats were sent into Caribbean waters in a bellicose display of force against Cuba and why the gunboats are likely to continue prowling in the area even if the situation quiets down in Nicaragua and Guatemala, the two countries which the Pentagon claims it is protecting from an alleged threat of Cuban "invasion."

The Monitor's explanation — which closely follows State Department pronouncements and propaganda handouts — provides food for thought.

The naval action was triggered, says the Monitor, by "a huge arsenal of Soviet arms weighing 26,000 tons" assertedly being "dumped" in Cuba. (Who did the weighing is not disclosed.)

Therefore, the paper states, U.S. forces understandably will remain on patrol because the Cuban government "has acquired more arms than it needs for domestic reasons."

We assume that neither the Monitor nor the State Department is prepared to publicly champion a double standard in international relations. Let's assume then, that the U.S. has full moral right to send gunboats into waters near Cuba if that country has an arsenal of arms greater than it needs for "domestic reasons."

The same logic and morality compels us to go a step further.

The U.S. government is spending more than \$40 billion a year for armaments.

It has a fleet of planes, laden with nuclear bombs, in the air on a continuous 24-hour alert.

It has nuclear submarines carrying hydrogen missiles with twice the fire power of all the bombs exploded in World War II. Within a few years it hopes to have 13 more such submarines in action.

It has troops or missile bases on every continent.

It has a nuclear stockpile sufficient to "overkill" the world's population 50 times.

It has stockpiles of deadly gases and even deadlier germs probably capable of overkilling humanity another 50 times if not more.

How many millions of tons this truly huge arsenal weighs, we don't know. But we are quite certain that the weight is far beyond anything needed for "domestic reasons."

So — by State Department logic — isn't every country concerned about world peace entitled to surround our coasts with all the gunboats they can muster?

Of course there is a sane alternative to this logic of madmen and morality of murderers and that is to refrain from gunboat diplomacy.

But a turn in that direction is not in the cards while Wall Street runs the country. This world will not be able to count on enduring peace until America's workers and farmers put their own government in Washington.

Cure for Aurophilia

The recent spurt of activity in the London gold market by speculators who bid up the price of gold beyond the maximum of \$35 an ounce set by Washington has sent a tremor of apprehension through world banking and financial circles. The incident served to spotlight a decline in the once pre-eminent and seemingly impregnable position of the American dollar in the money markets of the world.

The crisis has been diagnosed by the experts as due to the unfavorable balance of payments account between the United States and other world powers. This has resulted in a "gold leak" which, according to the pundits, threatens to undermine the position of the dollar. A major columnist of the New York Times, C. L. Sulzberger, diagnoses the disease as "aurophilia," which literally means "gold hemorrhage."

Sulzberger commends Eisenhower for moving quickly "to plug the gold leak." One of the measures taken by the Eisenhower administration was an order issued

to his military commanders that hereafter dependents of those serving in the armed forces abroad are to remain at home. This measure, it is claimed, will sharply reduce the huge dollar expenditure for goods and services abroad by dependents of men serving overseas.

"However," says Sulzberger, "with grim political realism the Administration refrained from doing this before Election Day. Unwilling bachelors," Sulzberger adds, "are unlikely to vote for the party that orders out the wife and kiddies."

Now that the election is over, have the capitalist politicians decided that they don't need to deceive the American people about our aurophilia any longer?

If keeping at home the dependents of those serving in the armed forces abroad will help tie up those arteries and restore the United States to financial health, how much more effective it would be if all American troops overseas were brought home at once.

The UN Lines Up on the Congo

The history of United Nations military excursions, from the Korean adventure to the current intervention in the Congo, has not been a happy one. Because the UN is based on the fiction that it is an impartial agency, every serious dispute involving the material interests of the dominant world powers quickly dispels the illusion of "neutrality" with which it cloaks its operations.

The United Nations sent military forces into the Congo upon the invitation of the then acting premier Patrice Lumumba. It did so with the approval of the major powers in the UN including both the Soviet Union and the United States. Only the Belgian imperialists objected. Although they had "granted" the Congolese their independence the Belgian colonialists were determined to maintain their privileged position especially in Katanga province, the richest in all the Congo.

Lumumba sought UN intervention to safeguard the independence and national unity of the newly established African state from the machinations of its former Belgian overlords. Because colonial imperialism in Africa wore a white skin and white-skinned troops were a symbol of oppression, the United Nations recruited colored troops to carry out its mission. It was boasted that the UN would be established in the eyes of the newly awakened freedom fighters in Africa as a champion of the small and weak nations against the large and powerful, of the oppressed against their oppressors, of the exploited against their exploiters.

However, the Belgians and their puppets who had been driven out of the country began returning under protection of the UN military forces. And the newly elected Congolese government officials were submitted to tremendous pressure to line up in the cold war on the side of the "free world" — which includes, of course, the Belgian colonialists.

When the duly elected premier, Patrice Lumumba, proved recalcitrant he was summarily removed from office by pro-United States president Kasavubu. In a further move, Col. Mobutu sought to

establish dictatorial control through an army coup.

One of the first acts of the reactionary Mobutu-Kasavubu team was to demonstrate their pro-imperialist orientation by ordering all Soviet representatives out of the country.

Moscow's response to this was vigorous championship of Lumumba's cause in the United Nations. Khrushchev exposed the pro-Belgian and pro-American bias of the United Nations intervention and demanded the resignation of Hammarskjold.

The neutral nations, including India, gave varying degrees of support to this campaign and Hammarskjold himself began to shift ground. A United Nations commission submitted a scathing criticism of Mobutu and blamed the Belgians for the continued turmoil in the Congo. The commission favored the immediate recall of the elected parliament and the establishment of a democratic regime. It opposed the ousting of Lumumba.

At this point the United States openly intervened in the United Nations to block these moves and throw its enormous weight behind Kasavubu as UN delegate from the Congo. Many of the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia strenuously objected to this power play in behalf of colonialism in the Congo, but they could not outvote the fistful of satellite votes at the disposal of the American delegation.

