

The Case Against Capital Punishment

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Socialists Pick National Ticket

Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss
Nominated by SWP National Committee

MARCH 7 — The national committee of the Socialist Workers party yesterday named Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss as the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 1960 elections.

The nomination was made subject to ratification by a special nominating convention later this year. The decision to contest the 1960 elections was voted by the SWP's Eighteenth National Convention last July.

The Socialist Workers party has already been certified for a place on the ballot in Michigan, where SWP supporters obtained more than 32,000 signatures last year. Signature gathering has been completed in New Jersey and is in process in Pennsylvania.

The party will seek to get on the ballot in as many states as possible, national officers of the SWP said. The principal obstacles are unfair election laws designed, in a number of key states, to keep parties other

Senate Racists Laud Trujillo

In the course of the Senate filibuster designed to help preserve racist tyranny in the south, Senators Smathers (D-Fla.) and Russell (D-Ga.) engaged in a colloquy on Latin America which indicated solid agreement with current bipartisan foreign policy.

Discussing the Dominican Republic, Russell philosophized that "if we must have a dictator, Trujillo has been about as liberal a dictator as a country could have."

"I agree," replied Smathers, who went on to say that the U. S. must "adopt a hard and tough line with Castro. We will make it absolutely clear that we will stand for no more arrogant nonsense or condescending notes."

Too Many Babies?

A Brand New Foe Finishes Malthus

By Joseph Hansen

Sixth in a series of articles.

The human proclivity to reproduce will inevitably bring us to famine and perhaps standing room only on our planet, according to the Rev. Malthus and his followers. Before getting morbid about having to pay for our lack of "moral restraint" in this cruel way, let's get a report from the food experts on how long we can continue without thought of the future like the improvident grasshopper in Aescop's fable.

Brace yourself for a pleasant surprise. No famine is in sight, at least in the United States. In an article "Chemical Revolution on the Farm," published in the New York Times Magazine Oct. 4, 1959, William Barry Furlong reports: "That revolution has all but wiped out the Malthusian fear that a nation would never be able to feed an ever-expanding population."

Who would have imagined it? The Malthusian fear has been all but wiped out! Let that be a lesson on the folly of taking the capitalist population experts seriously. This, however, is only the beginning. Furlong continues:

"When Thomas Malthus first uttered his dreary doctrine of despair in 1798, the United States had a population of five million persons and more than enough food to feed them. Today it has a population of 177 million persons — and more than enough food to feed them. In fact, the food keeps piling up, higher and higher, despite the abnormal demands of two wars in recent years, despite the fact that some 1,800,000 farms have disappeared in the last twenty years, despite the fact that about a million acres of farmland every year are turned into highways, housing developments and factories."

Take a look at those facts again. It's a real bomb so far as the Malthusian theory is concerned. According to Malthus, population expands at a geometric rate, food at only an arithmetic rate. But the facts cited by Furlong show that even if you give the pessimistic parson the benefit of the doubt on population, he was dead wrong about food. Since 1798 the supply in the United States has increased at a higher rate than population, despite wars, the disappearance of farms, and the loss of a million acres of farmland a year!

Does that sound unbelievable after the dire forebodings and grim warnings which we have been hearing from the Malthusians? Furlong gives us still another set of figures to confound those who maintain that the supply of food cannot be increased at better than an arithmetic rate:

"About 1850, four farmers could produce enough food for five persons. By 1940, one farmer could produce enough

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"Socialism Makes Life Worth Living"



Rose Karsner speaking at birthday banquet Feb. 27, affirms her belief in socialism as the greatest and most worthwhile cause of our times. She and her husband James P. Cannon (center), who have been socialists for half a century, a good part of it as internationally known leaders, celebrated their seventieth anniversaries together while in New York on a visit from Los Angeles where they now live. The New York local of the Socialist Workers party staged the banquet in their honor. Harry Ring (right) was master of ceremonies.

Socialism Gave Life An Aim and Meaning

Rose Karsner recently granted an interview in Los Angeles to Evelyn Reed, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party. The following is a transcript of the questions and answers.—Editor.

Q: You've been an outstanding person to me, Rose, since I first met you about twenty years ago. I know that other women comrades feel the same way. You were one of the founding members of our party. I would like to ask you some questions about your life and also about your opinions on some points of special interest to women. Let me begin by asking at what age you first became interested in broad social questions.

A: I joined the New York local of the Socialist party at the age of eighteen back in 1908. It was an election year and, as was the practice of the day, street-corner political meetings were being held throughout the city. I stopped to listen at one where John M. Ball, the socialist "soap box" orator, was holding forth. I ended by signing an application for membership in the party. But my interest in so-

cial questions really began early in my childhood.

Q: Early in your childhood? How?

A: Well, as you probably know, the U.S. immigration gates were still wide open in the 1890's, luring Europeans to these shores with promises of golden opportunities. The real reason was to supply the U.S. economy with cheap labor. My mother and her brood of six came here from Rumania in that European exodus. They were full of hopes, but were soon disappointed.

Q: Would you say, then, that immigrants or children of immigrants like yourself were more susceptible to the ideas of socialism than native-born Americans?

A: Yes. We came to this country to flee oppression at home and to better our conditions of life. We had also heard a great deal about freedom in this country. However, what we found in this "land of the free" was freedom to work in fire-trap sweat shops at substandard wages and to live in crowded bug-infested ghetto tenements. If we complained, we were told: "If you don't like it here, why don't you go back where you came from?" Therefore, the notions of fairness, justice, freedom, which I frequently heard as a child were not empty words or theories. They were aspirations born out of experiences of their opposites. That's why that socialist speaker I heard years later made sense to me.

Q: Did you become well acquainted with the leaders of the old Socialist party?

A: Yes. I came to know some such leaders as George R. Kirkpatrick, author of "War, What For?", Rufus W. Weeks, a Christian Socialist, Art Young, the famous cartoonist, Bertha Mailey, secretary of the Rand

New York Bosses Mistreated Them

"I worked in a dress factory. They paid me \$25 a week to sew. . . But I only stayed two months. I didn't like it because the owners would scream at us and treat us badly. I didn't understand, but they seemed to hate us."

That was how Rosa Elena Rosado, 34, explained to a New York World-Telegram reporter why she had returned to her native Puerto Rico. She had spent eighteen months in New York and New Jersey looking for the "good life." She never found it.

Mexican-American Labor Theme of Militant Speech

The migrant farm worker of Mexican descent must "organize a system of collective bargaining" and "raise his voice in the unity of organization," Rev. John A. Wagner, Executive Secretary of the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking, told a meeting of the Texas Agricultural Organizing Committee in February. "How long will we continue to deprive our poor wandering citizen migrants . . . of the rights of their citizenship?"

"Every other attempted solution has either failed," said Rev. Wagner, "or has been stymied by those who, for their vicious greed, loathe the day when the poorest of a poor Mexican people are able to establish themselves in decent employment and living conditions . . ." The speech was reported by the San Antonio AFL-CIO Weekly Dispatch.

Between 20,000 and 25,000 Mexican migrants leave Bexar County, Texas, each year and travel into "as many as thirty-five states." From birth they "experience equality neither in nourishment nor health nor housing nor education . . . they are condemned to be social misfits and political outcasts."

Listing every social benefit American labor has won through the years, from child labor laws to paid vacations and holidays, from which farm labor "is partially or entirely excluded," Rev. Wagner asked, "But before Congress acts political pressure must be exerted and who will exert that pressure?"

The growers "are very closely organized," said Rev. Wagner, and the migrant workers must do the same. "If there is a solution, it must lie in the migrants themselves — in the migrants, uniting so that they may speak with power."

SWP Honors Two Founders At Celebration

By M. L. Stafford

The best way to live is to devote yourself wholeheartedly to a great cause; and the greatest cause of all is socialism.

That was the outlook, confirmed by their own experience, which Rose Karsner and James P. Cannon sought to convey to those who had the rare opportunity of participating in their seventieth birthday celebration Feb. 27.

Rose joined the Socialist party in 1908, Jim in 1909. Between them, the two have rolled up a century of continuous service in the cause of socialism, much of it under difficult circumstances.

Harry Ring, master of ceremonies, expressed the feelings of the audience when he paid special tribute to Rose for her role in the years of grinding poverty, isolation, witch-hunts, slander and persecution, which included a prison sentence served by Jim as one of America's first Smith Act victims.

Rose's response to this when she took the floor was: "The introduction by the distinguished master of ceremonies and your

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Racist Violence Fails to Stem New Sitdowns

Students Hit Woolworth's In New York

NEW YORK, March 5 — Five hundred and fifty college and high school students protested Jim Crow lunch counters in the South with a picket line outside the F. W. Woolworth store on Thirty-fourth Street today.

