222

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Chessman's Fate Up to Legislators

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Governor Claims He is 'Powerless'

LOS ANGELES, March 2 -The fate of Caryl Chessman is now in the hands of the California legislature which meets today. If it fails to act, the convict-author who won a 60-day reprieve from Gov. Brown, will go to the gas chamber. Brown is slated to ask the legislature today to consider abolishing the death penalty. But he has made clear that he will not make a serious fight on the issue, even though he claims he is opposed to capital punishment.

The governor gave Chessman his brief new lease on life after the State Department asked for a concession to an aroused world opinion. But last week Brown declared he would do nothing further to save Chessman's life even though due process of law was denied in his kidnapping

"If the legislature doesn't act, I am powerless to do anything except in extraordinary circumstances," the Democratic governor asserted. He added that he could not conceive of any further extraordinary circum-

Yesterday Brown told newsmen he was "pessimistic" about the legislature acting this session on an anti-capital-punishment bill. He has even refused to declare what specific form of legislation he favors, leaving the door wide open for the lawmakers to duck the issue.

Meanwhile, the movement to save Chessman and to win abolition of the death penalty is last week.

| Members of the school's calculated a meeting here at six Wilson & Co. plants, successful strike action. which called for arbitration of One is appalled at the abolition of the death penalty is last week. continuing. In a statement to the Militant correspondent here, the efforts on this score.

is a man's bank account."



Students in Toronto stage picket-line demonstration in front of French consulate Feb. 12 to protest De Gaulle's

atomic-bomb tests in the Sahara. They called for a half to Canadian and NATO support of De Gaulle's dictatorial regime.

Be Kept Alive

MONTEAGLE, Tenn, - Complete confidence in Highlander Folk School, its administration determination to continue the members of the school's execu-

The council met to consider veteran civil-liberties attorney, light of Judge Chattin's decision scabs imported to break the Leo Gallagher, urged renewed finding Highlander guilty of vio- strike be retained? lating the Tennessee code for-"There are two types of jus-bidding integrated classes in tice," he declared. "One for the private schools. Myles Horton, know of no rich man who has "Highlander will not die. This ever been executed. The only program of democratic educariod of the decay of capitalism of where we operate or what is strike remained. done to us."

How War on Babies Began in 1798

By Joseph Hansen Fifth in a series of articles.

We do not seem to have made much headway in the antibaby campaign. The experts have succeeded only in demonstrating that they know of no means which in practice will lower the birth rate sufficiently to save our The union movement can pay planet from being overwhelmed by humans within two dearly for such a precedent. thousand years. Doomed to less than standing room — that seems to be our fate.

About all we have discovered is that prominent capi- Hunger Striker talist authorities on population favor keeping women infertile by sterilizing their husbands on a mass scale — in Is Force Fed poverty-stricken countries, that is, not rich ones, at least for the present. We have discovered, too, that some of them take a racist attitude. If there must be babies, they prefer seanna Robinson of Chicago, white to colored ones. Some display class bias, holding to the innate superiority of those born to wealth; and most of them think the production of great masses of human beings leads to political unrest, revolution and an income taxes because the money eventual world-wide communist victory.

Before passing on, sadder and not much wiser, it might be well to pay a call on the authority whom so many population experts tip their hats to, the Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834). It could be that the neo-Malthusians are not doing justice to their prophet's theories. Let's check a sample statement from the original:

"The cause to which I allude, is the constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared

"It may safely be pronounced, therefore, that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twentyfive years, or increases in a geometrical ratio . . .

"It may be fairly pronounced, therefore, that, considering the present average state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio.

"The necessary effects of these two different rates of increase, when brought together, will be very striking . . . "Taking the whole earth, instead of this island, emigration would, of course, be excluded; and, supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions, the human species would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256; and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4,096 to 13, and in two thousand years

Sound modern? Even ultra modern? You might, of course, take an opposite view with some justification — our atomic-age editors seem to be push-overs for anything in

(Continued on Page 3)

the difference would be almost incalculable."

Council Vows The Bitter Lessons Highlander Will Of the Wilson Defeat John Placed

By Tom Kerry

sequences of such action. Wil-

sue, just one hour before the

old contract expired. It took a

even-week strike to bring

It would seem that this

should have been sufficient to

dispel whatever illusions the

union leadership had about

bringing Wilson into line by

means of labor statesman-

ship. The time for states-

manship had passed. Wilson

had declared war on the

Nor could the union leaders

and over again, that given the

rules governing the conduct of

class war laid down by the em-

ployers and their agents in

government, any union abiding

by such rules could be smashed.

In a recent statement of poli-

tical aims the AFL-CIO Com-

t this way:

agreement reached Oct. 22.

the strike.

The labor movement suffered The elementary axiom of union ST. PAUL, Minn., Feb. 27 a tragic defeat last week when solidarity was expressed by the As a result of the agreement the top leadership of the AFL- strikers themselves: We went reached between the United and program, as well as a firm CIO United Packinghouse out together and we'll go back Packinghouse Workers and Wil-Workers jammed through an together—or not at all. To do son & Co., an estimated 1,300 program was expressed by the agreement, terminating the 108- violence to this precept is to out of 5,700 Wilson strikers day walkout of 5,000 members the key issue: Do the strikers what action should be taken in get their jobs back or will the

It is estimated that of 1,100 workers who struck the Albert son was admittedly the "tough-Lea, Minn., plant on Nov. 3 less est" of the big three in the rich and one for the poor. I director of the school, said: than 50 were returned to the packing industry. The union job when the strike was called reached agreement with Aroff. Approximately 900 scabs mour & Co., after making conthing of importance in this pe- tion will be continued regardless hired during the course of the cessions on the automation is-

It was a tragic defeat belost that could have been won; because a large number of union militants were victimized; and because a magnificent display of rank-andfile courage, union solidarity and fighting spirit was systematically corroded by a cowardly leadership pursuing a false policy to inexorable demoralization and defeat.

And the end is not yet! To submit to arbitration a fundamental principle that permits of no compromise is a gross betrayal of the interests of labor.

A young Negro woman, Erowent on a hunger strike Jan. 26 when she was jailed for nonpayment of federal income taxes. A pacifist, she has refused to pay is spent primarily for war pur-

Miss Robinson, who was caried bodily into court after reauthorities in any way, was sentenced to a year and a day on charges of criminal contempt.

During the early part of her mprisonment she was held in Cook County jail in Chicago. Auhorities there, to break her spirt, withheld her mail, denied her visitors and placed her in solitary confinement. She is now in tions for parliament draw near, Stalinist politics." a federal hospital where she is being force fed.

Ku Klux Klan Tied To Austrian Nazis

The race-hating Ku Klux Klan extending its operations of the Communist party have abroad, according to Austrian police who disclosed that an underground Nazi group, recently uncovered in Vienna, possessed arge quantities of anti-Semitic literature shipped from the U.S. by the Klan. Both groups were reported tied to an international fascist movement with headquarters in Sweden.

4,400 Wilson In Arbitration

undermine the very basis for have been called back to work by the company. The remain-One is appalled at the utter ing 4,400 strikers will have to blindness of a union leadership await an arbitration decision to their pictures taken at the lunch which led its ranks into a ma- find out whether they or the counter holding up their banjor battle without preparing in strikebreakers have rights to advance for the inevitable con- jobs in the plants.

In Albert Lea, Minn., where the workers put up a terrific struggle against great odds, the company took back some 50 workers. In order to avoid any demonstrations the exact number was being kept secret by the company and the union.

Meanwhile the company has Swift & Co. to terms in an designated Edward Bullard, a Chicago attorney and member Wilson refused to accept the of the Wilson Board of Direccontract pattern set by the big tors as its representative. The wo and forced a showdown union has designated Rabbi which resulted in strike action Jacob Weinstein of the K.A.M. Nov. 3. The company refused Temple in Chicago. The two to meet with the union and be- have failed to agree on a third gan open preparations to break member, so a federal judge setting up a Central Planning should be utilized in the producfrom Illinois will act as the Board. third member.

> The union leadership said they agreed to arbitrate the job ban economy and to "fix the such industries." It also reserves rights of the strikers to "save general regulations" for "private the right to "control production face for the company." They enterprise. stated that Wilson had hired several thousand scabs and now didn't know what to do with for government seizure of any the Cuban press, but Guevara

The real aim of Wilson is to or has "insoluble" labor diffiget a decision from the board culties. plead ignorance of what was in in favor of the scabs, thus Leading spokesmen of weakening the union or elithe AFL-CIO had declared, over minating it entirely.

If the union leadership had half as much guts as the strikers the strike could have been won, and all the strikers back on their jobs without waiting for arbitration.

The company's attempt to smash the union was not only mittee on Political Action put failing to break the ranks of the strikers, but from the way "The Taft-Hartley law has Wilson stock dropped on the within its framework all that stock market, the union's boythe employer needs to render cott against Wilson's scab meat using to co-operate with the the union he is dealing with was becoming more effective as the strike went on.

Ceylonese Trotskyists Report Growing Support

the country's biggest workingout for attack; and the leaders a personal dictatorship.

As Ceylon's March 19 elec- is the only consistent aspect of

Twin Cities Students Hit Woolworth MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 27 — A

at the F. W. Woolworth store on Nicollet Avenue in the heart of the downtown area. Some 50 youths carried placards in solidarity with Negro students who The store here is one of the ten argest in the national chain.

The picket line was sponsored by the youth council of the Minneapolis branch of the Nacional Association for the Advancement of Colored People. jority of the demonstrators. They came in response to an editorial in yesterday's issue of the Minnesota Daily, the world's largest campus paper.

rights fighters in the South be-Woolworth officials that a company has to 'follow local customs,' since they learned in grade school that the United States Constitution supersedes local customs."

Asked why he was picketing, one white student replied: "If we go to school with them, why shouldn't we eat with them?"

The store management invited the pickets in for free coffee. Some accepted and had licy of maintaining Jim Crow lunch counters in the South.