Apropos of this incident, the United Nations correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, writes: "One way of viewing the 53-to-24 vote by which the Assembly accepted Mr. Kasavubu's credentials Nov. 22 is that the United States has demonstrated its power for the benefit of Ghana and Guinea," two African states who strongly opposed the Kasavubu-Mobutu military dictatorship.

What the United States demonstrated on Nov. 22 for the benefit of all of Africa and the world, was not only "its power" to have its puppets seated in the UN but its ability to make the United Nations jump through the hoop when Uncle Sam cracks the whip. We trust that the lesson will not be lost on the erstwhile colonial peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

By Tom Kemp

Hull, England
The last ten years have seen a great and unprecedented growth in the dollar empire throughout the world. Following on the great outflow of dollars which, as Marshall aid and military expenditure and "defense" aid, helped to restore the stricken countries of the capitalist world after the Second World War came a great outpouring of private lending. Both corresponded to the new role which the United States had assumed as the main support of the capitalist world economy, its chief creditor and mentor.

It is the latter about which too little is known but upon which official figures tucked away in business periodicals throw a great deal of light.

The fullest and most recent statistical picture has been provided in the U.S. Department of Commerce publication, "Survey of Current Business," for Sept. 1960. Reviewing the growth in private lending in recent years it notes, in particular, that "the pace at which United States firms have raised their foreign investments since 1955, has greatly exceeded that of any extended prior period." (My emphasis.)

The main significant figures are summarized in the accompanying table. Two things should be noted. First, the figures are estimates in certain cases. Second, and this is more important, all figures on foreign investment given in official sources are underestimates.

The element of underestimation, taking the actual current value of the assets, unrecorded increases in investment, etc., can, in the case of private investment, be quite large. We could probably add at least another \$10 billion and not be overdoing it.

Economists have paid especially close attention to the rapid growth in direct investment abroad in United States-owned firms and subsidiaries (J. H. Dunning, "United States Overseas Investment and European Economic Integration," National Provincial Bank Review, May, 1960; B. Thomas, "Recent Trends in American Investment in Western Europe," The Three Banks Review, Sept., 1960.)

Ford Purchase

This form of investment has been highlighted recently by the take-over by Ford of Detroit of the British-held shares in their Dagenham subsidiary. The Ford stake overseas, like that of many another American firm, is of old standing. But such veterans have been greatly adding to their overseas stake and newcomers are constantly venturing into foreign fields. American capital now operates on a world scale as a direct employer, and thence exploiter, of foreign labor.

The massive scale of its operations can be judged from the fact that as of 1957 it employed, outside the frontiers of the United States, an industrial labor force some three million strong — only the biggest capitalist countries have an industrial proletariat that big.

About one million of these workers are to be found in Western Europe, and almost another million in Latin America (including workers not strictly industrial). Wages paid out in 1957 — according to information supplied by the businesses concerned — amounted to about \$7 billion. About one-tenth of the employees were American citizens, though they occupied ten per cent of the higher posts.

Juicy Profits

Total output of American enterprises was in the region of \$32 billion, and about one-tenth was marketed in the United States market itself. Profits, if the firms are to be believed, ran at \$3.3 billion. About one-third of this was accumulated and invested in the firms concerned, the rest was repatriated as the cut of American capitalists.

At the same time, these capitalists, or others, sent out roughly the same amount as new investment, appearing in the balance of payments as such and representing fresh capital exports.

These figures, be it remembered, were for 1957; since then the rate of growth has been very rapid, especially in manufacturing industry in Germany — inside the Common Market — and the United Kingdom, leader of the "Outer Seven." ("Have a finger in every pie," seems to be a good business motto in America.) It is still going on as the Ford take-over shows.

Shift to Manufacturing

As noted, direct investment in manufacturing has been the outstanding recent trend. New petroleum investment has fallen off and has been discouraged by the state of oil prices, while profits on U.S. manufacturing overseas jumped 20 per cent in 1959 in line with the boom then proceeding in Europe and other manufacturing areas.

Indeed, investment and rein-

U.S. Investments Abroad

Private Investment in Billions of Dollars	1950	1959
Direct investment by U.S. firms and subsidiaries	\$11,788	\$29,735
Other long-time (portfolio, banks, etc.)		11,417
Short term		3,623
Total		44,775
Government investment		20,004
Total all U.S. overseas investment		\$64,779

vestment have responded to profit opportunities and this has governed the distribution by industry and by area as well as reflecting the needs of the U.S. economy itself and various political and economic factors which will not be entered into here.

Besides manufacturing, which accounts for about two-fifths of American foreign investment, there are investments in petroleum — Middle East and Venezuela; mining — Canada, Bolivia, Africa; agriculture — especially in Latin America; and transportation, finance and utilities in many countries.

Private long-term investment through holding of stock in foreign concerns amounts to nearly \$11.5 billion which is a sizeable sum in its own right and is continually being added to; it covers a wide geographical and industrial spread.

The big American firms which dominate American business are often already household words in other countries too, or are becoming such.

They participate with Indian capital provided by the government in enterprises set up under the plans as well as operating privately for the home market. International Business Machines provides equipment made in France for the atom bomb exploded in the Sahara Desert.

American detergent firms contest with some success the hold of old established British combines on the domestic cleanser market. American capital builds sewing machines in Japan for sale in the U.S. market and is intertwined with British and South African capital in some of the biggest mining enterprises on the African continent.

These are only some of the ways in which the American capital stake in the world comes to the attention of foreigners. Over a wide range of the newer type of consumer goods, for example, American names are prominent in all the advanced countries, and some of the others, where they do not actually dominate the field.

A leading expert on American investment in industry sums up the position as follows: "between one-quarter and one-third of the 500 largest United States business corporations had substantial foreign investments at the end of 1959. In not a few cases the profits earned by such operations are as high or higher than those earned at home..." (Dunning, J. H., op. cit. p. 10. My emphasis.)