Their demonstration marked the growing solidarity of Northern students with their Negro fellow-students.

Organized by the Student Council of City College, the picket line began at noon. By one o'clock 400 students were on the line, despite police harassment. The picketers' placards carried slogans such as "Woolworth Segregates" and "Don't Buy Jim Crow."

"Pass 'Em By"

Shouts of "Pass 'em by" greeted people entering the store. Anyone ignoring this plea was jeered at and booted. Most of the potential customers left without argument.

At 1:15 the picket line disbanded, and 300 of the students marched from Thirty-fourth Street to Washington Square to attend a rally of the National Student Association. After this, some students marched to a nearby Woolworth's store, picketed for an hour, and then decided to return to the Thirty-fourth Street store.

To their surprise 150 students, who arrived late, had formed another picket line in their absence. The combined forces picketed the store until it closed at 5 P.M.

The picket-line protest will be resumed next Saturday, March 12 at noon, outside Woolworth's at Thirty-fourth Street and Broadway.

Appropriate Tune

To protest against nuclear weapons, 1,000 people hiked three miles from Wethersfield, England, to a U.S. air base March 5. A killed Scotsman led the parade skirling the bagpipes. The tune he chose was the "Death March."

Authorities Whip Up Mobs Against Negro Youth in South

By George Lavan

After six weeks, the Southern students' campaign of direct action against Jim Crow is still spreading. At the same time, the conflict with Southern white-supremacist officials and the mobs they have incited has become more bitter.

Sit-down demonstrations at discriminatory lunch counters have erupted in Texas and Kentucky, bringing to

below the Mason-Dixon line. And on March 9, students from six Negro colleges in Atlanta announced in a full-page newspaper advertisement their intention of making Georgia the tenth.

In a few instances Negroes have won victories and are now being served at formerly lily-white lunch counters and soda fountains.

But in several key cities the battle has settled down to a grim contest of strength, the outcome of which cannot yet be foreseen.

This is particularly true of Montgomery, Alabama, cradle of the Confederacy and of the 1956 bus boycott. There, the militant protests of the students of Alabama State College and the city's colored population have called forth all the repressive force of the government and the racist organizations.

A sit-down demonstration by 35 ASC students at the snack bar in the county courthouse brought a demand by Governor Patterson for their immediate expulsion from the state-supported college. In reply, 300 students marched to the Capitol steps and held a brief protest meeting.

That Saturday, White Citizens Council thugs, armed with small baseball bats, patrolled Montgomery's main street and stood outside the five-and-ten-cent stores. Since no sit-downs were attempted, the WCC thugs had to content themselves with beating up a number of Negro women shoppers and a Negro boy.

Police, standing nearby, did not interfere with the baseball-bat brigade. The city's main newspaper, the Montgomery Advertiser, printed a front-page picture of one man striking a Negro woman

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Negro Labor Council Calls Parley in May

By Tom Kerry

The Negro American Labor Council, projected last summer at the convention of the National Association of Colored Peoples by A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will be established as a national organization at a founding conference scheduled to convene in May.

Formal announcement of the gathering appeared in the February issue of *The Black Worker*, official organ of the BSCP, and reads as follows:

"More than two thousand Negro trade unionists will meet in Detroit, Michigan, over the Memorial Day weekend, to found the Negro American Labor Council. The holiday weekend, May 28-29, was selected by the Steering Committee to enable as many Negro workers as possible to participate in the convention."

The aims and purpose of the organization as set forth in the announcement are:

"The Negro American Labor Council is being organized as a result of the continued general exclusion of the more than 1,500,000 Negro trade unionists from the program and policy-making bodies of the trade unions in which they are involved.

"It is the purpose of the Negro American Labor Council to advance the cause of the Negro trade unionist on the local, state and federal level; to involve the Negro trade unionist more

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Cheers Eisenhower Didn't Like

Latin Americans Jog Him on Cuba

By Lillian Kiezal

Cries of "We Like Castro!" "Yankee Go Home!" disturbed the harmony of the "We Like Ike" welcomes prepared by the governments of Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay during President Eisenhower's recent Latin American tour.

Eisenhower's itinerary had been deliberately worked out to avoid such "trouble spots" as Cuba, Bolivia, Venezuela and Panama.

No demonstration of note took place in Brazil where 750 policemen arrested 1,000 people the week preceding the visit. President Kubitschek insisted that those who were rounded up were not "political" but "hoodlums."

In Argentina, however, on the eve of the president's arrival, a Socialist party rally of 1,000 people described the visit as "that of a master coming to see a subject country." The meeting developed into a street demonstration during which three American flags were burned and banners lauding the United States were torn down.

In Chile, the Labor Confederation adorned the front of its Santiago headquarters, situated along Eisenhower's parade route, with a big portrait of Fidel Castro. Anti-U. S. demonstrators were led by the Popular Action Front and the Chilean Student Federation.

The President's parade in

Montevideo, Uruguay was interrupted by two student demonstrations that were suppressed by police wielding tear gas and fire hoses.

The wind blew tear gas into Eisenhower's eyes and spray from the hoses on his suit.

The demonstrators were members of the Uruguayan University Federation which represents 12,000 students. They were reported as "Trotskyist" and "socialist" in their political sympathies. The federation, said the New York Times, has "opened a registration book for volunteers to fight for Cuba if foreign powers intervene against the revolution."

The student demonstrations made quite clear, according to New York Times correspondent Tad Szulc, that " . . . evidently there are people in Uruguay and elsewhere in Latin America who dislike or resent the United States and its policies. Many of them are youths . . . who believe that the United States is indeed preparing to smash the Castro regime."

Summarizing the tour, Szulc wrote on March 6 that the Communist parties "pointedly refrained from attacking hard or vilifying the President" because of the approaching Paris summit talks.

With the Communist party and many nationalist groupings "acting so passively," Szulc added, the cheering for Eisenhower was more pronounced. But the same people who cheered "could turn in bitterness against the United States

if the feeling should develop that Mr. Eisenhower's words were empty."

In answer to appeals from Latin American government officials to offer something substantial, Eisenhower made the following pledges:

(1) Nonintervention in the internal affairs of any Latin American country even in the face of "internal social reform."

However, Eisenhower threatened U. S. intervention in case

of "subversion" from outside.

(2) Greater economic assistance.

(3) Support for reduction of the airmen burden borne by Latin American countries.

White House aides admitted, however, that commitments do not yet touch the prevailing Latin American belief that "United States corporations were draining off the wealth of that area without reciprocal contributions."

Lawyers Continue Fight To Save Chessman's Life

MARCH 9 — Caryl Chessman is now slated to die in a California gas chamber on May 2. His attorneys have asked the State Supreme Court to rule invalid this ninth execution date — set after Gov. Brown granted a 60-day reprieve — because state law requires that a defendant be present when sentenced. Chessman was in his cell in San Quentin's death row when the new date for his death was pronounced.

Meanwhile, Chessman has offered his life to win abolition of capital punishment in the state. In a letter to Brown he proposed that the governor submit a bill to the state legislature that would exclude him from the benefit of such a law.

He made this offer as it became apparent that the Democratic governor was only going through the motions of a fight on the issue and had publicly

conceded defeat even before he presented the issue to the legislature.

To further cloud his refusal to make a genuine fight, Brown charged that Chessman himself was the major obstacle to favorable action by the legislature because he had become a "controversial" figure.

This is a cheap fraud. If it were not for Chessman, abolition of the death penalty would not be a major issue in California today. His remarkable feat of publicizing the gross miscarriage of justice in his case and the cruel and unusual punishment he has suffered during his eleven years in death row dramatized before the whole world the urgent need for ending the death penalty. It was the world protest over the barbaric treatment of Chessman, not Brown's "humanitarianism," that managed to even get the issue before the legislature.

Again the Big Stick

The prevalent notion among capitalist politicians is that juvenile delinquency must be met with "get tough" measures.

A Brand New Foe

Malthus had everybody scrounging for food, except the rich, yet he saw famine as inevitable. Today, 161 years later, one farmer can produce enough for twenty-four.

"Thus the chemical revolution has increased farm capacity more in twenty years than the mechanical revolution did in almost 100 years."

Had he foreseen this, Malthus would have been forced to admit from his own premises that liberty, fraternity and equality are perfectly practical goals despite that tricky mathematical ratio on food and population which the French revolutionaries failed to consider.

Later we will consider the Malthusian theory more closely from the Marxist point of view but let us first continue our inventory, again citing Furlong:

"Last year the total acreage of farmland under cultivation was the smallest since 1918, yet farm production was 11 per cent higher than any previous record. The wheat and corn crops were so huge that they threatened the entire concept of price supports. The Federal Government has about \$2,500,000,000 tied up in stored wheat. It has about \$1,800,000,000 invested in surplus corn and is paying \$370,000 a day just to store more than a billion bushels of it."