The pickets were well reeral people joined the line.

another progressive step of pos- tions.'

sibly far-reaching consequences

Feb. 20 when it passed a law

The cabinet also extended for

180 days a measure providing

the Wall Street Journal last

week, "We desire to employ

[our] limited resources to great-

Guevara cited Cuba's one-

days. He maintained that pri-

vate enterprise has failed in un-

derdeveloped countries. "Its in-

production within ten years, the

Cubań government announced

that it is projecting an industrial

New private capital will be

parred from basic industries.

rate concern is at present oper-

ating in any of these fields, it

But, Guevara said, "If some pri-

program which would mix state-

In hope of doubling national production."

est advantage.

ed by history.'

Negro Youth Defy Jail In Drive on Jim Crow Supporting Actions in North

Hit Kress, Woolworth Stores By George Lavan

MARCH 2 — Winning the admiration of freedom fighters the world over, the Negro students in the South are defying mass jailings in their campaign against racial spirited picket-line demonstra- discrimination at lunch counters. Their drive is spreading tion was held here this morning further through the South and increasing in intensity.

born white students are taking part in the sit-down demonstraganizations are stepping up are fighting discrimination at their sympathy demonstrations, lunch counters in the South and a section of the labor movement has entered the fight in support of the Southern Negro

Thus in New York, the student councils of several colleges and universities have endorsed a picket line to be held Satur-White students made up a ma- day, March 5, from noon to 3 p.m. in front of Woolworth's store at 120 Thirty-fourth Street, opposite Macy's, Elsewhere, picketing has been conducted by students at the University of The editors declared that stu- Wisconsin, University of Colordents intended to help the civil- ado, Rutgers University and by students at various schools in cause "they don't agree with Philadelphia. Similar actions are colleges.

> On the labor front, District 4, International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO), announced that its members would picket New York headquarters of Woolworth's as well as stores in four New Jersey cities. However, this move has not yet been emulated by other labor organizations.

Meanwhile harsh jail sentences are being meted out by the white-supremacist authoritners blasting Woolworth's po- ies. At this moment, in the country which capitalist politicians tout as the stronghold of the "free world," young men and ceived by the public and sev- women are behind bars for the

(Continued on Page 4)

The Central Planning Board

will determine how many plants

tion of any article, and, where

Seizures of land and industry

to keep their "tiny pieces of

co-operatives as opposed to in-

Experience, he said, will show

that "co-operatives is the most

rational system to take advan-

tage of human labor and to turn

works and the community."

levels, quality and price.'

Plan Industries

By Lillian Kiezel

The Cuban government took as it adequately fulfills its func-

The board is empowered to it permits a monopoly, "may

introduce planning into the Cu- participate in management of

Speaking for the new board, land" and work them "as they

which is headed by Premier wish," although the Castro re-

Fidel Castro, Major Ernesto ("Che") Guevara, president of

700,000 unemployed in Batista's the benefit of the man who

the National Bank of Cuba, told dividual ownership.

In addition, small but increasing numbers of Southerntions. In the North, student or-Order to Ship

Him to Finland NEW YORK - William Lahtinen, Finnish-born journalist and poet who, on Feb. 15, was ordered deported from this country under the reactionary Walter-MqCarran Law, has appealed the decision of the local Immigration office to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington.

Lahtinen has lived in the United States since 1914, when he was brought here by his parents. He filed a petition of in the offing at other leading naturalization in 1942 which is still pending. But in 1958 he was notified by the Justice Department that he must appear at deportation hearings on grounds that he belonged to the Finnish Workers Federation—a legal organization — prior to 1940 when the group became defunct.

"The Lahtinen case is a telling example of the need for revising the Walter-McCarran Law," said the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in a Feb. 24 release. One measure the Committee has advocated is a five-year statute of limitations against deportation and denaturalization.

Trujillo Boasts Cuba Sets Up Board Climate "Ideal" for Profiteers

"Don't knock Trujillo," advise Americans who fear that their holdings in the Dominican Republic might be confiscated should a revolution topple the dictator. The Generalissimo. they say, is a champion of "law

In return for such support, the Dominican Development Commission, a Trujillo outfit, is patting American capitalists on the back. In a full page advertisement, the commission cites 18 U. S. firms now reaping continue to be reported daily in profits from the "ideal" business company that is about to close assured an assembly of cane Caribbean nation that has NO "climate" in the "friendly planters that they have the right | TIME FOR COMMUNISM."

Labor "is economical," the ad declares, and "cooperative . .

Investors may consider the climate good, but a different view is taken by an estimated 1,500 to 5,000 political prisoners. Their opposition won them torture in Trujillo's jails. However, others are reported to have taken up the cause and to crop economy as responsible for back the fruits of that labor to be spreading the idea of revolt.

Maybe He's Right Replying to critics, Senator

Guevara urged all cane planters to join the co-operatives John Cooper (R-Ky.) declared sufficiency is being demonstrat- which, he said, "permits capital- that it's good for the country istic utilization of the means of when President Eisenhower

'Go Back and Get More' owned and strictly controlled private enterprises. Say Ranks to Union Tops

Union members are now a "rough year" in contract negomay continue to do so as long director of the Federal Media- rules. tion and Conciliation Service.

bed. There are more rejections wage gains. by union members of tentative on authorities cannot interfere settlements worked out by their committees than ever before."

"The members," he continued, "are instructing their committees to go back and get more. Sometimes they send the committee back three or four times."

Finegan said the trends in collective bargaining point to before."

showing a more active concern tiations. Unions are stiffening over contract agreements nego- demands for greater economic tiated by their representatives, benefits. Employers are shootaccording to Joseph L. Finegan, ing more intensively at work

He noted an increasing trend In an interview with the among unions to press for such leveland Plain Dealer Feb. 18, fringe benefits as medical in-Finegan said, "In every region surance paid for by the emit takes longer to put a case to ployer, rather than straight

He thought that the greater number of membership rejections of tentative contract agreements "probably springs from revival of membership interest on the local level."

In Finegan's opinion, "Union international representatives apparently don't carry as much weight with the members as

(Continued on Page 4)

joined in. In reply, the Feb. 16 Samasamajist, English-language publi-LSSP. " . . . anti-Samasamajism!

While waging a vigorous elec class party, the Trotskyist-led tion campaign, the Ceylonese Lanka Sama Samajist, appears Trotskyists are keeping a wary to be gaining in strength. One eye on the "caretaker" governof the consequences has been ment headed by Prime Minister gang-up against the organiza- Dahanayake. This discredited tion. All the spokesmen of the figure has given signs of precapitalist class have singled it paring a coup d'etat to establish

An ominous indication was his creation in January — after parliament had been dissolved -of a Ministry of Internal Secation of the party, points to curity in violation of the conthe "growing support in the stitution. Another indication country for the LSSP" and was the appointment of Sidney notes that the Communist party de Zoysa to head the ministry. leaders are not fighting the De Zoysa is a police official

(Continued on Page 4)

with the efforts of inmates to prepare legal documents in their own behalf. Judge Gus Solomon ruled that where library facilities are not

Prisoners Efforts

To Get Out Upheld

A federal district judge in

Oregon has ruled that state pris-

adequate, prisoners must be permitted to study law in their cells capitalist parties, only the suspected of complicity in the and to communicate freely with

Isaac Deutscher Discusses Leon Trotsky's Place in History

Network in Canada all what do you mean, he was for his day? Wasn't Jefferson an intellectual? Do I hear an an intellectual? Well of all the undertone of intellectual con political influences of our people. Interviews Biographer

COHEN: Your work, your | didn't occur to me then I would any dealings with the man your-

of the Opposition in the Polish portant enough to impose my-Communist party at that time. self on him. I was very strongly influenced | COHEN: You always thought by Trotsky's ideas and you can of him as the great man, as a find this influence in my writ- great revolutionary. ings now, though I now take a more detached and critical thought of him and I still think view of many of his viewpoints of him as one of the greatest although I must say that even figures in the histories of revoin the 1930's I had my con- lutions and as one of the great-

DEUTSCHER: Well I would- thought, well, who was I to n't say that it was based exclu- trouble the great man, exiled the greatest initiators of the tellectuals may perhaps consively on academic research. In leader of the Russian Revolu- greatest political movements tinue what the great intellecthe 1930's I was a spokesman tion. I didn't think I was im-

DEUTSCHER: Yes, I always

A Man of Theory and Action

COHEN: Well, all right, let's nothing. What I mean to say take that point. In your book is that he laid the foundations the intellectual cannot—a conall time. Can we specify this? there were on the surface of it that follow? Can we define the anatomy of no elements for the creation of DEUTSCHER: No, not necesgreatness in this man? In what a new army. Lenin for in-sarily. Not necessarily, that de-

was the leader of the first Rus- win the civil war. sian Revolution, of the Soviet, Now he was then the one of the first council of workers' who formulated the whole pro- question.

in which he forecast that the Russia's - the first prompter -Russian revolution would not of Russia's industrialization. by—and by Lenin.

was the founder of the Red in historical literature.

Trotsky, based entirely on aca- I thought that I would perhaps would not play down the intel- very dusty-unknown, obscure demic research or did you have I would try to see him and to lectual. I know it's fashion- volumes? watch him at close quarters.