Foreign Competition?

Some firms, indeed, have thought fit, not only to run manufacturing plants abroad but to cease manufacturing some of their products in the United States altogether, supplying the market with the output of their foreign factories. Such plants not only turn out about four times as much as is exported in manufactures from the United States, they also provide a jumping off ground from which American capital can increase its share of world market.

To consider the United Kingdom alone, about ten per cent of her exports come from firms which are wholly or substantially American owned.

As a rich, capital-satiated economy, becoming short on wide investment opportunities in the 1950's, the United States sought profitable outlets for investment wherever they could be found. It is true that capital exports only amount to one-twentieth of domestic capital formation, according to Dunning, whereas in the heyday of capital export from Britain and

Seek Freedom For Glezos

NEW YORK — The Greek-American Committee to Free Glezos demonstrated in front of the Greek Consulate here Nov. 19.

The demonstrators demanded freedom for Emmanuil Glezos, Editor of the Greek working-class paper, "The Dawn." Glezos was railroaded to prison in 1958 for seven years on a charge of collaborating with "communist" organizations. A civilian, he was tried by a military tribunal.

George R. Stryker, co-ordinator of the committee, said a petition campaign would be launched here for Glezos' freedom. He said 12,500 had signed a similar petition in Athens in a single day.

American business, expert enquiries show conclusively that what draws direct investment abroad is the lower unit labor costs to be found there, which depend, in turn upon lower wages.

Average wages and salaries over the whole labor force seem to come out at not much more than \$2,000 annually, which must disguise many cases where wages will be lower.

Industrial wages in American enterprises in the United Kingdom appear to be about one-third that in the parent plants, on an hourly basis. In other countries the ratio must be a good deal less.

Of course, unit costs do not necessarily correspond with wages, but an enquiry undertaken by the National Industrial Conference Board showed that "unit labor costs were lower than in the United States in the vast majority of cases in European countries." (Thomas, op. cit. p. 11.)

The same enquiry "revealed that in 82.6 per cent of the cases United Kingdom production costs were lower or the same as United States costs," while Dunning's own survey showed 85 per cent. (Dunning, op. cit. p. 12.)

A survey made by an economist of the University of Illinois on investment in West Germany showed that for "two-thirds of the reporting firms... their earnings in Germany were equal to or greater than the profit on similar production in the United States." (Quoted in Thomas, op. cit. p. 13.)

This is only a brief survey of a vast and complex set of problems of a political and economic character. They are, however, of great actuality in understanding the role and behavior of American capitalism in the modern world. That role is not always played with assurance and the behavior which accompanies it reveals serious weaknesses.

One result of this, at the present time, is the continuous loss of gold, the threat of dollar devaluation and the policy dilemma which have arisen therefrom. It is worth noting that American overseas investment makes an important contribution to this problem.

For one thing, as the "Survey of Current Business" points out, "additional marketing difficul-

ties are met for competing United States exports" — a point which is sometimes overlooked by those whose remedy for the dollar drain is export more — and "at least temporarily, the accelerated growth of manufacturing facilities abroad by United States companies, especially in the advanced countries, adds to the problems of adjustment in the United States international balance of payments."

It is doubtful whether either the big firms or the banks will, or can, reduce their overseas investment as long as general conditions, as reflected in their balance sheets, seem to recommend it. In fact, recession at home, or wage claims from American workers, may add to their desire to cash in on cheaper labor and more rapidly growing markets abroad — that is, if what is in prospect is not an international recession which could change the complexion of the whole problem very considerably.

CP Expels Bittelman

Alexander Bittelman, one of the founding leaders of the Communist party who later became a "theoretical" apologist for the politics and crimes of Stalinism, has been expelled from the party for aiding "anti-party revisionists."

Bittelman said he first learned of his ouster from the Nov. 24 issue of the party's Yiddish-language paper, Freiheit, which said he was voted out by the New York CP's Westchester Club on instructions from the national secretariat.

The action, reportedly, was precipitated by Bittelman's publication last summer of a book called "A Communist Views America's Future." The work is an elaboration of a 12-installment series he wrote for the Daily Worker in 1957 entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look."

The series was apparently acceptable to the party tops at that time, particularly since it sought to convince the members of the then crisis-racked organization that Khrushchev's sensational 1956 revelations of the crimes of Stalin had no serious relationship to the problems of the American party.

In Other Lands

Student Revolt Spreads in Haiti

Dictator Expels Catholic Primate

A student revolt in Haiti precipitated a major political crisis for the dictatorial regime of President Francois Duvalier. On Nov. 22 the students went on strike demanding the release from jail of the Treasurer of the National Union of Haitian Students, Joseph Roney; and a number of other college students or their immediate trial.

Government officials denounced the strike as "Communist-inspired" and illegal. President Duvalier declared martial law (the people of Haiti have lived under "a state of siege" for over two years), dissolved the student organizations and ordered them to return to classes or be expelled. The government then advanced Christmas holidays 23 days to avoid a showdown on the threat.

On Nov. 25 Archbishop Francois Poirier, Catholic primate of Haiti, was expelled, charged with giving Communist students \$7,000 to help them overthrow Duvalier. This charge was later revised. The government now claims the archbishop backed a Catholic student group that actively supported the "Communist-inspired" strike.

The government issued a communique Nov. 27 announcing a shake-up of Duvalier's general staff and the administration of the National Bank of Haiti. A Catholic newspaper was ordered to publish only official government bulletins on the political crisis. The Association of Labor Unions is rumored preparing a general strike to protest the arrest of student leaders.

Center Party Loses In Japanese Vote

Japanese conservatives consolidated their regime in the recent elections when the Liberal-Democratic party, headed by Premier Hayato Ikeda, won 296 seats in parliament out of 467. This represented a gain of 13 seats. The Socialist party, however, supported by unionists and militant students, also won significant gains. Their representation in parliament increased from 122 to 145.