If you think that's impressive, Furlong reports that some experts hold "that farm production can be stepped up as much as 85 per cent over its present record-breaking levels simply by using the knowledge now available."

Because statistics are always rather dry, people tend to hurry through them. Did you notice something about those last two paragraphs that jarred just a little? Something about wheat and corn crops being so huge that they "threatened" us in some way or other? And something about the threat getting 85 per cent worse? Having discovered that the Malthusians were wrong about an exploding population soon eating us out of house and home, is it possible that we are faced with a different disaster; namely, a food explosion? What if the present rate of expansion of the food supply were to keep up for two thousand years! Before getting trapped with that one, let's try another authority. Here's a Washington dispatch by William M. Blair that appeared in the Jan. 11, 1960, New York Times:

"As American agriculture enters the Nineteen Sixties, the revolution shaking the foundation of its traditional patterns shows no signs of slackening..."

"The output of the country's agricultural plant continues to outrace the 'population explosion'. During the Nineteen Fifties farm output increased 2.25 per cent a year. Population growth speeded up, but only at the rate of 1.8 per cent a year. In short, as of now, the total output of farms is beating a rapid rate of population growth by something like one-half of 1 per cent a year."

Our sudden suspicion was not a symptom of an incipient persecution complex but a sensitive response to a real danger. Babies may not be our enemy after all. With their millions of voracious mouths they may turn out to be allies. Perhaps we should consider following the example of our own government, sign a peace treaty with the enemy and begin picturing babies as one of us, doughty comrades in arms in a war against corn and wheat.

The true foe is obviously food. The scare over how swollen the population might become two thousand years from now diverted us from the real menace facing us right today — the torrents of wheat and corn that have broken through the dams on the farms and are now rushing down on us at frightening speed. As alert members of the Civilian Defense we had better snap to attention and study more carefully those deceptively dry statistics.

Preliminary figures from the Department of Agriculture indicate, William M. Blair reports, that capital invested in farming "increased about 8 per cent in the last decade while output expanded by 25 per cent." A trend like that is something to think about; but hear this:

"There have been phenomenal increases in yield per acre. The rise of 2.25 per cent a year in production during the Nineteen Fifties compares with the one-half of 1 per cent in the Nineteen Twenties. The yield-per-acre increase for major crops ranged from 20 per cent to 75 per cent over the last decade. Corn alone, and this crop accounts for one-fourth of the total production, increased by more than 35 per cent in yield per acre."

Such a food explosion obviously spells ruin. Work on farms "dropped from 24,000,000 man-hours in 1920 to 11,000,000,000 in the year ended Dec. 31." Despite that heroic slash in labor, corn and wheat still gushed upon us in an ever-rising flood.

What has happened to the unfortunate farmers caught in the path of corn and wheat? In 1958 there were 4,700,000 farms. Within two years the figure had dropped to 4,100,000 "or even as low as 3,900,000" and the rural population is shrinking. The conclusion is inescapable — our farmers are being suffocated by their own crops.

"Thus," as William Barry Furlong puts it, "the immediate prospects are not for famine but for continued abundance — and the problems, especially the crop surplus, that go with that abundance."

Small wonder that "in the United States Treasury's counting rooms, sweat breaks out on the men who watch the expanding abundance of the chemical age."

(Next week: Is Abundance Inevitable?)

delinquency. Both measures are being fought by the National Lawyers' Guild.

The first bill calls for making fifteen-year-olds subject to criminal prosecution if they are charged with such crimes as assault, burglary, rape or manslaughter.

Under present laws, fifteen-year-olds are handled in juvenile courts, except when accused of crimes punishable by death or life imprisonment. In those cases, a judge must determine if the accused is to be tried in an adult or juvenile court.

In opposing Wagner's bill to treat young people as hardened criminals, the Lawyers' Guild says the measure reflects "unreasoned hysteria." It represents the traditional "big stick" policy rather than concern for rehabilitating the youthful offender.

The Guild also points out that Wagner's proposal runs counter to a national trend to include offenders up to the age of eighteen under the category of juvenile delinquents.

All Ten Are 'Guilty'

Say that as a cop approaches a group of ten young people to search them, he finds two knives lying on the street. He can arrest — and a judge can convict — all ten for illegal possession of weapons.

The second section provides that "the actual possession of weapons by two or more persons, participating in an assemblage of three or more persons on a public thoroughfare, is presumptive evidence that such assemblage is with intent to commit an unlawful act by force."

That's quite a parlay. But the third clause is even more sweeping. It provides that the possession of a weapon by any one person in an "unlawful assemblage" can be used as "evidence" of unlawful possession of weapons by every person rounded up by the cops as part of the "assemblage."

The Lawyers' Guild attacks all three sections of Wagner's "assemblage" bill as unconstitutional. The bill, they say, is a "dragnet device which makes possible the indiscriminate rounding up of all youthful persons" including innocent bystanders.

The bill thus violates freedom of assembly. It also establishes guilt by association. It calls on judges and juries to convict a person even in the absence of any evidence of individual guilt. The burden of proof is placed on the defendant and not on the prosecutor.

Richard Garza, as organizer of the New York local, welcomed the two prodigals back to their true home; namely, Manhattan island — that is, the area round Union Square, and presented them with a huge gilt key to New York which he said would fit the doors to 116 University Place. The key included a thermometer with which to stay more comfortable in the rather erratic temperature winter and summer of the Socialist Workers party headquarters.

William F. Warde, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party, reported a humanist dream. Of all places, he found himself in heaven. But there was no happiness there. The old boy himself was down in the dumps. Even though he had been created by human beings, he had lost faith in humanity after surveying the present state of the capitalist system.

Warde, as a typical socialist, naturally began arguing with him and finally won him over. What did it? The proof that you can actually find people struggling to overcome capitalism and build a better way of life on earth. Warde cited the examples of Rose Karsner and James P. Cannon. Although the two were atheists, that convinced God. He decided to give humanity another chance and add his name to those seeking an end to atom-bomb tests.

Students Scorn Apology to FBI

BERKELEY, March 5 — The Regents of the University of California were sharply criticized by a student publication here for having apologized to the FBI over a question asked in an entrance examination. The question referred to the FBI as a national police organization that "operates secretly."

Yesterday, the Daily Californian, campus newspaper here, declared editorially: "The very fact that the Regents felt it necessary to apologize for the question is indicative of the degree to which the American public has accepted the potentially fatal doctrine that criticism of government agencies and social institutions is somehow disloyal and culpable."

The editors said that while the FBI had not yet achieved the status of a Gestapo they were apprehensive for the future "if the present trend of unreasonable accusation and investigation continues."

...Socialism Gave Aim and Meaning to Life

(Continued from Page 1) School of Social Science, and, to a lesser degree, W. H. Ghent and Algonern Lee, instructors at the school.

"Later, I came to know Eugene V. Debs. I attended all his mass meetings in the New York-New Jersey area where it was my task to go through the audience selling the Masses. After my marriage to Dave Karsner, a newspaper man and author, who was a friend of Debs and his first biographer, I came to know Debs more intimately because of Dave's connection with him."

Q: What accounts for the magnetism that Debs exercised over the radicals of his day? A: It wasn't simply the radicals. Debs was loved by the great mass of workers, some of whom were even opposed to his ideas of socialism. But Debs exuded love for humanity and conveyed a sincerity and passion about his convictions for a better world for everyone, regardless of race, color or creed. He was among the first to take a vigorous public stand against discrimination of any type.

Q: What induced you to side with the Left Wing in the socialist movement? A: A large majority of the youth, and I was part of it, sided with the Left Wing because they were the ones we saw in action wherever the class struggle broke out. We were followers of what were then called the "Reds," headed by such leaders as Bill Haywood, while the more conservative were followers of Morris Hillquit.

Q: Over the years what kind of work did you do of special importance in the socialist movement? A: A year after I joined the Socialist party I became Secretary of the Masses, a new semi-official party magazine. This publication underwent several changes in its career. In the beginning, while I was with it, the Masses sought to popularize the ideas of the co-operative movement. Thomas Seltzer, later a well-known publisher, was its editor. He brought together the celebrated group of artists and writers such as Art Young, Boardman Robinson, Floyd Dell and others. They joined with Max Eastman later to convert it into a radical, literary periodical.

I accompanied my husband to Chicago in 1911 where he went to work for the UP News Agency while I worked in the bookkeeping department and the Speakers Bureau of the National Office of the SP under John M. Work, the national secretary. The following year I went to Minnesota where Dave took over editorship of the left-wing weekly, Minnesota Socialist, with me as business manager.