However at that time I

never met him personally. It of our age.

deputies, of the first Russian gram of Russia's industrializa-Revolution of 1905, and he was tion. The program which Stalin 1905 the first leader to de- in carried out later with many clare that the Soviet is the distortions: I am not going into form, the institutional form of the question to what extent the next Russian revolution. those distortions were inevit-In 1906 he developed his able or not, but anyhow Trotsky theory of permanent revolution was so to say the prompter of

stop in its bourgeois phase but | Well perhaps that's enough | would pass into a socialist for one man of action, but he phase. A viewpoint which was wasn't only a man of action; then rejected by Mensheviks he was a thinker. He was a and Bolsheviks alike, by the brilliant writer. I think that Lenin's. That the revolution great theorists of the Right his history of the Russian Revo- would come in the most ad-Wing of socialism, if you like, lution is probably one, certainly vanced sections of the indusone of the greatest works of trialized world rather than in Well he was the leader much history that have ever been the most backward. I was more than Lenin himself, he written. It's a work that is thinking of his assumption that and yet basically identical in reasons. It has happened to class in existence in Russia at was the practical leader of the now largely unknown, neg- the moment revolution did pattern. You have now a So- bourgeois revolutions because that time and that explains the

Army, he was the actual in- Well in my last book, The Europe—the permanent revoluspirer of the Red Army and Prophet Armed, I devote a its actual leader throughout the whole chapter to his writings on his assumption that in the comperiod of the civil war. There philosophy, science and literwouldn't have been—he laid the ature. He was a very great foundations if you like of Soviet literary critic: Russia's leading military power and he laid it literary critic in the 1920's and in 1918-1919. He created the as literary critic he denounced Red Army almost out of noth- in advance all the practices of Stalinism and declared bluntly Of course that is historically that the Communist party had and sociologically a metaphor no right to exercise any tute-

knecht-either like Lenin who

when I say out of nothing. No lage over art, literature and one can create anything out of scie

Intellectuals and the Masses

COHEN: And yet Mr. Deut- that he was not going to win, scher, this man with all these that he would be defeated. I tangle the truth of their views the mere forecast. The mistake aren't you surely speaking in is and social classes as they are qualities was unable to foresee quote in my book from his prior unable to do anything in the vate writings that in 1926 or realistic and practical manner 1927 he said, a revolutionary ent revolution. Now in the perto prevent the Soviet state leader may end either like manent—in the whole theory of from taking the turn it did Lenin or like, like Karl Lieb- permanent revolution of which

DEUTSCHER: There are sit- fought and won and died at the uations in history, and there height of his triumph or like are forces in history that are Karl Liebknecht, leader of the much stronger than individual German socialists who was asforesight, than the genius of a sassinated in January 1919, that leader. He is not-that's why way. He-and you feel as you he is a martyr. I wanted to read his private notes hé knew say he is great as a man of that the fate and the way for action, he is great as a thinker, him was Liebknecht's, that is he is also great as a martyr. He the martyr's fate. had a very clear prescience of

mean by that, sir?

DEUTSCHER: I mean that

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The Wall Between

By Anne Braden

They bought a house for a **Negro** friend in a lily-white neighborhood. White supremacists and city authorities retaliated with violence and a McCarthyite witch hunt.

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the intellectuals.

great work based on Leon ever become his biographer. If about the intellectuals? Well I Museum over very dusty—very, able now to play him down. I would not play down the intel- fashion to play down the role lectual in politics. If you like, of intellectuals. The known inwere always intellectuals in one tuals have started but the initiaway or another.

tempt of the intellectual?

undertone of intellectual con-political influences of our people is there any influence that COHEN: No, you heard an is greater for good and evil undertone of skepticism about than the influence of Karl Marx who spent thirty years of his DEUTSCHER: Skepticism life_in London in the British

I think that it is a very bad tors of things important in his-Wasn't Luther an intellectual tory are always intellectuals.

like wildfire, that it would im-

future, conquer in Western Eu-

rope and help Russia to get out

Now, there was-there were

two questions involved here

and two distinct and different

pects of international revolu-

of Stalin's socialism in a single

Now as far as this basic ques-

tion is concerned whether the

of permanent revolution, are

COHEN: The rich would get

DEUTSCHER: At any rate

the assumption that the work-

richer and the poor would get

Russian revolution was a self-

country any more.

pean nations.

tion.

Was Trotsky at Odds with the Workers?

COHEN: Well here you have | The basic element consisted a situation where an intellec- in this, that the Bolsheviks tual agitates, works, sacrifices recognized that the Russian himself for the establishment of revolution wouldn't be self-sufa workers' state, a state in ficient. That this was not just troversies with Trotsky. But I est, how shall I put it, intellects which power both in terms of a revolution within one nation's the means of production and in state, that this revolution was terms of the apparatus of govbound to spread, that the conernment is to be handed over flict that led to the revolution to workers - right? - to non- in Russia existed also elseintellectuals, a condition which where. And that the revolution would transcend so to say you describe him as one of the of a new army when, after the dition in which the intellectual the boundaries of a single state. great revolutionary leaders of old army had collapsed and cannot be a true part. Doesn't That was the basic element. The secondary element was the expectation that the revolu-

did his greatness consist of? stance almost despaired of the pended of course on the specific Europe, that it would spread DEUTSCHER: His greatness possibility of creating a new circumstances. The intellecshowed itself in the various as- army and Trotsky created it. tuals in the early years of the pects of his activity because He was largely responsible for Russian Revolution worked in he's a very many-sided person- the strategy and the tactics and very close and good harmony afity. He was undoubtedly very the organization of the army with the workers. There wasn't kind. A man of action. He that allowed the Bolsheviks to this antagonism between worker and the revolutionary intellectual which you imply in your

I think also that it isn't true that the intellectuals' approach must of necessity be theoretical and alienated from the realities. Surely Trotsky's approach wasn't theoretical and alienated from the realities when he was able to build up an army to win a civil war. After all what is the test of practicability if it's not building up an army and winning a civil war. . . . COHEN: I was thinking in

contagion spreading all over tion theory. I was thinking of munes and in the workers' state, once it was established, there would be in very quick sufficient historical developapparatus of state. I am think- Trotsky, in particular the offers

ing of all these. DEUTSCHER: That's right, justified by the events. They Oh yes, when we go down to were mistaken in imagining the specific issues then of course that the revolution was about we can discuss the things spe- to spread to Western Europe but — well let us try to disen-

from their mistakes. You mentioned the perman-Trotsky was still author but which in the years of the revo-poorer. lution was implicitly also Lenin's theory, and in the whole theory of permanent revolution ing classes in the advanced inthere are so to say two ele- dustrialized countries would ments, a basic element and a rise or were about to rise to overthrow capitalism.

Is the Rise of a Bureaucracy Inevitable?

capitalism.

COHEN: I wonder, sir, if it COHEN: There was another was so to say an honorable misdidn't have something to do -if I may put it this way-a take. COHEN: Now what do you with the fact that he was an mistake that they made of intellectual and that the entire | course | connected | with | the | approach of the intellectual to theory of permanent revolution mean a mistake which does he had a very clear premonition an event, to a movement based and that was the assumption honor to those who made it. presumably on the strength of that when you took over the ap- They made the assumption that the workers is essentially when paratus and machinery of gov- the revolution would be some put to the practical test, theore- ernment that the group which sort of war of class democracy tical and alienated from the took over that power would not and in which no single group attempt to monopolize and hold would monopolize power for it-DEUTSCHER: How? Theo- that power for itself. Do you self. This assumption has been

realities of experience.

Advertisement

COHEN: Well what's that?

DEUTSCHER: By this

to be a bureaucratic dictatorship. to you, Mr. Deutscher, that in sorry. point of fact this is the in-

there is a kind of law of oligarchy, a circulation of the elite which applies in the instance of revolution is therefore, if I may of a flaw in a man's character, attempt to theorize for a mo-

DEUTSCHER: I don't accept feat in this case and the flaw frustrated. this view. I think it is true in his character. You suggest that every revolution so far has that only the victorious, the Deutscher, The Prophet Un-

For the information of our readers, we are printing substantial portions of an interview which Nathan Cohen, a noted radio and TV personality, held with Isaac Deutscher over the Canadian broadcasting system Dec. 27 on the subject of Leon Trotsky.

Our Viewpoint

Deutscher, as most of our readers know, is a writer on Soviet affairs for the London Economist and the New Statesman. He has won international recognition for his biographies of Stalin and Trotsky.

Through painstaking research, Deutscher has at tempted to recreate an accurate history of the Russian Bolshevik party, particularly in the years of civil war, economic reconstruction and bureaucratic degeneration. His scrupulous concern for facts has won wide acknowl-

Some of Deutscher's political conclusions, however are controversial. We have taken issue, for instance, with his judgment that the Soviet Union inevitably had to undergo Stalin's dictatorship, fearful and repugnant as is was; that Stalin is to be credited with assuring Russia's industrialization; and that Stalinism is now being liquidated by a kind of automatic process.

A few years back, these views of Deutscher proved attractive to some Trotskyists. Deutscher, probably without even knowing it, served them as a bridge for conciliationism toward Stalinism. They regarded Deutscher as a new political prophet, but he demonstrated that he was not interested in heading a cult.

After the Twentieth Congress, Deutscher played an mediately, or in the very near opposite role, again without seeking it. Under the impact of Khrushchev's admissions about Stalin's crimes and paranoia, members of the Communist party (and not of her inherited poverty and only them!) found his writings a bridge to a more objecbackwardness with the help of the advanced Western Eurotive attitude toward Trotsky's true role. This, we think, will prove in the final analysis to be one of the main political values of Deutscher's historical writings.

questions; one was whether the seen this process and ended in of the dissipation of strength Russian revolution was a self-this process by which power which the Russian working class sufficient historical development was gradually monopolized by suffered after the revolution, and the second question was one ruling group or one ruling the civil war. It is a point what were the immediate pros- group or came underwould you call it? Now to the first question,

DEUTSCHER: Yes. Yes, yes. pened. events have given an answer Every revolution has gone revolutions and in the masses It has happened in Russia.

the extraordinary weakness and the same way.

which I am trying to illustrate COHEN: Vested interest with some facts in my last book, how the whole process hap-There simply wasn't a work-

and have justified the theory of through that. It doesn't follow ing class, there wasn't a workterms of his expectation and permanent revolution. The that all revolutions must go, I ing class after the civil war to Russian revolution has not re- don't see the inevitability. A spare to any political . . . the mained the only revolution of historical precedent suggests state, it was decimated, broken its kind. There is the Chinese that this has happened, so far. up, shrunken, demoralized, sorevolution, there was the Yugo- We must—it has happened in ciologically speaking you slav revolution. Very different every revolution for different couldn't even see a working October Revolution in 1917. He lected, but it will keep its place break loose, there would be viet Bloc. You speak about the there was a basic conflict be- rise of the bureaucratic power. Soviet Bloc, this is not the time tween the masses that made the It doesn't follow that if a

working class, if the working that made the revolution and class had won in the revolution the leadership of the revolution. in any other country a strongly developed, numerically strong, Of course, the immaturity of educated, self-confident workthe Russian working class, not ing class that it would allow the order a withering away of the ment, I think that the offers of only its immaturity because of bureaucracy to usurp power in

Prospects for Socialism in the West

COHEN: When you speak, DEUTSCHER: You can't say Mr. Deutscher, of a highly so- that the working class is reacrifically. Of course Lenin and and win there. Yes, in this phisticated and articulate workreally went back to the classi- terms of contradiction, because and society as it is. cal Marxist forecast of the fu- in the only countries where you might expect that, in the ture and the development of Western countries and the highly industrialized countries, in fact the working classes are not interested in revolution and by your concepts may be described as a reactionary and

backward force. DEUTSCHER: No, not at all. I don't think that the working classes are reactionary and backward because it isn't interested in a revolution but do you think it is reactionary and

backward?