The Democratic Socialist party, a right-wing split-off from the Socialist party, dropped

from 40 to 17 seats. Asahi, the leading Japanese newspaper, commented editorially that the swamping of the Democratic Socialist party confirmed Japanese abhorrence of a "middle-of-the-road" policy.

The Communist party increased its seats from one to three. All Japan's opposition parties combined won 36% of the total votes cast.

Union President Imprisoned in Chile

Clotario Blest, president of the Central Union of Workers of Chile, was imprisoned Nov. 22 in Santiago. He was charged by the government with "inciting to revolt and disorder with intent to overthrow the government."

As reported in this column last week, police attacked a mass demonstration of thousands of workers and students. Three were killed and 36 wounded. Blest was among those who were wounded. His imprisonment is now being protested throughout the country.

Ontario Unions Solid for New Labor Party

The recent convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor gave strong support to the Canadian Labor Congress action in forming an independent labor party, reports the Nov. 19 issue of Labor, voice of the railroad brotherhoods.

The CLC, Canadian counterpart of the AFL-CIO, voted at its last convention to launch the new party in cooperation with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Even before the formal launching of the new party it won a significant victory in the recent Peterborough by-election where Walter Pittman, a labor sponsored candidate, defeated the Conservative and Liberal candidates for Parliament. The victory had added significance because the district was long a Conservative stronghold.

Pittman, who addressed the Ontario convention, was given a standing ovation. Labor reports that he declared the new party expresses "a desire to find sane and logical solutions to our many problems and produce a

better democracy for ourselves and our children."

Labor also reports: "The convention delegates called for, among other things, a five part program to combat unemployment. This includes stepped-up investment in public works, low-rent housing and other public enterprise, and adoption of democratic planning for the country's economic development."

Like the AFL-CIO officialdom, the CLC leaders had long been tied to capitalist politicians who paraded as "friends of labor." But they finally decided they had been sold down the river long enough by these "friends."

Tito Projects New Constitution

Pres. Tito announced Nov. 28 that Yugoslavia will have a new constitution in 1962, the third since the monarchy was overthrown.

Although no details were specified by Tito in his speech, Belgrade dispatches said the projected constitution would further decentralize the administration of the planned economy and give still wider powers to the people.

It was also reported that the role of the Communist party will be reduced in government affairs.

The new constitution would continue the trend in Yugoslavia to reduce the absolutist power of government and to widen the function of workers councils and local communities.

Tito reported that the annual per capita income has now reached \$360 as compared to \$100 before World War II.

He said that the national income was growing at the rate of about 7 per cent a year, that industrial production was four times the pre-war volume, that agricultural production was up 10 per cent and that educational facilities had increased.

The proposed constitution, Tito said, should "primarily express the fact that the existing relations in Yugoslavia reflect the stage in socialist development at which labor is emancipated in the sense that the citizen has the undeniable right to work and acquire an equivalent for his work, while the community takes the amount necessary to maintain the common services and affairs."

Sequel: A Spliced Sound Track

By Joyce Cowley

Can a documentary picture tell a lie?
It can lie!
With the truth forever more strewn on the darkroom floor,
It can lie; it can lie; it can lie!

"Operation Abolition," the lying documentary which students are denouncing in this song, was made by selecting and editing parts of newsreels subpoenaed from San Francisco television stations by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The films were used without the knowledge or permission of the owners. No one knows who made "Operation Abolition" or who financed its production and distribution. But three firms are now selling it to big corporations and ultraconservative clubs at \$100 a print.

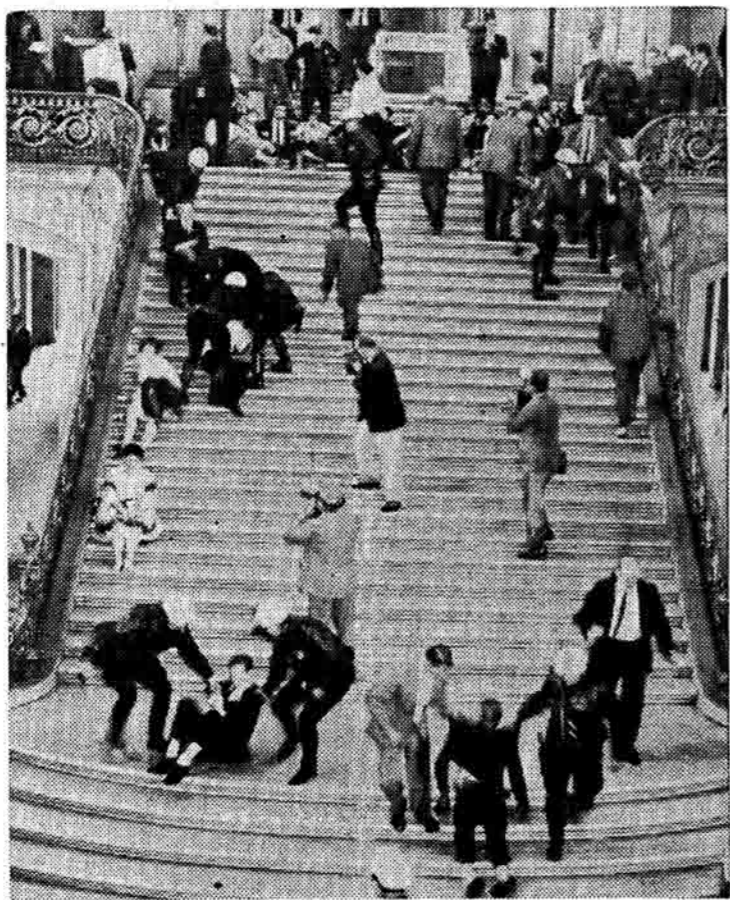
A few examples of the "editing" will give an idea of the distortion in this film. While the use of police clubs on demonstrators is carefully deleted, the commentary states that students induced a strike in a policeman by knocking him down, that they charged the barricades and attacked another policeman with his own club. We do not see anything in the film to corroborate these false statements.