...SWP Honors Two Founders

(Continued from Page 1) warm applause remind me of the story of the erudite professor. He rose to address his audience by saying, "Ladies and gentlemen — after the effusive introduction of me, I feel timid about speaking in the presence of so august a person as myself."

And this was the tone of the banquet as a whole. The evening sparkled with socialist wit and banter. Richard Garza, as organizer of the New York local, welcomed the two prodigals back to their true home; namely, Manhattan island — that is, the area round Union Square, and presented them with a huge gilt key to New York which he said would fit the doors to 116 University Place. The key included a thermometer with which to stay more comfortable in the rather erratic temperature winter and summer of the Socialist Workers party headquarters.

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JAMES P. CANNON, at New York banquet, tells about hard early years of pioneer Trotskyist movement when Rose Karsner played one of the key roles in keeping the organization alive.

Q: When did you join the Communist movement? A: I became part of the Communist movement of the USA toward the end of 1920.

Q: How and when did you meet James P. Cannon? A: I met Jim at the 1921 Unity Convention of the two communist groups — the Communist party and the United Communist party. Jim was there as part of the central leadership of the UCP. I went as part of the National Office staff to take notes of the Convention proceedings. Formally, I had not yet been transferred from the probation discussion group into the party, but L. E. Katterfeld, national secretary of the UCP, vouched for me, knowing me as he did from Chicago where I had worked with him in the Speakers Bureau of the SP. You see, the Communists were underground at the time, as a result of the infamous Palmer Raids. Persecution and witch-hunt of "the reds" ran wild and rampant. That is why all confidential workers in the party had to be vouched for.

Q: What do you recall as the outstanding assignments you had during the twenties? A: One was my work with the Friends of Soviet Russia and the other with the International Labor Defense. We participated in so many cases, including Sacco-Vanzetti, that it's not easy to enumerate them, but anyone interested can read about them in the Labor Defender, the official monthly organ of the ILD. One thing I can tell you for sure — the ILD was a genuinely nonpartisan organization which aided all victims of the class struggle regardless of race, color, creed or political beliefs. And while our aid was given to American class-war prisoners in the main, we also extended help to fighters in other lands by organizing effective protests.

Q: We all know how much you pitched in the early years of the Trotskyist movement. What in particular stands out in your memory? A: Frankly, nothing in particular stands out. The first five years, 1928-33, were real rough, though gratifying. But our numbers were very few and as a faction of the CP our chief work was one of clarifying the issues involved in our expulsion — internationalism versus Stalin's theory of socialism in one country. That took hours upon hours of discussion, and recruitment was almost exclusively from the CP one by one.

Q: What was your impression? A: Briefly, I felt that when I walked down the streets of Moscow I belonged. This, in contrast to my feeling here, where I felt like a stranger, in that the government and I were so far apart. Today, however, I am sure I would not have that same feeling. As a Trotskyist, I would feel a stranger there, too.

Q: Women's right to vote didn't exist when you were 21. Did you participate in the suffrage struggles that won that right? A: Yes, to the extent that it was possible in a movement and not an organization. I attended all their meetings and marched in their parades. But while I felt that the fight for the vote was necessary and had revolutionary implications, it seemed to me to be too limited in scope.

Q: Did women who worked for a living forty years ago have more handicaps than now? A: In the past there were only a few industries and services

available for women workers. In addition, the differential in wages and working conditions was much worse. As for a married woman, the whole weight of public opinion was against her holding a job. Her place was still in the home and kitchen.

Q: Do you think modern labor-saving machines in the home have helped to emancipate women? A: These machines have undoubtedly given them more time than before.

Q: Do you think they utilize this time to good advantage? A: I really don't know. And that isn't as important to me as 'just being released from some of the home "slave labor." Utilizing time to good advantage is a relative matter, depending on the cultural background and many other things.

Q: What are your opinions about birth control? A: I think people should have the right to decide for themselves whether they should have children and how many they should have. Birth-control measures should be legalized.

Q: Did women play a bigger or smaller part in the socialist movement after the first world war than they do today? A: Politically, women played a much smaller role then. There were quite a few exceptions who, because of that, stood out more prominently than today. Women today are more politically minded and advanced, due to many factors, chief of which is that the world wars propelled them into industry in large numbers.

Q: Do you feel that the Russian revolution had a special meaning and impact on women in this country? A: Very much so. What was happening in Russia made the women here feel that they might at last look forward to emancipation; that it was not simply a word but fast becoming a fact. Among ourselves, I often heard the complaint from women that "men live a life of self-expression while women live a life of self-suppression."

Q: If you had it to do over, would you adopt any other course than that of a revolutionist? A: Of course not. With all of its hardships, the movement gives purpose and meaning to life. Simply to exist or even to acquire things is not sufficient. Happiness and contentment can only come with a life that is bigger and broader than our own petty little selves. A revolutionary movement gives much more to the individual than the individual can ever give to the movement. At least that's the way I feel about it.

Q: What were the most gratifying experiences? A: Despite the obstacles, we built a party and recruited young people — many of whom comprise our present cadre and leadership.

Q: Did you ever visit the Soviet Union? A: Yes, from December 1924 to April 1925.

Q: What was your impression? A: Briefly, I felt that when I walked down the streets of Moscow I belonged. This, in contrast to my feeling here, where I felt like a stranger, in that the government and I were so far apart. Today, however, I am sure I would not have that same feeling. As a Trotskyist, I would feel a stranger there, too.

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Monday, March 14, 1960

As the Dixiecrats Droned On

The complaint that the United States Senate doesn't produce anything is refuted by the bumper crop of presidential candidates it has produced this year. Senators John F. Kennedy, Stuart Symington, Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson are all contending for the Democratic party's nomination. In the past months, each has toured the country delivering speeches calculated to convince the public that he is perfectly endowed to make a strong and fearless chief executive.

Well, the Senate has been tied up since Feb. 15 by the vote-prevention, filibuster tactics of the white-supremacist wing of the Democratic party. At stake is something that each of the above-named candidates has told audiences he is for—civil rights legislation. What better opportunity could these would-be presidents ask for displaying their strength and fearlessness as leaders of men?

But it seems that none of them found the situation quite to his liking. Three of them — Kennedy, Symington and Humphrey — instead of rushing to the fore, shrank to the sidelines. Johnson, the Texas overseer of the Senate plantation, is the only one playing an active role. He is pulling the strings on the well-choreographed civil-rights "fight."

Indeed, during the round-the-clock sessions, supposedly being held to end the talkathon by physically wearing out the Southern filibusterers, Kennedy on the night of Feb. 29 blithely took the floor to air his ideas on "national defense" thus giving Sen. Holland of Florida a breather of one hour and nineteen minutes.

Similarly, Symington on March 2 took the floor to call for bigger arms appropriations. This gave Sen. Long of Louisiana, assigned by the Dixiecrat command to the afternoon filibuster shift, a respite of over an hour and a half.

On March 8, Humphrey allowed the filibusterers to rest their weary lungs

while he made a speech on another subject. Moreover, his hanging back so far in the civil rights "fight" is notable since he is supposedly the strongest civil-rights supporter among the presidential aspirants.

For example, he (along with Kennedy and Symington) signed the Douglas-Javits petition for closure of debate only after the required sixteen signatures were on it. Only the first sixteen signers risk incurring the displeasure of Senate Boss Lyndon Johnson and the Dixiecrat bloc; subsequent signers are forgiven for having merely made a harmless political gesture.

Though Kennedy seems to have out-distanced Humphrey as the Southern Democrats' favorite Northern liberal, the Minnesota senator apparently has not completely lost their affection. Undoubtedly, Humphrey's reticence in the present civil-rights "fight" is explained by his desire not to jeopardize a friendliness that may prove useful at the convention.

Thus the Democratic presidential aspirant in the Senate who comes to the fore in the civil-rights maneuvering is Lyndon Johnson. It is an open secret that he wants thereby to divest himself of the label "Southerner" — a political curse for a national candidate — and make himself into a "Westerner."

But Johnson thinks too much can be done with labels. The civil-rights bill for which he is pushing is itself to be mostly a label — as was that toothless, gutless wonder, the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Thus from a Senate stacked with presidential timber — three of them striking presidential-timber poses on the sidelines and one running the Senate like a ward healer — all the American people will most likely get as the Civil Rights Act of 1960 is the sort of thing practical jokers love to present: A big beautifully beribboned and labeled package, whose content, after much unwrapping, proves to be tinny and tiny.

Adenauer's Deal with Franco

C. L. Sulzberger's revelation in the Feb. 22 New York Times that the government of West Germany has made military arrangements with fascist Spain is another indication that war preparations are continuing in the midst of the "thaw." Sulzberger, as European correspondent of the Times has unusual sources of information. He revealed that Adenauer is seeking airforce and missile training facilities on Spanish soil and also storage space for missiles.