United States and in England, tainly not interested in revolutionary movements or move-

tionary if the conditions of its Trotsky were valuable men. they were mistaken. The mis- ing class leading a revolution- existence does not make it think take was rooted in certain fal- ary movement and consolidating in a revolutionary manner. You lacies that went deeper than and taking power afterwards, just have to take history as it

COHEN: If I may just follow through on this point though, doesn't the whole development of history with regard to the working-class leadership in revolutionary—in socialist revolutionary movements, doesn't it contradict one tions and doesn't it proveist reasoning?

COHEN: Well my observation is that, let's say in the forecasts, but granted this I courage to stick out their necks ously. That was a problem to the working classes are cer- strates a flaw in the Marxist When you say men make history of how to feed Russia and the method of approaching society, only men like Stalin make his- do it. ments which have revolution- of analyzing history and so on. Not at all.

only men like Stain make history and so on. tory, or only men like Hitler or men like I don't know any

Men of Power and Men of Character

COHEN: We've wandered triumphant leaders are, so to retical and alienated from the agree with that?

| proved wrong but it has been somewhat afield from our ori| realities of experience—first of | DEUTSCHER: Yes, but that proved wrong in particular cir| ginal subject — Leon Trotsky — ter. cumstances because of parti- and I wonder if we might come cular circumstances. If you back to him now, and discuss allow me to be so immodest a point which you mentioned as to quote myself in my last earlier concerning the premoni- inferior. volume, well the Russian work- tion of martyrdom and tragedy ing class proved incapable of that Trotsky himself had. exercising its own dictatorship Would you say, Mr. Deutscher, that in fact whereas Trotsky and that was why the prole- that there was in his nature a had the qualities that made him tarian dictatorship turned out flaw, a durable continuing and one of the right men and one growing flaw which made him of the architects of the revoluunable to contend with Stalin tion at the time of the revolu-COHEN: You speak of this in the struggle for power that tion, that he did not have those happening due to this particular developed after Lenin's death qualities which would enable set of circumstances. I suggest in '21 wasn't it, no '23, I am

DEUTSCHER: Well, if you evitable pressure, whether you consider the inability of a man refer to it as a working-class to struggle for power as the his role after that initial period dictatorship or any kind of dic- proof of a flaw in his charactatorship springing from a ter, well then the greatest which was establishing itself working class and laboring heroes in history had that flaw in the post-revolutionary perisources, that in point of fact in their characters. COHEN: Was he-

DEUTSCHER: And the de-

feated aren't necessarily morally

COHEN: No, no, that's not my suggestion at all. I suggest

him to continue to discharge his

role after that initial period was

DEUTSCHER: But he saw was over in resisting the regime od. The bureaucratic regime, Stalin's dictatorship. He didn't DEUTSCHER: Oh start from see his role as seizing power by Socrates. He was defeated. To hook or crook, he didn't see his every revolution and every be defeated, if defeat is proof role in necessarily maintaining himself in office, he saw his and I am not saying that Trot- role in being the spokesman and ment, every revolution is sky's character was without its the mouthpiece for the hopes of doomed to a defeat of its basic flaws, but I don't see the conthe revolution which was now sky's character was without its the mouthpiece for the hopes of nection between a man's de- in a way, to some extent, being

COHEN: In your book, Mr

eral Secretariat. Doesn't this ciety. indicate a kind of inability on COHEN: I don't follow that, Trotsky's part that was in ef- Mr. Deutscher, I am sorry. fect a serious flaw that had noth- DEUTSCHER: You see Trot-

indicate the dilemmas that tion of what he called prolewere responsible for the curi- tarian democracy. He wanted ous spells of his passivity. It the Bolshevik party to be a free wasn't a passivity that flowed organization of free members. from the man's character, if free to speak their mind. On anything Trotsky was the man, the other hand he also accepted the dynamic man of action. It the principle of Bolshevik diswas his tragedy that his cipline. They were two condilemmas drove him in a sit- tradictory principles. They uation in which his dynamic were not always in absolute energy as if sagged. He found conflict with one another but no application for his dynamic now in the 1920's they came into energy because he was beset absolute conflict. This was his by sudden dilemmas. Dilemmas dilemma.

armed, you have a lengthy section in which you describe the dilemma of authority and freecurious passivity of Trotsky at dom. A dilemma which recurs that period when Stalin began in the revolution just as it to centralize power in the Gen- exists in non-revolutionary so-

ing to do with victory or defeat. sky had to choose between Bol-DEUTSCHER: But I also shevik discipline and the asser-

Did Trotsky Cover Up for Stalinism?

COHEN: I have a feeling, you the perversion of the revolution know, reading your book that at and he did not conduct the this point in his life Trotsky struggle with the view that he had begun to realize, although was fighting a battle that was he never said it, that in point of hopeless from the beginning. He fact the revolution was perverted and that he could simply, and that the rest of his life was going to be an apologia for the perversion of that revolution. That he groomed himself to

DEUTSCHER: What do you mean apologia for the perversion, do you mean to say that he defended the perversion?

COHEN: No, no but he detinued to assert that the revoluway when in fact he knew difassert — I toss this as a suggestion arising from your book.

think so. That wouldn't at all be cause. consistent with his character because what you imply there is really more than a streak of hypocrisy in the man and you cisively over Trotsky? can accuse Trotsky of very many things but hypocrisy is not one of them

are you meaning?

the civil war perhaps needlessly ferior. ruthless although it's very diftimes too much bound by his the great aspirations, the great own views and his own preoc- hopes, the heroic flights of the cupations.

He had all the human nesses and all the fallibility that study his victory over Trotsky you must expect in any man. one has to see the whole state, But he was not a hypocrite. He the whole condition of Soviet was in his own mind absolutely society at the time and not only sure that it was his duty to fight look at Stalin as the self-sufagainst what he considered was ficient actor

wouldn't have had the strength of character to fight a battle like this. You see it was very compli-

cated, a very complex state of mind he was in with one part of his mind as it were he felt the inevitability of his defeat.

With another part of his mind he hoped that perhaps defeat wasn't inevitable. That in any case it was his duty to go on fended his role in it and con- fighting, there might be a chance still of saving the Russian revtion could have gone a different olution from its perversion. He was guided in this I think by ferently. That he knew the a principle which Engels once, revolution was bound to develop | Friedriech Engels, once exthis bureaucratic content and pressed in a very lapidary form that the rest of his life was to that anyone who gives up even a hopeless position without fighting it, for it, without de-DEUTSCHER: No I don't fending it is a traitor to his

> COHEN: What were the qualities that Stalin had that enabled him to triumph so de-DEUTSCHER: I think if we

look for an answer to this question wholly in Stalin's personal COHEN: What can you accuse qualities we shall probably him of when you say that. What never find the satisfactory answer because as far as personal DEUTSCHER: Well, I think qualities were concerned Stalin he sometimes allowed his self- was in every respect Trotsky's confidence to run away with inferior in my view. Even as a him. He was sometimes during practitian he was Trotsky's in-Nevertheless he proved him-

ficult to judge the situation of self practically superior to Trota leader of any army during a sky in the 1920's because he eivil war, to condemn him post was helped in his struggle factum for what he had done against Trotsky by the mood out maybe he was sometimes prevailing in Russia, by the oo - he was sometimes over- condition of Soviet society, by scrupulous when he dealt with post - revolutionary weariness, his opponents. He was some- by a reaction that set in against early years of the revolution. To explain Stalin's success and

The Individual's Role in History

COHEN: You don't accept at with all of its implications and all the idea that men make his- all of its horror. tory, do you?

DEUTSCHER: Yes, but it

DEUTSCHER: Oh yes I do but wasn't only Stalin who enforced don't accept the idea that the it. There were other factors of Marx's most basic assump- men who make history were much wider, much bigger, much only Stalin, Lenin or Trotsky. I more important than Stalin that doesn't it establish one of the accept the idea that millions of enforced it. Well I shan't go great flaws in the whole Marx- men make history, that the great now into the history of collecmasses, they are also the men tivization, you know. That is a who make history. They make long history but I just mention DEUTSCHER: I think it con- it either through their passivity this that in 1928 and 1929 the tradicts as I said before, it con- or through their activity. They fact of famine stared into the wouldn't say that it demon- and when they don't have it be solved, a problem to be solved philosophy of life and Marxist do you really mean that men, old smallholdings just couldn't

As I say I am not going to go men like I don't know, any into this problem now. I don't other, presidents or party lead- think it was just by fear of Stalin that the collectivization: COHEN: It was a man like had to — I believe that so-called Stalin who enforced the policy (Continued on Page 4)

Advertisement

John Brown's Raid On Harper's Ferry

On December 2, 1859, John Brown was hanged by the State of Virginia for attempting an insurrection to free its slaves.

Brown's raid on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry was denounced throughout the North as the act of a madman. Yet a year and a half later, the Boston Light Infantry marched through the streets singing "John Brown's Body." Over 300,000 Negro soldiers would sing it in the Civil War.

What impelled Brown to strike his blow for freedom? Arthur Jordan tells how Brown came to the conclusion that the slaveholders would never abandon their hateful system peacefully. In the Winter issue of International Socialist Review. Send 35 cents for

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Monday, March 7, 1960

of the House bill without amendment.

stance, but the Nixon forces believe they

regation, authorizing federal financial aid

to districts which desegregate. The other

gives a congressional birth certificate -

but no power — to the ineffectual Com-

mittee on Government Contracts which

exists under a presidential executive

legislation in Congress.

ing or upgrading.

One is a tip of the hat to school deseg-

will be eye catchers for Negro voters.

That Wrestling in Congress

Despite the hoopla about the Northern senators "heroically" sleeping on cots in the corridors, etc., to wear out the Southern filibusterers, an air of phoniness pervades the whole performance. Procedural questions have shown that there are enough votes right now to break the filibuster by closure of debate, if the two party leaderships wish it.