The film asserts that attempts of the police to talk to the demonstrators were met with boos and jeers. This is accomplished by splicing together sequences taken hours apart and deleting the sound track which would reveal the truth.

A sound track is used when the film shows witnesses inside the hearing room. Designed to illustrate the "unruliness," this is actually a composite sound track, made inside and outside the room.

A student committee bought one of the \$100 prints and is showing it along with a panel discussion of its misrepresentations to raise money for the defense of Robert Meisenbach, the student accused of hitting a cop with his own club.

When the 68 students who were arrested during the dem-



When Bay Area students protested a House Un-American Activities Committee witch-hunt session at San Francisco City Hall last May they were attacked by cops who used clubs and fire hoses on them. The House Committee replied to public protest by charging that "Communists" had provoked the violence.

onstrations agreed not to sue the city, charges against them were dropped and they were promised there would be no police record or future difficulties of any kind because of their participation.

This summer, one student tried to get a passport, for which he required a letter of clearance from the City of San Francisco. Instead of the usual clearance, he received a letter listing the three charges on which the students were booked.

Jane O'Grady, a University of California graduate, has lost a \$2,500 internship with a foundation "because she became in-

involved in a controversy." Carolyn Mullen, of San Francisco State, lost a scholarship awarded by the Kiwanis Club.

Bay Area students are organizing to fight back — to refute the slanders against them and to explore the possibility of suing the city, since the promise of no record or reprisals was obviously made in bad faith. Their first task is to prepare the defense of Robert Meisenbach who goes on trial in January. A national tour is being planned to raise the necessary funds. Contributions may be sent to the Bay Area Students Legal Aid Fund, 2317B McGee Ave., Berkeley 2, Calif.

Calif. Student Wins Stay of Deportation

SAN FRANCISCO — John Robert Johnston, the University of California graduate student ordered deported for picketing the House Un-American Activities Committee, was granted permission to remain here until Aug. 31, 1961. This should give him time to complete his work for a Ph. D. in physics.

Johnston, who came here from Scotland to do his graduate work at the University of California in Berkeley, joined the protest movement against the House Committee witch-hunt hearings held here last May. He made his home available for a meeting on the issue, collected signatures to a campus petition and joined the picket line at City Hall. He was not among those arrested when police attacked the demonstrators.

The Nov. 22 stay of the expulsion order came within 24 hours after a campus rally of more than 300 students and faculty members had protested the cancellation of Johnston's student visa and after a British Member of Parliament had protested directly to Secretary of State Herter. The case has been widely publicized in the press here.

Charles Beechie, Immigration Service district director, emphasized that the stay was "an extension of the date for voluntary departure in lieu of deportation." He insisted the decision was his own and not the result of public pressure. He was concerned, he said, over the "potential loss" to the university's academic program. Johnston is an instructor and research worker.

Johnston and his wife Janet, a school teacher, were questioned last August by Immigration officials about their participation in the anti-inquisition demonstration. On Sept. 3 he was informed by letter that he must leave the country by Oct. 1. No explanation was given. The ouster date was extended to Nov. 15 because Mrs. Johnston was about to give birth to their second child. Both children are U.S. citizens. Meanwhile the family made plans to migrate to Canada where Johnston hoped to complete his studies.

That Odd Taste in Our Water

By M. L. Stafford

Sparkling clean water. That's almost as abundant as fresh air, isn't it? A glass of thirst-quenching H₂O is as near as your kitchen faucet!

That's the way it used to be. Today it's different. Pollution of our water resources is growing at such a rapid rate that few cities in America can feel assured about the safety of their supply.

This is not a grim warning offered by a socialist agitating for an over-all change of our economic system. It's the reluctant conclusion of many authorities who have been compelled to look at the facts. Among them are the Wall Street Journal and Labor's Economic Review. Gordon McCallum, chief of the Public Health Service Division of Water Pollution, put it like this: "Despite increased efforts, the problem of water pollution is growing worse rather than better. All the facts indicate that we are not doing enough."

The increase in pollution is due to many factors. Chief among them is a rise in industrial wastes. America's water sources are being made unfit, says Labor's Economic Review "by rotting vegetable matter, silt, corrosive chemicals, industrial oil, dead fish, acids, germs of myriad kinds including viruses—of typhoid, dysentery and cholera—canning filth, dyes, radioactive wastes, effluents from hospitals and mortuaries, slaughterhouse leavings and many other pollutants."

In the rivers, streams and lakes serving about 100 million people, there are some 30,500 industrial and sewage outlets.

Four Times Over

Towns in the crowded Ohio Valley use water up to four times on its way downstream, the sewage of one town entering the water system of the next. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch comments that "the world's cleanest people...bathe with scented fats and drink a factory's slime."

"Of course, our water company cleans up the liquid for us — this same liquid in which not even hardy carp can live — by

putting chemicals in it to kill other chemicals from upstream. "The water is not, of course, cleaned up again before it is put back in the river, it is re-enriched."

To purify such water over and over again, the federal government calculates that by 1980 \$44.5 billion will have to be added to the municipal antipollution bill which has already cost the nation's communities \$25 billion.

This year the federal government is spending only \$50 million on the antipollution project, though it is estimated that to clean up the St. Louis sewage problem alone will cost \$150 million.

Most of the federal money goes into sampling water sources to determine the degree of pollution. Even in this area, the Public Health Service estimates that the network of pollution sampling stations on interstate streams will have to be increased from the present 75 to possibly 300.

New Problem

Detecting methods will have to be expanded as well, for a new problem — radioactive pollution — involves quantities so minute as to almost defy present sampling methods. Yet radioactive wastes are among the most worrisome because of their cancer-inducing nature.