The U.S., Britain and France were the only NATO members to be informed of Adenauer's military alliance with Franco. In response to the argument that Spain is not a member of the NATO alliance, Adenauer simply pointed to the fact that the U.S. provided the precedent for such bilateral agreements by getting its own air and naval bases on the Spanish peninsula.

Adenauer's move is another step toward the rearmament of Germany, a course deliberately pressed by American imperialism since it set up the puppet regime now ruling the occupied country. To train German forces in the use of bombers and guided missiles is an essential step in Wall Street's plans for an eventual attack on the Soviet bloc countries. The arrangement with Franco is an obvious subterfuge to get around the clamor that was anticipated over such training and storage of missiles on German soil.

Sulzberger contends that the project is a "foolish" one that will further alienate

Western popular opinion, already hostile to the Spanish fascist regime. It is particularly foolish in view of the anti-Semitic outbreak in Germany which deeply disturbed world public opinion. The fact remains, however, that Adenauer, who has been kept in office with the help of U.S. troops stationed in West Germany, would scarcely take such an important step without understanding that no serious opposition to it would be taken by the White House, the Pentagon or Congress.

The British government, Sulzberger says, is "cool" to Adenauer's venture in Spain. That may well be. But the British have undertaken to wise up the Franco regime on the development of atomic energy. That this is for "peaceful" purposes only will be taken with grain of salt in view of the remarkable coincidence with Adenauer's move.

The warmakers in Washington have repeatedly postponed their timetable for World War III. At the same time they have continued to prepare for it with the most colossal expenditure for armaments in all history. Adenauer's deal with Franco should serve to remind us once again that another war can be prevented only by displacing capitalism by socialism, an economic system that has built-in guarantees against war.

So long as big business runs the government the build up for another war will continue. That's what Adenauer's move underscores.

War Still On in Korea?

Throughout the Korean war, the low morale of the American troops occasioned widespread discussion. One firmly established point was that the GI's simply didn't understand why they were in Korea or what they were fighting about.

Some people had an explanation for this. After all, they said, because the war broke out so fast, the government did not have time to adequately state its case. And it is true that President Truman did plunge the country into the Korean civil war on the side of dictator Rhee without even consulting Congress, let alone the American people. His pretext was that he wasn't declaring war but launching a "police action."

But though time for adequate "indocination" might have been lacking when the fighting was at its height, the government has had seven years since the shooting stopped to explain fully why American troops remain stationed in South Korea.

Yet, we are now told, U.S. occupation forces in South Korea are still suffering from low morale. Louis G. Feldman, national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, who is on a "people to people"

tour for the President, reported March 5 that he had found that the troops in Korea consider their hitch there as "penitential duty."

"Men come to Korea with a sour attitude," he said, "and remain sour."

Mr. Feldman attributed this lack of enthusiasm to a lack of understanding among the soldiers on why they have to be in Korea. The average GI, he reports, "does not understand there's a war on." This gets us back to the question of what the war was all about in the first place. Evidently, the Pentagon never did manage to answer that question satisfactorily.

Besides, Feldman ought to concede that in view of the armistice signed on June 27, 1953, the GI's have some basis for failing to understand that "there's a war on."

Be all this as it may, we have a simple solution for the problem. Seven years is a lot of time in which to persuade the GI's that the U.S. is occupying South Korea legitimately. If it can't be done in that period, why not call the whole thing off and bring the troops back home?



"And then we'll have lunch at Woolworth's. The food's abominable, but we'll be doing our bit for those gracious Southern customs."

Death Penalty Scored as Unjust By Many Authorities on Crime

By Della Rossa

When Governor Brown urged the California legislature on March 2 to abolish capital punishment because "in actual practice... it is primarily inflicted upon the weak, the poor, the ignorant and against racial minorities," he was restating a well-established fact in American life.

A 1957 California State Assembly report on capital punishment arrived at the same conclusion. And back in the 1920's during the Sixty-ninth Congress, a House Committee, which recommended abolition of the death penalty in the District of Columbia, stated:

"As it is now applied, the death penalty is nothing but an arbitrary discrimination against an occasional victim. It cannot even be said that it is reserved as a weapon of retributive justice for the most atrocious criminals. For it is not necessarily the most guilty who suffer it."

"Almost any criminal with wealth or influence can escape it, but the poor and friendless convict, without means or power to fight his case from court to court or to exert pressure upon the pardoning executive, is the one singled out as a sacrifice to what is little more than a tradition."

"During his twelve years as warden of Sing Sing, Lewis E. Lawes took 151 people to the electric chair. He later wrote: 'In ages they ranged from seventeen to sixty-three. They came from all kinds of homes and environments. In one respect they were all alike. All were poor, and most of them friendless. The defendant of wealth and position never goes to the electric chair or to the gallows...'

The Friends' Committee on Legislation in a recent survey commented: "Opposition to the death penalty is strongest among the lower economic groups. Fifty-three per cent of the lowest economic levels oppose it, while its opponents among the higher economic levels are only 42 per cent, thus rather accurately reflecting the fact that the poor most often pay this penalty."

"This sense of unequal justice may also influence the thinking of Negroes, 78 per cent of whom are opposed to capital punishment. These percentages seem to indicate that though the people may not know all the facts supporting abolition, a majority has an intuitive reverence for life."

That Negroes have particular reason to be aroused by the injustices embodied in capital punishment is revealed by the figures of last year's executions. Thirty-three were

Krupp "Might" Help NATO

Alfried Krupp, Hitler's munitions maker, is inching his billion-dollar industrial empire back into arms production. On March 5, Krupp denied any intention of producing armaments but said he "might" produce certain military equipment for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

He would sell NATO mobile water-purification units and steel masts for setting up antennas, but guns, tanks and ammunition are "out." Krupp, whose Essen steel works registered a record turnover, last year, of more than \$1 billion, spent four years in jail following World War II.

Negroes and sixteen were white. Most of the executions were in the South. (New York Times, March 3.)

The argument for capital punishment is that the threat of death keeps people from committing murder. But the death penalty failed to stop 7,000 Americans who killed last year. In California, 64 of the 461 who killed in 1957 committed suicide immediately afterward.

Many murders grow out of tensions and frustrations, and the murder victim is often the person most closely tied emotionally to the murderer. In a five-year period in California, 27 per cent of the men who were executed had killed their wives or girl friends.

The death penalty is meaningless as a "deterrent" to the mentally deranged. Examinations over a fifteen-year period at California's San Quentin prison showed that a majority of those executed were psychoneurotic or psychopathic. In other words, they were in need of treatment, and had they received it early enough, their cure might have deterred their later acts.

During the same fifteen-year period, three of every five murders in California were committed during an interrupted armed robbery—with the robber probably unable to give any thought to possible consequences.

"It is impossible to prove that a single potential murderer was ever deterred" by the death penalty, is the conclusion of the Friends' Committee on Legislation.

For these reasons as well as the sheer inhumanity of capital punishment, thirty-five countries have abolished the death penalty and several other countries that have the law on the books do not invoke it. Most Latin American countries have done away with it, and in the world outcry against the execution of Caryl Chessman, they were the most vocal. Nine states have abolished capital punishment, as have Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

The number of murders is not appreciatively higher in those countries or states where the death penalty has been abolished. In England, the number of murders actually decreased during an eighteen-month period a few years ago when capital punishment was suspended.

In the next eighteen months, when the penalty was restored for a limited number of crimes the murder rate jumped from 246 to 310.

The homicide rate in Michigan, where the penalty was abolished in 1847, closely resembles that of Indiana and Illinois, which invoke the death penalty. Wisconsin, without the death penalty for a hundred years, has a murder rate significantly below that of Michigan, indicating that the homicide rate is not appreciably affected by the presence or absence of the death penalty.

Brutal Social Relations

Executions are part of the brutality in the relations of man to man that the capitalist system has perpetuated.

In 1748 solemn English judges ruled it proper to hang a boy of ten as an example to other children. For a long period the insane were treated as criminals.

Some progress has been made since then. Insanity is generally treated as an illness. And at Vacaville, Calif., a new twenty million dollar mental facility is being operated on the theory that certain types of criminal offenders present essentially a medical problem — either phy-

sical or psychiatric — or both. However, retribution against the criminal continues as the norm.

As for crime prevention, the Friends Committee states: "The man society executes for a crime is in part society's own child. He has been reared and nurtured by it, and is conditioned by what it has done for him." The Friends point to "the war system which denies the dignity and value of human life and nurtures the spirit of violence" as a breeder of crime. Society itself needs to change in order to eliminate the causes of crime.

The "war system" and the "spirit of violence" are rooted in a social order based on the enrichment of a small minority at the expense of the needs and welfare of the great majority.