But the obscene parody of democratic debate is permitted to continue because each party, hoping to take credit for whatever civil-rights bill is passed, desires to give the public the impression that it was won at cost of a titanic struggle. That, of course, is pure bull. All the groaning and grunting of the congressional wrestlers is over a very tinny-looking civil-rights

Both party leaderships are convinced that some sort of bill labeled "civil rights" has to be passed to placate the increasing Negro agitation and to lure Negro votes in this fall's presidential election. They figure that the least they can get away with is "plugging the loopholes" in the ineffectual "voting rights" act of 1957.

The white-supremacist South has not too much to fear from either of the voting plans now under consideration. The elaborate federal "referee" or "registrar" schemes would result only in token registration of Negroes. Under them federal registration could only follow a lengthy lawsuit, with two possible appeals. And, as with school desegregation, it would require a separate lawsuit in each of the thousands of electoral districts in the South. Meanwhile the Southern legislators could, if they wished, keep carving up the districts by reapportioning and gerrymandering.

The Fight on 'Apartheid' Here

Last week we reported that the AFL-CIO Executive Council had joined British, West European and African labor organizations in calling for a boycott of South African goods.

The AFL-CIO council voiced "deep concern" over the South African government's continued "brutal and inhuman racial policies" and asked that U.S. consumers refrain from purchasing goods imported from that country.

We readily concur in the AFL-CIO Executive Council's proposal and in its denunciation of South Africa's apartheid policies — even if it seems that the labor leaders had to wait for Tory Prime Minister Macmillan of Britain to criticize South African racism before they decided to act themselves.

But how about the labor movement also launching a boycott against the American version of apartheid - namely, Jim

After all, this country's boycott of South African goods can contribute little more than moral support to the fight against apartheid.

in this country can deal solid blows for the advancement of civil rights. In fact, the most substantial aid the

On the other hand, a well-organized

school desegregation with penalties for

violation; and the powerless Committee on

employers guilty of discrimination in hir-

AFL-CIO can give the embattled South African Negroes is to help demolish Jim the white population is insuffi-Crow in this country. For American segregation has been a model for those South African race relations that the AFL-CIO Council declared "do violence to all concepts of decency and morality."

A boycott movement is now spreading in the South against five-and-dime and North are organizing picketing in support of the civil-rights fighters in the South.

In this crucial domestic struggle against racism the labor leaders have been shamefully silent.

Their do-nothing policy must be changed. Labor must rally to the aid of the embattled boycotters in the South. The scope of the struggle must be widened until Jim Crow and apartheid are wiped trial skills. They do so beoff the face of the earth.

Let's Stop Screening "Risks"

The "industrial security" executive order issued by President Eisenhower Feb. 20 supposedly guarantees to defense plant workers accused of being "security risks" the right to confront witnesses.

Actually, it doesn't guarantee this right — quite the opposite. The order is intended to comply with the Supreme Court ruling in the case of W. L. Greene, an engineering executive who was fired from his job as a "security risk." The high court held that the Defense Department had no legal basis for acting against him on the testimony of "faceless informers" that is, witnesses whose identity was withheld from the accused and often from the trial board. The real purpose of the new executive order is to provide that "legal"

This is done by allowing exceptions to the rule of confrontation broad enough to render it meaningless. For example, a witness need not be produced at a hearing if he is a "confidential informant who has been engaged in obtaining intelligence and information for the government.'

That clause exempts from cross-examination — in fact, from identification the government's entire stable of professional informers, including those who, like Harvey Matusow or Manning Johnson, have been exposed as out-and-out liars in various court trials throughout the country.

The government can also make an exception to the rule of confrontation if the witness is said to be unable to testify because of "death, severe illness or similar cause."

And if that doesn't offer sufficient loopholes, the order provides that an informant's identity may be withheld -

though his testimony still counts - for "good and sufficient" cause.

These "exceptions" have already prompted the American Jewish Congress and the Workers Defense League to protest the new order, with the AJC raising the question of "whether any industrial security program remains necessary."

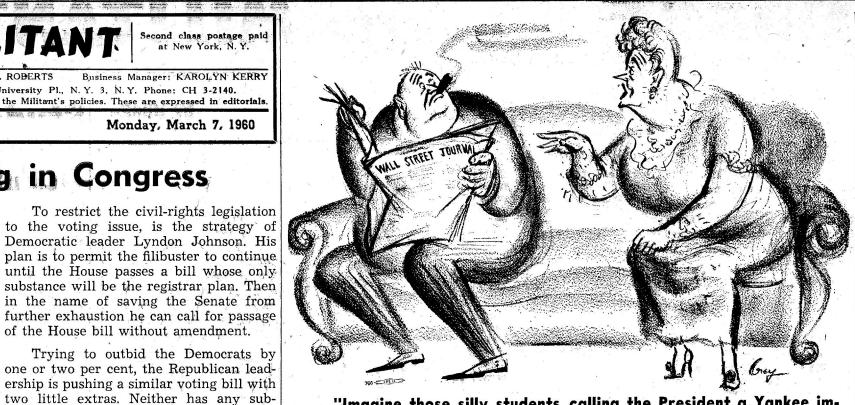
In our opinion, the flouting of civil liberties in the application of the "security" program is a direct reflection of the thoroughly undemocratic character of the program itself.

The program is designed to hunt out and victimize workers because of their ployed on the Kariba dam, on political views. It has also been used to aid African railways and on the employers in ridding themselves of militant unionists. Thousands of workers have been victimized under the program and not a single one has been charged with the commission of an illegal act.

Furthermore, the overall purpose of the screening program has been to promote a thought-control atmosphere in the country. This is recognized even by many of those who regard the new executive order as a significant step away from McCarthy-

For example, New York Times Washington correspondent, Anthony Lewis, who holds the view that the country is returning to a more liberal political climate, wrote Feb. 21: "Of course, the picture is not entirely rosy . . . The vast mechanism of the security program is intact and still subject to grave abuses. Undoubtedly, Americans still feel somewhat reluctant to join some organizations or to express radical thoughts."

The screening of so-called security risks is an infamous blotch on American democracy. Let's abolish it!



"Imagine those silly students calling the President a Yankee imperialist when everyone knows he's a Dodger fan!"

African Working Class Shows Fighting Temper

By James Baker

Neither capitalist party really gives a damn about the Negro people. That is more at stake in the "white set- even under nationalist leadertler" states than they have in ship, it will be almost imposwhy they propose such weak civil-rights "Black" Africa. Since the war, sible to confine it within the more than half the new invest- same framework of constitument of overseas capital in tional activity as has occurred If the Democrats and Republicans Africa has gone to South Africa in "Black" Africa. were truly concerned about equality they ca, the Belgian Congo and the could right now legislate a system of fed- Central African Federation. eral voting registration which would not Huge profits have been taken the predominantly proletarian require hundreds or thousands of long-drawn-out lawsuits: they could fix a drawn-out lawsuits; they could fix a panding at a fantastic rate. specific date and mechanism for total

In these territories the main form of exploitation of the African peoples is through wage-Government Contracts could be empower-ed and directed to cancel contracts with are employed as unskilled workers at low wages, and many depend on their land work of impossibility with their prolemany depend on their land work of imperialist exploitation holdings in the reserves to provide food for their families and urbanized proletariat.

From the point of view of the the representatives of the white living room. imperialists, future development in these territories is limited by several factors. Since cient to provide workers for further industrial expansion, if which restricts Africans to un-such as his modern views deserve. skilled jobs must be lifted. It also means that the legislation

towns must be rescinded. In the present conditions with the Afrikaner nationalists in power, and with their ideology Rhodesia and in the Union of South Africa have attacked the the stupidity of preventing Africans from acquiring induscause they are concerned with making profits, not because they are concerned about human equality. But they have not minded. succeeded in convincing the nationalists.

The African working class it self has up till recently expressed its refusal to assist in sent of the people. its own/exploitation in negative ways; by thieving, idleness, illicit brewing and other forms of "crime." Since they are denied a place in society they have demonstrated their indif ference to its values.

More recently, however there have been signs that this working class is becoming more militant and that its class consciousness may be deepening. There have been large-scale the Durban docks, on the East transport services of the Belgian Congo.

and the police have become more frequent and more violent; the ncidence of robbery with vioence in the Union has increased. legislation, the training of riot and exile of African leaders.

tact with the heritage of proletarian internationalism has maneuvers with which the local working-class struggles. So far there is little sign of the formism.

In their present circumstances

can rely only on themselves to minorities this will be a small end their exploitation. And if price to pay. The imperialists have much they once take up the struggle,

> If armed struggles begin in Northern Rhodesian Copper Belt and the Congo, there is no telling how far they might The peasant masses of "Black" Africa would not stand aside idly while their prole-

This is the danger which

But he must still find representatives of African nationalism in South Africa and elsewhere with whom it is possible to negotiate on the basis of a share of the profits of imperialism. Whether he can do this is

whites in Kenya, Central Africa for ordinary leashes, collars, civilization that well-dressed and the Union of South Africa feeding bowls, etc. But there people feel that their dogs who will not accept being dropped so easily. MacMillan such items as knitted booties, will need all his astuteness to rain slickers, ski pants, black "Surely;" she con deal with this situation.

(Reprinted from the Feb. 20 Newsletter, British revolutionary-socialist publication.)

The Uninvited Guest

The American Association of Advertising Agencies has adfor themselves when they are Macmillan has glimpsed; as the vised its members that they no longer able to work. In- representative of world im- should display better taste in the painted on the side. A com- would have to agree it's a better creasing numbers have, how-periodism he is seeking to preparation of TV commercials ever, succeeded in establishing stabilize the situation in Africa dealing with laxatives, deodomass movement against white supremacy themselves in the towns as an before it is too late. Even if rants, etc., because "the adverthis means throwing overboard tiser is a guest in the family (or pink) lace carrying bag and

The American Way of Life

Pets Are Part of the Family

Several weeks ago we reported in this column the observation of a designer that a well-dressed child "complements a parent as effectively as a diamond or a poodle."