Even if this stupendous lag between present needs and present facilities is bridged, the problem is far from licked. The present supply of drinkable water is limited.

At the current rate of increase, it is estimated that within 40 years per capita use of water will rise from its present 147 gallons a day to as much as 225 gallons. With increased population and industry, the actual total demand may rise even more steeply, from the 280 billion gallons a day now to perhaps one trillion gallons a day. Yet America's total available water supply is estimated to be only 650 billion gallons a day.

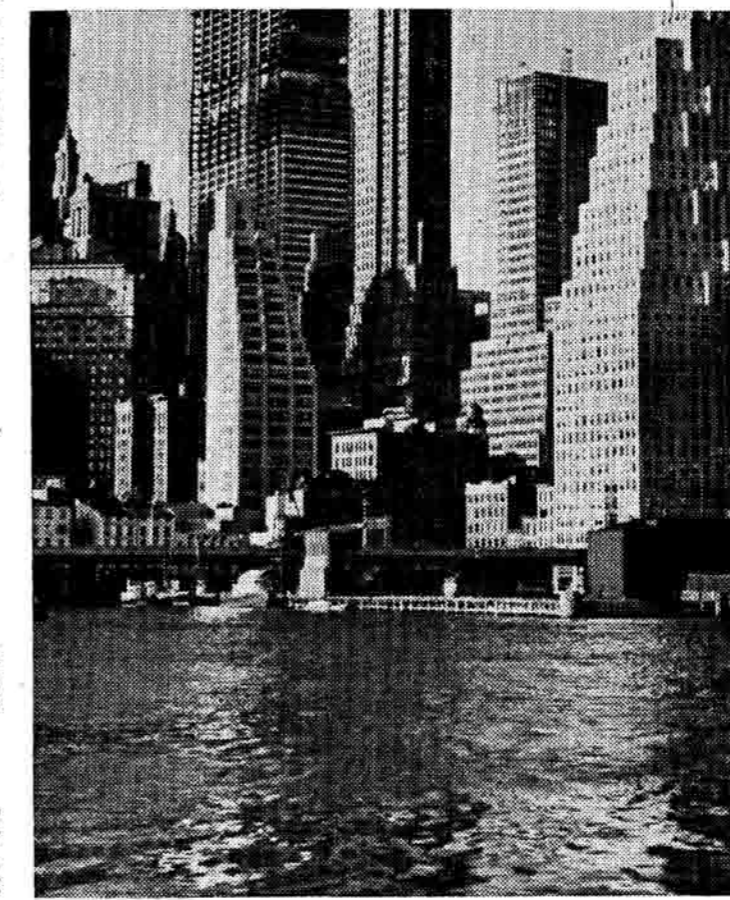
The federal government's "solution" to this pressing problem is to demand more action from local communities. Most municipalities, however, find the problem beyond their resources. Others are unconcerned. In St. Joseph, Mo., a bond issue to finance a \$19.5 million sewage system to cut pollution in the Missouri River was twice voted down.

Republicans and Democrats, who readily enough vote \$40 billion a year for armaments each time they're asked, take the easy-going attitude that this is one problem you can lightly flush down the drain. The Democrats patted themselves on the back for keeping a \$50 million appropriation for the antipollution project when Eisenhower asked that it be cut to \$20 million on the ground that pollution was "a uniquely local blight."

Eisenhower has now called for a National Conference on Water Pollution to be held Dec. 12-14 in Washington. Labor's Economic Review, which is an AFL-CIO publication, notes that the unions have only one representative on the steering committee. The rest of this top group is dominated by business representatives.

The AFL-CIO is calling for "a national water policy solidly integrated with a national resources and energy policy."

But without a single representative of the labor movement in either the Senate or the House of Representatives, the appeal seems unlikely to get very far.



Manhattan is shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists each year as the world's richest and most fabulous city. However, those skyscrapers, described as the ultimate in cubism, are more and more frequently lost in smog; and the water surrounding the island, once teeming with fish, has become a cesspool. This documentary picture, taken by daring photographer at risk of falling in, shows where sewage of the East River meets the sewage of the Hudson.

The American Way of Life

Maybe It Was the Best Thing

The day after a holiday is usually a scant one for news, so if a good "human interest" story comes along the editors give it the full treatment. The New York papers got a windfall like that when a destitute mother left two children in Gimbels Department Store the day before Thanksgiving.

The Times and the Herald-Tribune assigned crack feature writers to the story and between them they pieced together a vivid picture of the criminally negligent society we live in.

Eileen Weiss, 29, left the children, Michael, five, and Maria, four, in Gimbels toy department with a note of explanation in Michael's pocket.

Addressed "to whom it may concern," the note said that the children were Catholics, had their medical vaccinations and that "I love them dearly, but I have no money, no food and no place to go. Things are very black for me."

Michael and Maria were taken to the Children's Shelter. There, reported the Herald-Tribune, "they watched wonderingly while photographers sat them on tables, told them to smile, made strange noises at them and took their pictures."

Meanwhile, the police swung

into action and by Thanksgiving night had the mother behind bars on an abandonment charge. The next morning she told her story to the press.

The children were "the only thing I had," she said. "They were my whole life. When I left them in the store, I left my life."

She had only 15 cents when she slipped away from the engrossed children in the toy department. She went home, dazed, using the 15 cents for subway fare.

She planned to commit suicide, but a girl friend walked the streets with her and persuaded her not to. She returned to her four-room railroad flat in Brooklyn the next morning and found two detectives waiting for her.

The children's father had left her four years ago and the going had been rough. Her rent was \$112 a month. For a while the city welfare department gave her \$76 twice a month. But then the checks stopped coming. Department social workers and a priest advised her to put the children in a foster home, a procedure that would take three weeks.

Her money was running out, the children's father failed to provide any funds and she was afraid she wouldn't

be able to feed them. "I hung on to the kids to the last minute," she said. "I couldn't desert them—just any place."