The fight to do away with the death penalty is part of the struggle against all the injustices and inhumanities bred by the capitalist system.

The American Way of Life

Our High-Level Public Servants

An inspiring feature of our way of life is the high moral caliber of our public servants. There's no room in our government for cheap political hacks who can be bought up by special interests at bargain-counter prices.

For example, take John Doerfer, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. For seven years he has been public watchdog over the broadcasting industry. You can be sure the broadcasters haven't gotten away with anything phony since he has been around.

Why only last year he cracked down on them on the issue of time for minority-party candidates for public office. This problem had been approaching the point of scandal, with the broadcasters — in the guise of granting equal time, awarding their choicest spots to minority candidates and practically freezing out the Republicans and Democrats off the air.

Doerfer put a quick stop to that. He forced Congress to pass a law eliminating the equal-time nonsense.

Yet Doerfer has been subjected to very malicious criticism. In 1958 he was called before a House subcommittee to explain why members of the FCC had accepted color TV sets, free trips and other gratuities from the broadcasters and why one of the commissioners — Richard Mack, who has since resigned — allegedly took a cash gift from a TV station.

The subcommittee members then quizzed Doerfer about some \$1,270 in speechmaking fees he had received from the broadcasters. They were particularly interested in one speaking junket in which he was said to have collected his traveling expenses from three different sources, including the taxpayers. They also were curious as to why he had accepted \$165.12 from a TV station for a plane trip he didn't take.

Doerfer shut them up on that one. He had discovered the mistake and returned the money. Only the backbiters made much of the fact that he had refunded the money four years before the event and two weeks before the inquiry opened.

At that time the committee

also made a big deal out of the disclosure that Doerfer and his wife had taken a trip to Bimini in the Bahamas, courtesy of George B. Storer who owns thirteen radio and TV stations.

The explanation was simple, it turned out. Mr. and Mrs. Doerfer made the trip to check on how well the signal from Storer's Miami TV station was received at Bimini.

Free Ride to Florida

Now the House committee investigators are badgering Doerfer again about his relations with Storer and making snide remarks about his accepting a free ride to Florida on Mr. Storer's private plane and spending six days on his luxury yacht, Lazy Girl.

Doerfer's defense is unimpeachable. He told the committee he will pay Storer for the plane ride, and the money will go to the TV magnate's favorite charity.

As far as the boat ride was concerned, Doerfer pointed out, there was nothing to hide. His original statement to the press that he had spent only a few hours aboard the yacht had been a "misunderstanding."

When a committee member suggested that the free cruise was like payola, Doerfer snapped back with a witticism that ranks with the immortal "Who was that lady I saw you with last night?" With the timing of a professional, he declared: "That was no payola. It was a social engagement."

The brilliance of Doerfer's comeback recalls a statement he once made to the broadcasters on the quality of their entertainment. "To you and me," he confided, "some programs may be in poor taste, excessively commercial, unbearably monotonous. But apparently they fulfill the needs of those who listen and view them."

Who can argue with that? The great majority of the American people are simply not on Mr. Doerfer's level.

Herman Chauka

In Other Lands

NATO Nuclear Brigade Planned

De Gaulle to Get Atomic Weapons

Plans are now under way for the United States to provide France and other Western allies with nuclear weapons. Britain already receives such weapons from the United States.

On March 2, Gen. Lauris Norstad, U. S. commander of the NATO forces in Europe announced formation of mobile NATO ground-force units equipped with nuclear arms. These are to be made up originally of American, British and French troops.

After formation of the initial three-country brigade, Norstad said, the plan would be expanded to include five or more countries.

This probably means that West Germany will soon receive extensive nuclear arms and training from the U. S., though like France, under the guise of participating in NATO units.

British Fascists Incite Violence at Anti-Racist Rally

Fascist gangs led by Sir Oswald Mosley provoked a series of fist fights in London Feb. 28 at a mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square called to open a one-month boycott of South African goods. The boycott is in protest against the racist "apartheid" policies of the rulers of that country.

While 8,000 people participated in the demonstration, most of them from unions and Labor party clubs, the Mosleyites circled the square in cars carrying banners supporting South African racism. The fights broke out as the demonstrators left the square.

During the 1930's the Mosley group gained international notoriety for its virulent anti-Semitism. It is now forming anti-Negro sentiment in England and has played a key role in organizing white hoodlums in the Nottingham section of London for mob attacks on Negro residents of the area.

An editorial in the March 5 issue of The Newsletter, voice of

Was Khrushchev Key Man in War Against Germany?

Is Soviet history now going to be rewritten to credit Premier Khrushchev with the major gains of the USSR as has previously been done Stalin?

According to a recently published book of memoirs by Marshal Vasili Chulkov, Khrushchev was the key man in mapping the military strategy that led to victory over the Nazi forces in the historic battle of Stalingrad in 1942-43. Now a commander in the Kiev military region, Chulkov was a commander at Stalingrad.

Former Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Georgi Zhukov, generally credited with playing a major role in the defense of Stalingrad, is reportedly ignored in the Chulkov memoirs.

Egypt Projects Industrial Growth

The Egyptian government has projected a ten-year plan of industrialization. New plants already in operation are turning out products ranging from railway cars and industrial chemicals to frozen shrimps and medical supplies. In the past two years, 115 new factories have been opened, says the Feb. 25 Wall Street Journal.

Plans include the building of new steelmaking facilities, an oil refinery, an electronic equipment plant, a paper mill, a diesel locomotive factory and a fertilizer plant.

relation to the country's current national income of \$2.8 billion a year.

The government is relying heavily on foreign loans to finance the industrialization program. So far Egypt has a total to \$400 million in credits lined up, the bulk of it from the Soviet Union. The United States has pledged about \$50 million.

According to the plans, some of the new industry will be operated by private Egyptian capital and some of it by the government. All of it will be under government direction, however. "Our needs are beyond the capacity and ability of private capital," says Aziz Sidky, minister of industry.

A key feature of the economic development plans is completion of the Aswan Dam which has a ten-year target date for full operation.

The Nasser regime aims at doubling the country's national income and increasing the standard of living of the masses by one-third in the next decade. Egypt's per capita income is \$118 a year — half of what it was at the turn of the century.

South African Miners Killed By 'Apartheid'

Negro and white unionists in South Africa are pressing for action on the issue of mine safety as a result of a recent disaster at the coal mine at Coalbrook where more than 400 Negro miners and six whites were killed in a cave-in early this year.

According to the Feb. 29 Christian Science Monitor, 35,000 African miners have been killed in mine accidents during the past fifty years. Last year, 733 Negroes and 56 whites died in the mines.

African mine workers are paid 42 cents a day. White miners receive an average of \$8.40 a day.

The white miners, employed mainly as supervisors, have a strong union and the right to strike. The Africans also are organized, but their union is not recognized by the government, and it is illegal for them to strike.

Filibuster on TV?

Editor: Some deodorant company should have sponsored the Senate filibuster on TV...

D. B. New Jersey

Don't Like the Way Harlemites Shake The Hiring Cocktail

Editor: I think readers of the Militant might be interested in an item which appeared in the Feb. 15 issue of "Frank Kane's Weekly Letter..."

The item deals with the move in Harlem to persuade companies to hire more Negro salesmen, an effort which has been directed especially at the liquor companies.

"The situation is a real powder keg," says the publication, "and one that threatens to give the whole industry a king size headache..."

age store licensees in Harlem whose licenses are threatened with de-valuation. At the very best, it's now a seething situation inspired by a small group of politically minded baiters...

"Along the same lines, the Letter is told that a group in Pennsylvania is trying to stir up a boycott against distillers who do not employ Negro salesmen in that state..."

The article claims that the "behind-the-scenes power" in the boycott is "Congressman Adam Clayton Powell who was publicly discredited last week by AFL-CIO President George Meany when he accused the Congressman of 'stirring up racial hatred at the slightest provocation'"

This is a good indication of what force and impact a statement by Meany has upon industry — provided they consider it's the right statement.

As for the statement in the article that the most wholesalers don't permit salesmen to switch accounts, this is not true. In the

area where I work, not only are salesmen permitted to transfer accounts, they are encouraged to do so in cases where it is felt another salesman could do a better job.