But we didn't grasp the full import of that statement until ded. Bibs trimmed in lace and poodles. For example: "A pair of Manhattan

poodles were recently outfitted in white and navy sailor suits and caps for their yacht cruise to Florida. White leather leads with leather middy collars, terry-cloth after-swim robes in baby blue and salmon, a black-tie evening jacket and a brocade evening dress 'for night clubbing,' and flower-sprigged nylon pajamas completed the travel wardrobe.

all. Read this:

beauty parlor, while the customthe nails on all four feet painted gold or silver, hanging from the tious handles as Irving or pegs in the cloakroom were: a Nellie. paisley coat with matching lead, from the pocket."

Last year Americans spent sense of social values." some \$150 million on accesrain slickers, ski pants, black velvet opera capes, black lace britches, four-poster canopied beds and canine cologne.

One of New York's better shops, Saks Fifth Avenue, offers the following: "A glass, gold and rhinestone cookie jar with a dog (his own breed, of course) and 'My Favorite Yummy' handbination safe ('My Personal Treasures') to hold his jeweled collars and earrings. A black

we read a report in the Feb. 21 ribbon with 'My Darling' em-New York Times Magazine on broidered in pink or blue. now Americans dress their Fancy motoring goggles (\$7.75)."

Perhaps some back-biting un-Americans will argue money spent for such items could be put to better use. But Howard Pell, "a dignified, ruddy, no-nonsense" fellow points out that city dogs need to be properly attired because they are accustomed to warm apartments and go out only a few times a day. Mr. Pell is co-owner of Mildred Pell Canine Creations.

And it certainly is no indicaion of silly snobbishness on the Just a couple of exceptionally part of the loving owners. This well-treated poodles? Not at is demonstrated by the report of the proprietor of Poodles "At a Sutton Place canine Boutique, a fashionable canine beauty salon. He finds that the ers, sat under dryers and had trend in names for our better dogs is toward such unpreten-

Nor does a stylish get-out an autumn haze mink coat and prevent the dog from being a a gray chesterfield with black regular fella. One veterinarian, velvet collar and a tiny black who has seen dogs decked out lace handkerchief fluttering in all kinds of jewelry, reports: "A dog does not have our

Marybeth Weston, author of And he will still have to sories for their 26 million dogs. the Times' article, says: "Perdeal with the revolt of the True, most of this money went haps it is a mark of a healthy was also a brisk business in should also have snug coats and

"Surely," she continues, "it is an improvement on the Australian aborigine who, it is said, instead of blanketing his dog must use his dogs as blankets (a 'three-dog night' is rather chilly; a 'five-dog night' is bitter).

No question about it, Miss Weston. Even an aborigine way of life.

-Alex Harte

Why not pass this copy of the matching coat, rhinestone stud- Militant on to a friend

How War on Babies Began

(Continued from Page 1)

African labor. This means that however, to avoid such a disrespectful attitude; and, instead, the "color" bar in industry extend to the Reverend the benefit of a modern approach

Psychoanalysts should find the good parson of consid-Negroes at lunch counters. Students in the settling permanently in the appears that he did not engage in this common field of neasures are impossible. White advocated "moral restraint" and he really seems to have industrialists in both Southern been one to practice what he preached.

His relation to his father might likewise be worth psychoanalytical probing. Daniel Malthus, although a gentleman of good family and independent fortune, of considerable culture," was a fellow-traveler of the French Revolution. In fact a Parliamentary Un-British Activities Committee might easily have proved that he was Jacobin-

For instance, among the friends of Daniel Malthus was Jean Jacques Rousseau, a notorious French advocate of the theory that government should be based on the con-

Daniel Malthus also associated himself with the ideas of Condorcet, a pamphleteer of the French Revolution. Antireligious, anti-Christian and antiroyalist, Condorcet contributed to the Encyclopedie edited by the materialistic Diderot. The human race, Condorcet held, had advanced to enlightenment, virtue and happiness from a condition not superior to that of other animals. He argued that from the history of the past we can get an indication of the pattern of the future. His view was optimistic and sunny; in time, he believed, inequality of nations will be destroyed, as will inequality between classes. He also believed that strikes of African workers em- human nature is capable of indefinite perfectibility, intellectually, morally and physically.

As if such subversive views were not enough, Daniel Malthus associated himself with the ideas of William Godwin, a British firebrand who declared, "God himself Conflicts between Africans has no right to be a tyrant." Once a Calvinist, Godwin became converted to the materialist views of the Encyclopedists. He denounced accumulated property as a monstrous injustice, maintaining that property should be avail-To this the various governments able to any who need it. He considered marriage the worst have responded with repressive of all legal institutions. Government, he believed, is inherently evil and will eventually be outgrown. Godwin squads, and the imprisonment had great power of influencing men, especially "enthusias-Contacts between African tic young people, who hung on his words as those of a workers and the European prophet." Among his disciples he counted the renowned working-class tradition is mini- poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, an avowed atheist, who eloped than his distinguished disciple Sir Charles Darwin. We The Africans only con- with his daughter. (Mary was a talented woman, whom Hollywood should immortalize in the pavement at Sunset | 000 new recruits a day donning the uniform of the diaper been limited to the various and Vine as the author of Frankenstein.)

Young Tom Malthus found his father's subversive representatives of the Stalinist background rather painful. However, instead of turning bureaucracy have distorted bitter, as might have been expected, or developing neurotic symptoms, he took a healthy fighting stance which emergence of a Marxist leader- the American Legion might have approved. He set out to ship among the Africans; but convince his father that revolutionary views are utopian. neither is there any sign of re- Not having much of an original mind, he dug around among old books and publications until he came up with the African workers may soon a set of arguments which he thought would shake anyone. begin to understand that they These he fitted together in a manuscript.

Whether Daniel Malthus was really bowled over by fective use must be made of knee buckles and a powdered wig. It would seem fitting, the dusty arguments, or felt a kindly paternal interest in Tom's career, he encouraged the 32-year-old lad to publish the manuscript. The resulting pamphlet in 1798 was an instant success. British ruling circles considered it a dazzling answer to the subversive ideas about liberty, fraterndrugstore chains that discriminate against which prevents Africans from erable interest. A curious blank exists in his sex life. It ity and equality emanating from the French Revolution.

Britain's rulers took the youth's argument as confirmanuman endeavor until his marriage at the age of 39. Not tion of their view that it is harmful to seek a better society. that he was ignorant of what the birds and the bees and If human nature is such that population will always outpeople do. It was just that his primary interest was to keep strip the food supply, the poor and hungry will be with us of white supremacy, both these the population down. To accomplish this laudable aim, he forever, since it is obvious that you can't change human nature. It is, moreover, futile to help the poor. Indeed, charity is harmful, for it encourages them to reproduce.

The Encyclopedia Britannica (thirteenth edition) offers this objective judgment of the reception given Malthus' pamphlet:

"It can scarcely be doubted that the favor which was at once accorded to the views of Malthus in certain circles was due in part to an impression, very welcome to the highest ranks of society, that they tended to relieve the rich and powerful of responsibility for the condition of the working classes, by showing that the latter had chiefly themselves to blame, and not either the negligence of their superiors or the institutions of the country. The application of his doctrines, too, made by some of his successors had the effect of discouraging all active effort for social improvement. Thus Chalmers reviews seriatim and gravely sets aside all the schemes usually proposed for the amelioration of the economic condition of the people' on the ground that an increase of comfort will lead to an increase of numbers, and so the last state of things will be worse than the first.'

From the same source we learn that not much confidence can be placed in Malthus' propositions:

In the conceptions of Malthus and his followers, "a single social imperfection assumed such portentous dimensions that it seemed to overcloud the whole heaven and threaten the world with ruin.'

The "celebrated proposition" that "population increases in geometrical, food in an arithmetical ratio" has been "conclusively shown to be erroneous, there being no such difference of law between the increase of man and that of the organic beings which form his food.

In brief, the theory of Malthus was simply part of the reactionary propaganda fostered by the vested interests of the time as a check, not against population growth, but against the spread of the French Revolution. The revival of the Malthusian view today is best appreciated against the background of the upheavals which began with the October 1917 Revolution in Russia.

Malthus himself thus turns out to be no more help to us in beating back the phalanxes of the world's babies seem to have an enemy that is truly invincible. With 100,and the safety pin, it looks like nothing will be left in our refrigerators soon except the chromium trim.

How long will it be before famine sets in? This shouldn't be hard to figure out. Yet, strangely enough, the most devoted modern-day advocates of Malthus' views seem reluctant to predict even an approximate date when cannibalism can be expected to begin. Why is this?

The truth is that a careful check of our food supply leads us to an amazing discovery.

(Next week: Our Food Supply.)

night I like them even less. A friend and I were walk- him home.

ing home around midnight. It

ington Irving High School. He take him home. was calling, "Someone please help me.'

could barely stand. He was in the Tenth. Can't take him." trembling violently from the They rolled the window up cold. He had scraped his hand to keep out the cold and drove

that he lived at a nursing home when he came out apparently cops. became confused, walked in the wrong direction and finally just

collapsed on the school steps. We were trying to figure out saw a police car approaching. We hailed it and explained the On Basic Socialism I never did like cops, and problem to the two cops, told after an experience I had last them where he lived and suggested maybe they could drive

The wind was whistling right was freezing cold. As we through that old man as we passed Union Square, a woman held him up beside the patrol who was walking her dog told car. The two cops looked at us a man was calling for help him through the window and one said that if he wanted, they We went over and found an could call an ambulance to take old man, perhaps in his eigh- him to a hospital for a check ties, lying on the steps of Wash- on his hand. But they couldn't "Why not?"

"This is in the Ninth Pre-We got him to his feet but he cinct. I think where he lives is

and it was covered with blood. off. We finally managed to hail He was finally able to explain a cab to take him home. I doubt that I'll soon forget for old men about a mile away. the sight of that suffering old He had gone to a movie and man or those two cold-blooded

New York

Would Like to See how to get him home when we A Lot More Articles

How about some articles on I think most workers are quite thoroughly convinced that capitalism is corrupt, etc., etc. Drew a good job in this respect.

Let us show the alternative to capitalist corruption, crisis,

Let us have an article on soissue of the Militant.

Weeks go by without any socialist articles. What are we, reformists? Look over some of the back issues! If you were to pick up the Militant for the first time would you know that it was supposed to be a socialist paper?