She told reporters how her troubles had mounted over the years. Her mother had died when she was nine and she ran away from a "too strict" father when she was 18.

In high school her marks had been among the top 20 per cent. She decided she would like to study law but she had to settle on becoming a legal secretary.

It was hard to hold a job though. Her typing and shorthand weren't fast enough. "She spoke with fright in her eyes, sipping coffee from a cardboard container and smoking with trembling hands. She had not eaten for two or three days," reported the Herald-Tribune.

In the midst of this ordeal, help came. "Big Joe" Rosenfield of the "Happiness Exchange" radio program raised \$50 for her and is trying to find her a home and a job. On the basis of this assurance, Eileen Weiss was paroled in Felony Court until Dec. 6.

She said she was sorry she had abandoned the children but maybe it was the best thing she could have done because now she was getting some help.

When the original deportation order was issued, an Immigration Service spokesman told Johnston he had not maintained his "status as a bona fide student." Beechie told newsmen at the time that Johnston's participation in the protest action was one of the reasons for the action but added darkly that there were "other factors" which he was "not at liberty to discuss," even with Johnston.

Another official told Johnston that picketing a U.S. committee hearing "is not the sort of thing a foreign student or visitor to this country should participate in." Johnston said the Immigration official "made it clear to me they did not consider me a risk to U.S. security."

Johnston also reported that the official told him he was being expelled because of "pressure" from Congress. Which congressmen applied the "pressure" was not disclosed.

It Was Reported in the Press

Joyous Noel — Vice-Admiral Elton Greenell says that the nuclear submarine, George Washington, which is carrying 16 hydrogen-bomb missiles capable of destroying a good part of the world, will be at sea during Christmas. He expressed the hope that the submarine's mission will give the seasonal theme of peace on earth, "a true significance."

Batista Doing Nicely — Former Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista is considering a half-million-dollar island in the Bahamas for his new home, the Associated Press reports. Batista had planned to retire to his palatial estate at Daytona Beach, Fla., but the State Department felt that his presence in an area where Cuban "liberation" mercenaries are being trained might be embarrassing. Meanwhile, the ex-tyrant is lolling on an island off Portugal and his wife and children are at New York's swank Waldorf Towers.

Keep Those Dimes Handy — A patent has been issued for a tape-recording method of playing commercials on jukeboxes. When no records are being played, the advertising starts automatically. It continues until someone puts in a dime for the next record.

Note to House Committee — The New York Board of Regents has gone back to the term "social studies" to describe courses in geography, history, government and economics. It had dropped the term in 1959 in favor of "civics" because some members of the board felt the original phrase smacked of socialism.

Wait! Till He's 21 — A Philadelphia magistrate cancelled a slated hearing Nov. 17 against Edward Kelleher on charges of not paying a three-year-old hospital bill of \$60.33. The magistrate was informed that the defendant is nine years old. The constable's office agreed to stop sending summonses and dunning letters threatening to attach his "salary." The boy's parents had assumed the bill for minor surgery was covered by hospital insurance.

Above the Law? — The Atlanta home of Frank Bacon, a Negro railroad employe, was blasted by dynamite Nov. 19. His 10-year-old son Carl was cut by flying glass and his wife and daughter were shaken up. Local police announced they had no lead on the case. The usually headline-happy FBI chief, J. Edgar Hoover, had no comment.

One Promise They Kept — The government estimates that retired couples over the age of 65 need a monthly income of \$220 to \$280 for a modest but adequate living standard if they are city dwellers. The average Social Security payment for a retired couple is about \$125 a month. Commenting on the disparity, federal officials emphasized that the payments were never intended to provide more than minimum living costs.

Happy Thanksgiving — A pre-Thanksgiving check of 100 stores by the New York Department of Markets found 35 at which turkey and other meats were sold at short-weight. Most of the heavy-thumb operators were found in the low-income Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville and East New York sections of Brooklyn.

New Deterrent? — The Army Chemical Corps is expanding production facilities at its Pine Bluff, Ark., arsenal to begin manufacture of a new grenade described as a "riot control agent." The Arkansas Gazette says the grenade "causes burning and watering of the eyes, irritation of the respiratory passages and other temporary effects which make exposed persons incapable of effective action."

Doublespeak — "The United States is sending a small group of Navy ships on a carefully timed visit to the west coast of Africa to 'show the flag' and make friends." — Nov. 23 New York Times.

Tighten Your Belt — Food costs increased five weeks in a row to reach a new peak Nov. 22, according to a Dun & Bradstreet study. The cost of 31 basic foods was 3.9 per cent higher than a year ago.

Sheer Coincidence — Authorities at Catholic-operated Fordham University in New York have cancelled scheduled student productions of "Death Watch" by Jean Genet and "No Exit" by Jean Paul Sartre. Both are existentialist works. A school spokesman had no comment on the Genet work but said Sartre's play was cancelled merely because it is "bad theater." All of Sartre's works are on the Vatican's Index of Prohibited Books.

Thought for the Week — "...way could be one of Nature's ways of coping with the rapidly increasing population of the world. It may be more effective than birth control." — John M. Cummings in the Nov. 17 Philadelphia Inquirer.

Letters from Our Readers

A World of Peace

Editor: I have found much of interest in the copies of the Militant sent to me recently and wish to subscribe for such length of time as the enclosed \$5 will pay for.

Your efforts to help advance the welfare of your fellowmen of every color, creed and clime will, I feel certain, bear fruit, perhaps sooner than the doubters and dissenters suspect. Keep up the good work! Millions of the world's "little people" are on the march, demanding an end to the insane policy of so-called "preparedness" and for the right to live their lives out in peace and service to their fellowmen.

Yours for a world of peace.
Carl A. Ryan
Secretary-Treasurer,
World Peace Association
Jenkins, Minn.

Didn't Vote

Editor: I received your literature concerning your campaign tasks. Your party wasn't on the ballot here and probably with the bigoted nature of people in this area, it would be a hard fight to get it on.