M.K. Wisconsin

Sixth Commandment Should Apply to Governments, Too

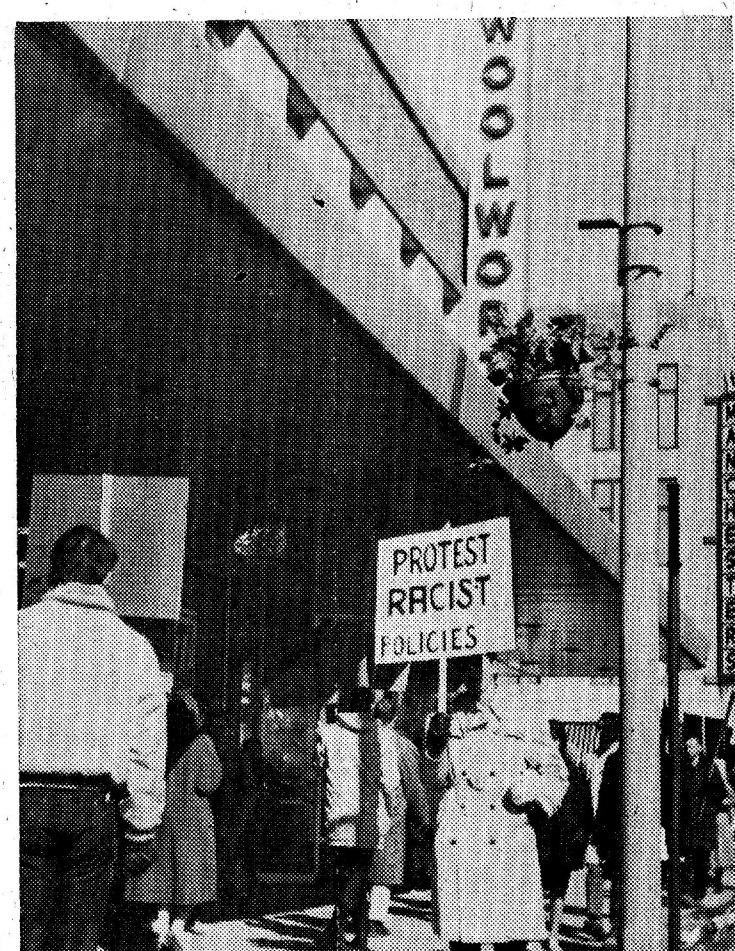
Editor: I am neither a defender of Caryl Chessman nor his prosecutor. According to prevailing law, Chessman is a criminal and subject to the death penalty. However, I am not enthusiastic about the goodness of the law, nor the efficacy of the penalty...

I have been opposed to capital punishment long before the advent of the Chessman case. My opposition has moral command and political support. The Bible says: "Thou shalt not kill." That injunction includes the state.

The state commits murder singly and in mass. It often imprisons innocent victims and some times executes them. Crime is on the increase. Incarceration and the death penalty have not checked it.

Joseph Maniet Cleveland.

Broadening Woolworth's Education



University of Wisconsin students join the national movement to teach the Woolworth chain a fundamental lesson in democracy as it relates to their lunch counters in the South. These students carried placards at the five-and-dime store in Madison, Feb. 27. A total of 200 participated during the afternoon...

a protest march by Negro students at Allen and Benedict Colleges was followed by a night of racist terror. Carloads of whites drove through the streets throwing rocks and bottles at Negro pedestrians.

Students organized all-night patrols for the two campuses, and at 4:30 a.m. a patrol surprised a racist band which had set up two fiery crosses on the Allen campus and had already ignited one. The Negro students chased their tormentors to a drive-in restaurant a block away.

In Sumter, S. C., and Petersburg, Virginia, the sit-downs have taken place in white-only public libraries. Eleven Ne-

Garment Union Hits Woolworth With Picket Line

By Alex Harte

MARCH 8 — The first major New York trade-union action in support of Southern Negro students, fighting to break the color bar at variety-store lunch counters, took place today when 800 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union staged noon-time picket demonstrations at three downtown Woolworth stores.

Charles Zimmerman, vice-president of the union and chairman of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, led the picket line at the large Thirty-fourth Street store. Marching with the unionists were two Southern Negro students, Edward Rodman of Portsmouth, Va., and Glen Mitchell of Raleigh, N. C.

Elsewhere in the New York area, the United Auto Workers and the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, also scheduled solidarity picket lines. And the Brooklyn Labor and Industry Committee of the NAACP has slated a demonstration at a Woolworth store in downtown Brooklyn and is urging unions in the area to lend their support to the action.

Denver Picket Line

Meanwhile, student demonstrations of solidarity are continuing to spread across the country. One of the most encouraging took place at a Woolworth's in Denver last Saturday where unionists joined in the picket line.

It was the first civil-rights picketing to take place in that city in a number of years. One of the participants a Negro member of the United Packinghouse Workers declared: "We will continue to picket and boycott these outfits as long as they profit from their ruthless dual policy toward Northern and Southern customers."

He also pointed out that the Woolworth and Kress stores in the area just recently began hiring Negro sales clerks after the passage of a fair-employment-practices law.

A Negro woman, fifty-four years old and in ill health, picketed for five hours despite the cold, even refusing to take a coffee break. "I want to fight for Negro youth so they can live a happier life than I have," she said.

Boulder, Colo.

On Monday in Boulder, about forty University of Colorado students joined the protest movement with demonstrations at the local Woolworth and Kress stores. The marchers carried signs reading: "We will walk until they can sit," "Jim Crow must go" and "Equal rights for black and white."

Philadelphia

In Philadelphia, the Youth Committee Against Segregation staged three successful picket-lines last week, winning wide support in the Negro community. Two picket captains were arrested during one demonstration but were released after the American Civil Liberties Union entered the case.

Picket-line actions by students were also reported scheduled for last week in Boston, Chicago and the San Francisco area. A demonstration was also held last week by students at Smith College in Northampton, Mass.

Not Fit for a Dog

A pack of bloodhounds at a Georgia county prison dug under the fence and escaped. The prisoners were sent out to catch them.

Local Directory

Table with columns for various cities: BOSTON, CHICAGO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, MILWAUKEE, MINNEAPOLIS, NEWARK, NEW YORK CITY, OAKLAND - BERKELEY, PHILADELPHIA, SAN FRANCISCO, SEATTLE, ST. LOUIS.

You and the FBI

[The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee recently reissued its statement on the rights of individuals in relation to the FBI. We print it again for the information of our readers. — Editor.]

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has received many letters and telephone calls from people who have been visited by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These people indicated confusion about their obligations to their government and about their rights as citizens.

Since we believe that the average person as a rule does not know his duties or his rights concerning FBI interrogation, we offer this general information for those to whom it may be helpful.

You may feel, as many people do, that you have a moral obligation as a citizen to supply any governmental agency with all of the facts which would be helpful in a given situation, provided that neither your rights nor those of others are being violated. It is even possible that the inquiry concerns the application for government employment of someone with whom you are acquainted.

However, you frequently do not know the purpose of the inquiry, and the inquirer will rarely tell you in advance. Therefore, it is important for you to know that you are under no legal obligation to talk to representatives of the FBI or of any other governmental agency, unless you have been subpoenaed. The FBI, unlike courts and grand juries, does not have the power of subpoena and of compulsory examination. You may decline an invitation to visit FBI agents or to receive them in your home or office.

Unfortunately, at the present time many FBI inquiries appear to be concerned with political associations rather than with obtaining facts for constructive purposes of criminal investigation. The very nature of political inquiries means that many of the questions will be of the sort which no citizen is, or should be, required to answer. The protections afforded to you by the Bill of Rights as interpreted by the Supreme Court in recent as well as earlier decisions are as available to you in such an interview as they would be in open court or before a Congressional body. If you have any doubts as to the FBI's questions you may refuse to answer until your attorney has been consulted, or you may insist on having your attorney present during the interview. You may also ask to have the questions put in writing.

In determining your responsibility to answer questions, remember that there are no off-the-record conversations with the FBI. The agent in question is under a duty to make some report of his interrogation or interview. He may, possibly, be recording the conversation without your knowledge. Be most careful to be accurate. For the obvious reasons of civic duty, morality and personal safety, do not answer questions if you do not have personal knowledge of the facts. False statements, although made orally and not under oath, may be the basis for a criminal prosecution.

Finally, the use of investigative power by governmental agencies to intimidate or threaten is expressly forbidden by law. We suggest that you report any attempt at intimidation to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

[The ECLC is located at 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.]

Notes in the News

TOO SICK TO SUIT BLUE CROSS — A subscriber to the New York Associated Hospital Service (Blue Cross) recently was stricken with a heart attack while traveling. His condition was so critical that the doctor ordered that he not be moved to a hospital. Instead his hotel room was furnished with all the equipment of a hospital room, including an oxygen tent. The bills ran to thousands of dollars which he turned over to Blue Cross for payment. He was told that since he did not go to a hospital he could get no money from Blue Cross.

POLLUTED — President Eisenhower recently vetoed a measure to aid in combatting widespread pollution of water supplies. The St. Paul department of health reported last month that tests of wells in the city's suburban areas had turned up nitrate contamination in 37 to 83 per cent of those sampled.