H. L. Philadelphia

"Black Orpheus"

By Trent Hutter

The magnificent motion picture that won the highest award at the 1959 Cannes Film Festival is more than just a modernized version of the Greek Orpheus legend set among the Negroes of Rio de Janeiro. "Black Orpheus" is an engrossing tale of the man in each generation who enchants his fellow-men, "makes the sun rise" through his artistic creativeness and the gift of music; and who, as an artist, feels more intensely the emotion of unending love and the implacable power of Death, to whom he loses his beloved Eurydice. It is a tale of Orpheus eternally destroyed by blind furies and eternally, invincibly reborn in various formsone of today's little boys becoming the master of tomorrow.

"Black Orpheus" is also a tale of genius among the very poor. French director Marcel Camus did not attempt to artificially graft the ancient myth on some sophisticated petty-bourgeois milieu of our time. He went to the Negro proletariat of tropical Brazil, to the "Morros," those steep bluffs above the gleaming metropolis, where the rich and the tourists do not care to wander. Many Negro workers live here in miserable shacks "knocked together out of petrol cans and bits of wood," the so-called "Favelas," overhanging an elegant neighborhood of the well-to-do.

Amidst a panorama of utmost splendor, the Morros' inhabitants lead an existence of drudgery, trying to make both ends meet. But once a year, at Carnival, they can freely let out their pent-up urge toward a more joyful life. To them, Carnival is a brief moment of fulfilment, of almost unlimited self-expression. At Carnival, three days each year, they have the right to invade the wealthy district below the cliffs with their enthralling songs and dances. Near the end of "Black Orpheus," the hero sings: "The worker toils a whole year for one day of happiness. . . .

The Brazilian ruling class has generally encouraged the frenzy of Rio's Carnival as a welcome safety valve. Yet it would be quite wrong to believe this celebration to be merely a senseless orgy. The orginstic features are undeniable; but the Carnival is a colorful festival of folk art too. It demonstrates the vitality of the Afro-Indian-Portuguese heritage that has shaped the civilization of the Brazilian masses.

The Brazilian Negro Orpheus in the film is a streetcar conductor and, at Carnival, the much admired head of the Morros' folk-art society, an excellent guitarist, singer and dancer. Marcel Camus and writer Jacques Viot have perfectly blended the story's mythical and social significance. The symbolism never becomes heavy-footed. Everything rings true. The characters are no abstractions. The rhythm of the Carnival scenes is breath-taking, the picture's poetic beauty overwhelming.

The drama takes place during Carnival; for at Carnival, Orpheus the worker becomes Orpheus the artist. In the encounter with Eurydice he finds complete love. While the Carnival is ebbing, the girl is killed. The weird rites of a half-pagan sect cannot bring her back to the desperate Orpheus. With the end of Carnival Orpheus dies, Eurydice's body in his arms. But a talented boy inherits his guitar. He plays it and children dance in the rising sun . .

In portraying the Negro people of Rio, their delicate and vigorous traits, their living conditions, hopes and festivities, without sugary idealization but with thorough human understanding, the author and the director did not simply provide "Black Orpheus" with a fascinating exotic background. The Brazilian Negroes' world is a necessary part of this genuine work of art. The drama grows out of it, although its universal content is obvious. This Orpheus is a musician of poor working men and women, a child of the anonymous mass. The poverty of this proletariat is appalling. However, its material want is not coupled with a rigid system of racist humiliation. They need not have the somewhat self-conscious moods of the American Negro ghetto, the resentment and fears produced by discrimination and violence.

A final word of praise for the wonderfully convincing Negro actors and actresses: Breno Mello (Orpheus), Marpessa Dawn (Eurydice), Lourdes De Oliveira, Lea Garcia, and all the others without exception. It is gratifying to see so harmonious a result of collaboration between a European team (whose financial means were so modest that production had to be interrupted for months!) and Negro performers. Their common enthusiasm and that of the 4,000 extras (who didn't even want payment) overcame all the difficulties. They knew it was worth-while.

Notes in the News

CAN'T ESCAPE IT - Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, a former minister of finance in Hungary, now on the payroll of Bradley University, warned a Minnesota Telephone Association convention that "if the present trend continues, in 15 or 20 years all of you here will draw your meager paychecks from your state government or from our federal government in Washington because America is heading toward socialism." He also glumly predicted that despite the best intentions of the labor officialdom, any form of union participation in politics would lead inevitably toward socialism.

KEEP COOL, FOOL — It is very important that the public become familiar with the nature of the immediate symptoms of the radiation sickness that would follow an atomic attack, says the Journal of the American Medical Association. If it isn't realized that extreme nausea and vomiting are only a transient byproduct of the illness, the sight of a lot of people so afflicted may induce mass hysteria at a time when everyone should remain cool, calm and collected.

THE GOOD-NEIGHBOR POLICY - The Mexican government has strongly protested U. S. dumping of radioactive atomic waste material in the Gulf of Mexico. The Atomic Energy Commission has licensed a Texas firm to dump the deadly waste about half way between U. S. and Mexican shores. The State Department has warned the AEC that it may precipitate wide public protest in Mexico and other countries in the hemisphere.

BED-SHEET BRIGADE CONSOLIDATES - Unaffiliated Ku Klux Klan organizations, reportedly from 17 southeastern and southwestern states, met in Atlanta Feb. 27-28 and consolidated under the name of Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. They claimed 42,000 members for the night-riding, racist outfit and said organizers were being sent into New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware as the opener for a 30-state membership drive.

CUT-RATE TEACHERS — The New York City Board of Education, appointed by Democratic Mayor Wagner who was elected as a "friend of labor," is considering a proposition to cope with the shortage of school teachers by rehiring retired ones at 75 per cent of their former pay. The plan has been opposed by all

teachers' organizations. Samuel Hockberg, chairman of the United Federation of Teachers, reminded the board that if private industry were to dare to re-employ retired workers at lower pay it would bring "an immediate strike."

OIL BURNER WORKING - New York's Democratic Mayor Wagner was on TV last week beating his gums about taking action against landlords who failed to provide tenants with proper service. Ellen Kreisler, 13, took him at his word and phoned the studio to tell him that her family and the 150 others in her building went for days without heat. The press picked it up and the landlord got up some heat. In fact, the Kreisler family reports, he sent up use Taft-Hartley machinery, he so much heat during the night that they had to open windows. They suspect he is being union to uselessness insofar as spiteful but observe that at least it indicates the oil burner is working all right. The landlord had said that the lack of heat was due to movement is concerned." a defect in the burner.

LEGAL VICTORY FOR WOMEN - Married women in Michigan won a legal victory when the State Supreme Court upheld an Company vs. the United Rubappeal Feb. 26 on the right of a wife to sue ber Workers. It was the idenfor loss of consortium (marital comfort and tical pattern followed by Wilcompanionship). The case involved a suit filed son. by Mrs. Shirley Montgomery of Garden City cruit the strikebreakers to reagainst the owner of a car that had severely injured her husband. Few states affirm the phony outfit is set up or invited right of consortium for women although the in to claim that the striking right of men to sue on this basis has been long union no longer represents the established.

DISPLAYS POLITICAL TALENT — Alois Williams, 16, a witness at a New York murder certification election to detertrial arising out of a youth gang feud, was mine the "collective bargaining asked if any of his friends were members of agent." one of the rival gangs. Williams displayed how hep he is to some of the dangers of American ley law only the strikebreakers Dec. 19 commended Gov. Orville to save the union which would politics by promptly replying: "I never asked could vote. As amended by Freeman in a banner headline lose out if the question of barany of my friends what organizations they be- Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin, both and declared that his "prompt gaining rights went to an NLRB Open Thursday nights 8 to 10.

BABY-SITTERS BEWARE - New York the company can pick its time. the country." state officials have informed taxpayers that They count on first demoraliz- Forgotten were the lessons of would be the worst mistake, money earned by their children for baby-sit- ing a minority of the strikers a hundred years of labor however, to confuse loyalty to ting or delivering papers or similar chores must who together with the scabs struggles. Forgotten were the the union with loyalty to the be included in their report of taxable income. could virtually guarantee a de- more recent lessons of the great labor bureaucrats whose com-Some of the parents are balking at this on the feat for the striking union. ground that it is un-American to act as government stool pigeons and pry into the private cruiting scabs it evoked a the very basis of law in capit the number of lost strikes and affairs of their children.

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1960 **VOLUME XXIV**

... Deutscher

(Continued from Page 2)

basic socialism in the Militant? great men, great dictators act under all sorts of pressures which come from men smaller and unknown men and from very anonymous masses. They Pearson and others are doing are also men and they are the men who in a negative or a positive way make history.

COHEN. What was it -

DEUTSCHER: Now I know I am very often criticized because I speak about the social forces cialism (some aspect) in each and not about the men who make history but who are the social forces? They are men. It's just another, another name for the same thing, for the same characters, men - men make their history.

> **COHEN:** Well what was there about Trotsky then and what is oosely called Trotskyism that drove the Stalinists and their supporters in other countries to such furies against Trotsky once he went into exile? Why did the defeat of everything Trotsky stood for be in a sense more urgent and more necessary to them than the successful development of Communist forces in other countries and matters of

DEUTSCHER: Well I don't consider myself a Trotskyist

COHEN: You're frequently identified as one.

DEUTSCHER: Yes, I am but don't consider myself a Trotskyist and as I said in the preface to The Prophet Unarmed Stalinism and Trotskyism

But Trotsky maintains his great place in history and you ask why, well, this so furiousthis ferocity — this ferocious of and the possibilities of sohatred of Trotsky.

revolution. You see at the time crisy, there was something like panding under capitalism. an uneasy conscience in the Communist parties — international Communism. And that conscience, articulate conscience, was — of Communism — was Trotsky and you know with individuals as with parties it is true that you hate no one more han someone who is your conto get rid of your conscience. . . .

this point through, your conviction is that notwithstanding viet society and saw no pos- made history we don't only everything that has happened, sibility of any movement for mean that man Nikita. I am speaking of you now per- reform developing within Sosonally and your own beliefs as viet society. a Marxist which you obviously

DEUTSCHER: Yes, that's the one ism that I accept with a certain pride with this reservation, Marx is not the infallible

COHEN: . . . you said earlier that when you started out in the Polish Communist party you bureaucracy surely? were very heavily influenced by DEUTSCHER: Oh they have that he wasn't at all this—the Trotsky's teachings and by very strongly curbed bureau- man who was most ardent, most Trotsky's views and that since cracy and they have done away anxious you know to bury Stalthen you've revised your opin- with the excesses of bureau- inism.