I did not vote at all. To me there is no difference in the major parties as long as both are advocating capitalism to keep the rich rich. Please enter my subscription to your paper.
H. P.
Tennessee

Don't Point at Him

Editor: The first payoff on the election came when Kennedy announced he would keep the nation's two chief cops on the job. J. Edgar Hoover thus has the blessing of the president-elect to continue harassing union militants, civil-rights leaders, "reds" and all other persons who happen to disagree with his concept of "justice."

Similarly the chief organizer of espionage (that's a \$10 word for spying) Allen W. Dulles can continue his nefarious activities at the Central Intelligence Agency.

Besides confirming the cops, Kennedy specifically rejected any thought of intervening to "liberalize" Congress, saying that he thought it was up to Congress itself to make any rule changes. With this assurance of nonintervention, the conservative congressmen can thumb their noses at liberal attempts to change things.

It should also warm the cockles of the hearts of the Wall Street tycoons and send them off to a happy afternoon clipping coupons.

Well, I voted for Dobbs and Weiss, so when things go sour don't point at me.
Roy Gale
San Francisco

Let's Fish Hard

Editor: Just salutations to your staff and a brief word of encouragement to the party. Be it agreed we didn't score a touchdown in the election, but from the many letters of interest we sure troubled the waters of thought, so let's fish hard for the future.

Frank Lovell is calling each shot and hitting his mark very well out here. I didn't have the pleasure of seeing or hearing Farrell Dobbs on TV or radio, but judging from the response, he set fire to a lot of coattails.

May I comment on the letter from the man named Dobbs in Chicago who threatens to change his name and says Farrell should "go back to Russia." Don't go Farrell. The Russians are doing nicely without our help and America needs more people like you.
A. C. Gregerson
Fillmore, Utah

Merry-Go-Round

Editor: The great American circus of Nov. 8 is over with and millions of dollars have been spent on that event, and it will obviously be the same old merry-go-round. The elephant and the donkey are back in their old quarters eating hay from the same manger. The chief object of interest, the professional clowns, are heading back to Washington to get in contact with the nation's confidence men and the back-room boys to instigate new forms of legalized robbery and plan when to set off World War III.

The nation's rubes and the helpless victims, who took in this customary performance, will soon realize that they have again been made the victims of misplaced confidence and another sellout.

I voted for all the candidates of the SWP whose names appeared on the Minnesota ballot and I know others who did likewise. Why was our vote not considered? This is not the first time this has happened to the vote cast by me, but I consider it about time that we demand our rights as American citizens.

Most Americans are at the absolute mercy of the large corporations which operate and control the means of production. If we are then also denied the right to choose leaders who will really represent us we are largely without political expression. It is such dictatorial abuse which causes governments to

disintegrate and collapse. The hand of destiny is now writing on the wall. Woe to the tyrants who will not heed the warning.
R. S.
Jenkins, Minn.

Disputes Point In Analysis of Vote

Editor: I'm sure that Joseph Hansen's article in the Nov. 14 issue analyzing the election results will not be the Militant's last word on the subject.

Without waiting to read additional issues I want to question his effort to cite "the widespread splitting of votes" as "an evidence of the rise in political consciousness."

First of all, ballot-splitting did not show any increase that I can see or measure. On the contrary, in 1956 a Republican was elected president while the Democrats captured Congress. This year the Democrats won both the presidency and Congress, so ballot-splitting must have been reduced, not increased.

Second, I doubt that ballot-splitting in general can be equated to increased political consciousness. It may have that meaning in some cases; in others, it definitely doesn't. A good portion of it results from the notion that you should "vote for the man, not the party," which in my opinion is a sign of low or primitive political consciousness.

What portion of the voters split their ballot for that reason I don't know. But neither do you. And without some evidence to back it up, Hansen's generalization about ballot-splitting does not and cannot have much weight.

George Breiman
Detroit

Why No Report On SWP Votes?

Editor: I just picked up the Nov. 14 edition of the Militant and was surprised no mention was made of how many votes Dobbs and Weiss received. Are they not counted yet, are you afraid to print them, or do the election officials just throw votes for minority parties in the wastebasket? Please make some mention of this in your next edition.

I find the articles in the Militant, Young Socialist and — if you'll pardon me saying this — the New America, very interesting, although I do not entirely agree with the Socialist Workers party on most issues. I believe the only answer to

peace is a world government. Imagine what the USA would be like if there were 50 independent bickering countries instead of states. The same holds true with the countries of the world. Unite, and you have no reason for war. Viva Castro!
D. T.
Berkeley, Calif.

[Election boards are notorious for their failure to count minority party votes accurately and to report them with reasonable dispatch. We published the first SWP returns available to us in our last issue and will continue to report them as they become available.—Editor.]

Got His Deer

Editor: Well, now the election is over and I suppose it will be some time before we know how many votes our candidates got.

I was up in Northern Minnesota fishing and hunting, so I missed some of our good speakers. But I got my deer.

You may not be interested in the above, but it's my fun after 46 years railroading. But anyway I'm always concerned about our views and getting our literature out to the workers. I'll be plugging along for our side.

P. G. Hedlund
Minneapolis

Double Bouquet

Editor: We appreciated Joe Hansen's discussion with Vernon Lind on the differences between the SWP and the SLP and thought it the best thing done on this particular question. Lord knows there's enough confusion about socialism and I think he did a good bit to straighten out this particular difference.

Also, the elimination of column rules on page 4 of the Militant makes a much more attractive page — congrats to whoever thought that up.

W. C.
Minneapolis

Barbecue Pits For Brainwashing

Editor: I sure could use reprints of your Nov. 14 article on the "Nuclear Barbecue Pit." They had the same kind of "shelter" at the City Hall here to brainwash the people.

I sure enjoy your paper, especially Frank Lovell's articles. My wife and I and a friend voted your ticket, so we were for a good cause.

H. R.
Geneva, N. Y.