WHO'S PREJUDICED? — A New York State Senate committee reported March 3 that it had found "a vast amount of discrimination" against Negroes in private housing throughout the state. One of the towns cited as particularly bad in this respect was Freeport. The charge of bias was heatedly denied by Village Clerk Robert Doxse who termed it "ridiculous" and recalled that one of his co-workers had recently sold his home to "a high-class colored family."

PORTLAND, OREGON OR PORTLAND, MAINE? — If your mail is even later than usual it may be due to a new speed-up system being introduced in post offices. Under the system, postal clerks are expected to check 2,340 pieces of mail an hour for city or state addresses, plus proper postage and cancellation. Spokesmen for the National Federation of Post Office Clerks say the new work system will increase the percentage of errors by clerks.

YOU GOT TO FOOL US BETTER THAN THAT — Sherril Taylor, a Chicago advertising executive says that "too many people in the advertising business think they are advertising to a bunch of fools." He said they should realize TV and radio audiences "are intelligent and aren't easily hoodwinked."

TOUGH SLEDDING FOR ANTI-SEMITIC SHEET — A widespread boycott by distributors and dealers is making it difficult for the American Mercury magazine to continue publishing. Once known internationally for its high literary level and liberal stand on social issues, the magazine became virulently anti-Semitic when

it was taken over in 1952 by Russell Maguire, a wealthy industrialist. Before the war, Maguire operated a Wall Street investment firm which was dissolved after the government charged illegal manipulation of stocks. In the past four months, three printing concerns have refused one after another to go on printing the magazine after turning out one or two issues.

'OBSESSED' — The shipment of a dozen jet fighter planes to Ethiopia, "a country 98 per cent illiterate," was scored by Supreme Court Justice William Douglas in a Minneapolis speech. "We make a \$50 million investment in airplanes," he said, "and they watch these things from their miserable mud huts." The Justice feels that "We are obsessed with the notion we can fight communism with planes, tanks and bombs."

LIKE POVERTY. FOR INSTANCE — A craving for milk may mean disappointment in love or other threats toward the individual's sense of security, reports the Minnesota State Medical Association.

AUTOMATED EMBEZZLEMENT — The New York office of Walston and Co., one of the ten biggest brokerage houses in the country, discovered recently that Frank B. Haderer, manager of the company's complex IBM electronic bookkeeping system, had seemingly diverted company funds his way for the last eight years. All told he allegedly took \$270,000. One of Walston's twenty-four vice-presidents, Haderer, "would punch cards to show a small withdrawal, perhaps \$2,000, from the company's vast interest accounts" and would deposit the same amount into his two personal accounts, reported the March 3 New York Times. Assistant District Attorney Jerome Kidder said he had difficulty preparing charges. "When books and records are manipulated," he said, "it's possible to identify handwriting and to locate inaccurate entries. But when electronic machines are used, it's sometimes hard to tell who pushed the button."

PENNY SHORTAGE — Although some 24 billion pennies are in circulation, the federal mint is working overtime to make up a severe shortage of the coppers. The federal reserve bank in Boston has been forced to ration distribution of pennies and some banks have been advertising in trade publications for spare pennies held by other banks. Principal cause of the shortage is the sales tax now in effect in 35 states and the District of Columbia.

... Sitdowns

(Continued from Page 1) from behind with a bat. In the background, another white man is seen striking a Negro woman with his fist.

The newspaper caption identified the bat-wielder as Sonny Kyle Livingston, one of those indicted in 1956 for the bombings of Negro churches and homes. Like the other defendants he was acquitted and the case remains "unsolved."

Protesting the police-condoned violence on Montgomery's streets, 1,000 Negroes held a brief prayer demonstration next day on the Capitol steps. This was followed by the Board of Education's expulsion of nine student "ringleaders" and suspension of 20 others — all on the motion of Gov. Patterson. On Sunday, March 7 Negroes attempted to march in protest from Dexter Avenue Baptist Church to the Capitol, one block away, to protest the expulsions.

Before the scheduled time, city police, state police, Civilian Defense Workers, special mounted deputies and the fire department were outside the church to prevent the announced protest. In addition a white crowd, estimated at 10,000 but containing many curiosity seekers, was waiting.

As the Negroes emerged, led by their preachers — Rev. R. E. Dubose and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, they were rudely shoved back by police and deputies. Three fire hoses, at the ready, were aimed in their direction.

Police pretended not to see as white racists tried to provoke the Negroes by minor acts of violence. Finally, the 2,000 Negroes were forced back into the church and police dispersed their own cohorts — the white mob. The only person arrested was a news photographer.

Alabama State college students have threatened a general campus strike or an exodus from the institution in support of the expelled leaders. Negro organizations have promised to furnish those expelled with scholarships at other colleges.

Following sit-downs by students from Texas Southern University in Houston, racists kidnaped a Negro at random, took him to a wooded area, hung him from a tree by his heels and carved two sets of KKK's on his chest and stomach.

In Columbia, South Carolina,

... Negro Labor Council

(Continued from Page 1)

completely into the affairs of his community; to acquaint him with the political and legislative issues dealing with labor and civil rights and with the record of his legislators, local, state and federal; and to advance the cause of workers in other countries, especially the emerging nations.

"The Negro American Labor Council seeks a strong, militant trade union movement dedicated to the democratic welfare of all members regardless of race, creed or color.

It will seek to work closely with the trade union movement and other established organizations similarly interested in a consideration of the problems faced by Negro workers, but independent of the control and domination of any union or segment of the labor movement or other organization."

The establishment of a national council to fight all Jim Crow manifestations in the labor movement is enthusiastically supported by Negro trade union militants who favor the broadest participation without regard to affiliation or political belief. The attempt to impose "loyalty tests" as a condition of membership can provoke heated

controversy at the founding convention.

Considerable dissatisfaction has already been expressed at the report that membership will be confined to Negro trade unionists affiliated to the AFL-CIO, thus excluding many thousands now members of independent unions.

In his speech to the NAACP convention projecting the idea of "a National Labor Committee," Randolph contended that "the members of this committee should come only from the Negro members of the national and international unions of the AFL-CIO." (Text of speech printed in The Black Worker, August, 1959.)

Later, an editorial statement on the Negro American Labor Council, published in the December issue of The Black Worker, asserted:

"The Negro American Labor Council is pro-AFL-CIO and pro the leaders of the AFL-CIO."

The "Communist" Issue

Whether these statements indicate a firm policy commitment by the Randolph group to narrow the base of the NALC is not yet clear. The convention announcement, although ambiguous on this score, implies a shift in position when it affirms:

"NALC will seek to enlist as members all Negro trade unionists and wage earners other than those who are members of the communist party. Members will be accepted as individuals and not as representatives of their respective unions."

It behooves a persecuted minority engaged in the laudable project of forming an organization to fight for equality to begin by imposing discriminatory restrictions because of affiliation or political belief.

Some Negro militants, disturbed by the implications of a restrictive policy, explain that the Randolph group is impelled to make concessions to the hostile pressure of the union tops, to ward off the charge of "red infiltration" and "dual unionism."

But this road is strewn with the skeletons of lost causes. The NALC can prosper and become effective only to the extent that it engages in struggle against the policy and influence of the top AFL-CIO bureaucrats. If that were not there would be no reason for the formation of a separate organization - dedi-

... SWP Ticket

(Continued from Page 1)

people dissatisfied with policies under the two-party system. It also expresses the ever-growing determination of the Negro people to do away with Jim Crow."

In his conclusion, Dobbs stated: "We shall appeal to all people who believe in socialism—even if they do not agree with our program in every respect—to join us in publicizing the socialist alternative to war, union-busting, economic insecurity and Jim Crow."

"We are confident that many of them will campaign actively for the SWP ticket." Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss were the SWP banner bearers in the 1956 elections. Dobbs is 52. In the 1930's he was a leader of teamsters' strikes in Minneapolis that paved the way for the victories of the CIO. Mrs. Weiss is 42. She was active in organizing cannery workers on the West Coast and later was organizer of the SWP local in Los Angeles.

A Good Question

Author Harry Golden asks, "Why do we insist the only way we can prevent hunger is to prevent people?"

Calendar Of Events

- NEW YORK: "Puerto Rican Freedom — Which Road?" — A symposium discussion. Participants, Ruth Reynolds, Fellowship of Reconciliation and participant in Puerto Rican independence movement. Richard Levin, graduate student, University of Puerto Rico. Richard Garza, New York Organizer, Socialist Workers party. Friday, March 18, 8:30 p.m. AUSA, Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. Contrib. 50 cents.

On March 25 the Militant Labor Forum will sponsor a lecture by the noted economist, Dr. Otto Nathan, on "Karl Marx and Contemporary American Capitalism."