Julito 26

by Chago



"Balancing" is the title of this cartoon by Chago which appeared in the Feb. 22 issue of Revolucion, newspaper of the July 26 Movement. A daily feature, Chago's cartoons express the revolutionary mood of the Cuban people. Julito 26 (Little July 26), the bearded follower of Castro, makes sharp points in Cuban politics, shaking his fist angrily at American-based planes that drop bombs on the cane fields, or jibing at the counter-revolutionary press.

I think that the historical de- May I ask what these particular what we mean by bureaucracy. velopment is transcending both ideas have been where you now By bureaucracy you mean the differ from Trotsky?

DEUTSCHER: I wouldn't say - I would say Trotsky obviously overrated the chances cialist revolution in the West. Well Trotsky remains some- In this respect he continued the thing like the conscience of the classical Marxist tradition which as I said before had this flaw when Communism was involved that it really underrated the in so many compromises, in so stability . . . in the West and the possibility of society ex-

Whether this is a fundamental error which will be seen as such say a hundred years from now or whether that was an error in the estimate of the immediate situation and in a situation for thirty or forty years ahead, that is a different question; that people will be able science at a time when you want to discuss a hundred years from now. I also think that COHEN: Well then to follow Trotsky in the last phase of his life was despairing of So-

vas in error on that?

DEUTSCHER: In this I think | servation he was in error. I think he un-Marxist in this sense that I ac- tentially growing out of Stalin- alter certain things, very often cept the Marxist method of ism. I mean to say he under- against his inclination. thinking, analyzing events, of rated the pressures that would approaching society but that develop within Soviet society doesn't necessarily mean that and would force even the Stal-Marx's writings are sacred inist group to bury Stalinism this whole de-Stalinization piecemeal.

inism but they haven't buried that Khrushchev acted under

ions on certain of these ideas, cracy, now let's understand arbitrary rule of a dictatorial clique that sends people to concentration camps, slave labor camps, that develops into a police state, that suppresses every dissent, by charging every dissenter as a foreign spy and an enemy of the people and so on, and so on. Oh well then obviously these aspects of the bureaucratic regime in Russia have either vanished or become very much softened.

> COHEN: Well wouldn't you say, sir, that may just be a temporary thing.

DEUTSCHER: No I don't think that is a temporary thing. COHEN: Are you suggesting that Khrushchev has-Khrushchev to represent a whole force in Soviet life rather than

DEUTSCHER: Man-made history. And again let's remember that when we say man-

COHEN: Yes, all right. Are you suggesting that in fact he Wednesday (March 3) when stu-COHEN: Do you think he has completely altered this line dents sat down at the lunch of development, because my ob

DEUTSCHER: Again, excuse derrated the vitality of the new me, again no I don't say Khru-Soviet society that was growing shchev has completely altered.

COHEN: Well specifically. DEUTSCHER: Oh Specifically I think, I think that in which had its climax at the COHEN: They buried Stal- Twentieth Congress, I think pressure from within the party,

(Continued from Page 1) can just about reduce any carrying out the principal objectives of the trade-union

The COPE statement then

went on to cite the classic case of this union-busting technique, that of the O'Sullivan First the scabherders replace the strikers. Then some workers on the job. Under Taft-Hartley, the National Labor Relations Board calls a

Under the original Taft-Hartthe strikebreakers and the strik-

powerful movement of resist- talist society which makes prop- union defeats.

ance by the strikers. Mass erty rights and freedom of concompletely ineffective. If an picket lines acted as a potent tract the foundation of the legal employer is willing to put up deterrent to the scabherders. pyramid. A cogent reminder the fight, spend the money and This brought a howl from the was not long in coming. The "law and order" boys, as it al- courts soon set aside the plantways does whenever effective closing order and instructed the mass action is applied by strik- governor to do his duty by priing workers.

And here - once again the workers were taught a lesson in class politics and the class character of the state. They had to learn it the hard way because those upon whom they depended for leadership and guidance betrayed them.

To restore "law and order" so-called "friend of labor" in dered National Guard troops to ers, to disarm them, to convince other than their own independent class action to win the strike, the governor ordered the action won praise from numer-|election. ers have the right to vote. But ous union officials throughout

Minneapolis Teamsters strikes mitment to the doctrine of class When Wilson first began re- of the 1930's. Forgotten was collaboration can only multiply

vate property and order his troops to protect the right of scabs to break the picket line.

Whereupon union president Ralph Helstein rushed to Albert Lea to preach the virtues of passive resistance to a union membership outraged by the "law and order" hoax. This was the beginning of the end. Once the decision was made to abide by the rules laid down the governor's mansion or- by the union-busters the result was inevitable. It was merely Albert Lea. To befog the strik- a matter of time before demoralization led to disintegrathem that there was some way tion of union solidarity and union defeat.

It is reported that the union Wilson plant closed. This ac- tops urged the ranks to accept tion was acclaimed by union the Wilson agreement as the heads in the most glowing lesser of two evils: To sacrifice terms. The AFL-CIO News of their jobs if necessary in order

> This appeal to union loyalty undoubtedly had its effect. It

Students in Alabama Stand Up to Violence

The Negro student struggle has reached the Deep South and Alabama students are in the midst of a desperate battle. On Feb. 25, a group of 35 students from Alabama

State College in Montgomery+ the county courthouse. It was student demonstrations and orimmediately closed and Sheriff dered the expulsion of the 35 Butler, swinging a club, appear- students whose photographs he ed on the scene. He ordered the produced. Otherwise, he declarstudents to stand single file ed, the college would get no against the wall as state police more state money. photographed them.

... Negro Youth

(Continued from Page 1) "crime" of trying to buy a cup tions). of coffee while sitting down at a lunch counter.

As the demonstrations entered their second month, the bitterest struggle was taking place in Tennessee, which, like North Carolina where the movement began and still continues, is a mid-South state. But the movement has spread into the Deep South with a series of militant pus to the capitol. On the steps student actions in South Carolina, Florida, and — most signiicantly - Alabama.

On Saturday (Feb. 27) students in Nashville, Tenn., sat down at lunch counters of five stores. Served at none, they had the most trouble at McClellan's where at least three of them were attacked as they sat peacefully. At request of the store manager, police arrested over 80

When they came up for trial Monday, over 3,000 students were present as speciators. The judge cleared the courtroom, but the crowd remained standing outside and sang hymns.

The students were tried indiridually. The first three, one of of LSSP leader Dr. N. M. Perwhom is white, refused to pay era, representatives of seven the fines, preferring to go to jail instead.

Afterwards, those awaiting trial refused bail. Average sentence is 33 days. Double that penalty was given a Negro stuj dent leader who had been pulled off a lunch stool and kicked by a white attacker. Police arrested the Negro youth but allowed the white assailant to "escape."

Twenty students, already convicted, are serving sen-

Mass arrest of student demonstrators again took place on counters in two Nashville bus

Police ordered everyone in the Greyhound station not having bus tickets to leave. One student prophet to me either. I am up under Stalinism and was po- Khrushchev has been made to thereupon bought 60 tickets to a nearby town and distributed them to his fellows. Police then declared they had to clear the station to search for a bomb.

The Negro students refused to leave the lunch counter and 60 were arrested, bringing the total arrested in Nashville to about 150, of whom four are white.

On the same day as the bus station arrests, some 250 other students trudged through snow

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 22 students, ten of them white, were convicted on March 2. The arrests resulted from a sit - down demonstration and ing "trespass."

Sentence was withheld because the students were not agreed a mong themselves whether to appeal the convictions or begin serving sentences.

Police tried to separate the students by color when they arrested them, but the students joined hands and insisted on being taken to jail integrated. Only two of the white students arrested are from north of the Mason-Dixon line.

sat down at the lunch counter in Negro college, forbade further

NUMBER 10

The student reply came next Alabama Governor Patterson day with a protest march by 300 summoned the president of the to the capitol. At a campus rally afterward it was resolved that "if one student is expelled the entire student body will resign" and apply for admission to the University of Alabama and Auburn (both lily-white institu-

About 25 white men patroled the areas around the dime stores the following day. One of them knocked a young Negro woman passerby to the ground and another broke open her head with a bat.

Police did not interfere. A thousand students marched the next morning from the camnear the spot where Jeff Davis took the oath as the president of the Confederacy 99 years ago, they bowed their heads, repeated the Lord's Prayer, sang the national anthem, reformed their

column and marched off. The Alabama Board of Education then expelled nine students and placed another 20 on probation.

.. Ceylon

(Continued from Page 1) ssassination last September of Dahanayake's predecessor, Prime Minister Bandaranaike.

In response to the initiative major parties, including the UNP, principal capitalist party, met Jan. 25 to deal with the threat of a coup by Dahanayake. They called on the armed forces not to carry out any illegal orders.

On Jan. 30 the Continuing Committee of Trade Union Organizations called on the workers "to be vigilant and ready to resist any attempt to interfere with the democratic rights of

the people." The LSSP is running 101 candidates (there are 151 seats in parliament). The central planks in its program are (1) the maintenance of national unity in the face of attempts to divide the working people by race, religion and caste; (2) the planned economic development of Ceylon.

Calendar Events

CHICAGO

"Socialist Election Prospects for 1960." Hear DR. ANNETTE and slush to continue the dem- T. RUBINSTEIN. Friday, March onstrations at the downtown 18, 8 p.m., 777 W. Adams. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein speaks on "THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK FOR SOCIALISTS were on warrants, signed by the in 1960" Thursday, March 10, 8 manager of Woolworth's, charg- p.m., Andrews Hotel, Room M-3. Joint sponsors: Twin City Labor Forum and National Guardian. Donation: 50 cents.

NEW YORK

WILLIAM F. WARDE lectures on the work and world of C. Wright Mills. "Social Science in Our Time," a review of Mill's book "The Sociological Imagination." Friday, March 11, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place (near Union Square). Contribution 50 cents. Auspices: Young Socialist Alliance.

Directory Local

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Hunting ton 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

Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 ward. TEmple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES

Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5

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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. at. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE

1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554. Lirary, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS