

Can British Divert African Revolution?

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Little Time Left For Chessman

Press California Legislature To Abolish the Death Penalty

By M. L. Stafford

Caryl Chessman still faces the gas chamber. He is scheduled to die April 20. Gov. Edmund G. Brown has passed the buck to the California legislature. Unless this reactionary body outlaws capital punishment, Gov. Brown will grant no more postponements although he claims to be against the death penalty. These are the most important facts now facing the millions of people who succeeded in gaining another sixty days for the doomed man. Sixty days is not much time to bring world pressure to bear on California's Democratic and Republican legislators.

Gov. Brown bowed Feb. 19 to what the New York Times called "mountainous world-wide pressures." These included two million signatures from Latin America, petitions from India, Japan and Sweden, a demonstration outside the walls of San Quentin. Will the governor grant another stay in sixty days

Henry Winston Denied Parole

Last week the Federal Parole Board vindictively denied a new plea for a medical parole for Henry Winston, a Communist party leader railroaded to prison under the Smith Act for his political beliefs.

Winston is now in a New York hospital under police guard after undergoing emergency surgery for a brain tumor. He has lost the complete sight of one eye and partial sight of the other. His critical condition is due in large measure to the fact that prison authorities denied him proper medical care when he needed it.

Letters to the White House urging a presidential pardon have been urged.

if the pressure mounts again? He has already said no.

The new postponement, Brown announced, was due to a State Department telegram telling him that the Uruguayan government "anticipated hostile demonstrations of student elements and others to Chessman execution" when Eisenhower reaches Uruguay.

"The argument is incredible," said *Revolution*, newspaper of the July 26 Movement in Cuba. "The life of Chessman counts for nothing, only the upset stomach which the president of the United States might suffer because of tomatoes 'a la Nixon' which our brothers of the continent might dedicate to him."

This is the eighth time in twelve years that Chessman's execution has been postponed. While the American courts played a cat-and-mouse game with him, his case became famous throughout the world — principally because of the autobiography, "Cell 2455, Death Row," which he wrote in prison.

Chessman said that his latest reprieve "transcends the fate of one embattled, condemned man. It puts the question of capital punishment squarely before the people for debate and resolution."

Chessman's attorneys, Rosalie Asher and George T. Davis, aided by A. L. Wirin, noted American Civil Liberties Union attorney, are organizing a statewide campaign to "pressure the legislature into wiping the [capital punishment] law off the books." Davis has announced a state convention on the issue in early March, when the legislature will be in session.

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Too Many Babies?

You Need Brains To Outfox the Foe

By Joseph Hansen

Fourth in a series of articles.

What can be done to stop babies from making any further inroads on mankind? Some of the best minds in the capitalist world are working around the clock on this fateful problem. Time is of the essence. If the foe manages to keep up his present frightening rate of birth and our death rate remains stagnant, by the year 3960 this small planet will have a population of 2,000,000 per square foot. All the experts agree that this would be too crowded.

A way to prevent such catastrophic piling up of humans was suggested by Stephen Enke, Professor of Economics at Yale University. In a paper read at a meeting of the American Economics Association, this learned representative of capitalist thought proposed that underdeveloped countries cut down on babies at once by giving cash bonuses to married couples who practice birth control.

This could be done, Professor Enke held, by paying husbands who requested sterilization and wives who did not become pregnant for long periods of time.

A seeming barrier to this angle is the poverty of the underdeveloped countries. The obstacle, however, might not prove insuperable. Congress, which has learned admirable alacrity in handing out tens or hundreds of billions of dollars from the public treasury for deadly nerve gases, H-bombs, atomic pig boats and similar Christian paraphernalia, might be persuaded to offer a generous subsidy to married couples in benighted lands who could prove sterility.

A January 16 dispatch in the New York Times describes experiments in India along these lines. The Central Government, writes Paul Grimes from Bangalore, "has urged the states to provide for male sterilization." This laudable propaganda has been accompanied by deeds. "Special surgical facilities have been established." In New Delhi, the Home Ministry even decided to allow government employees as much as six working days off if they agreed to use the time to get themselves sterilized.

"Yet the results have not been encouraging. Available physicians and qualified aides are hard to find. Even if each clinic handled the 60,000 persons it was designed to serve, five out of six Indians would still have no facilities."

A moral question came up, too. In Madras social workers had been paid two rupees (40 cents) "for each man they induced to be sterilized. . . . Lamentably, in seeking more rupees, they often persuaded men to submit to the operation "without impressing on the patient that sterilization meant he could never father children again."

In contrast to this somewhat discouraging field report,

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Lincoln's Birthday Observance



Cops in Richmond, Va., observed birthday of the Great Emancipator by arresting 35 Negro college students. They were charged with "trespassing" by owners of Thalheimer's, city's largest department store, for protesting segregated lunch counters. Undaunted youth waves at photographers as he enters patrol wagon.

Settlement Reached In Wilson Co. Strike

ALBERT LEA, Minn., Feb. 19 — Hundreds of striking workers at the Wilson packing plant here cheered when they received word that an agreement had been reached with the company, thus ending their 108-day strike. But their jubilation was short-lived when the local and international officers of their union, the United Packinghouse Workers AFL-CIO, told them what the agreement was.

While the settlement includes pretty much the same economic benefits as won at the other major packing plants, the procedure agreed to for rehiring the strikers may mean that half of the 1,000 strikers here will never get their jobs back. Strikebreakers have taken over these jobs, and whether the scabs hold them permanently or make way for returning strikers is to be determined by arbitration.

Throughout the six Wilson plants, 3,000 jobs out of 5,500 will be subject to arbitration. The procedure for returning the strikers to their jobs, as outlined in the agreement, is as follows:

(1) The company is to call back, on the basis of seniority, all strikers whose jobs have not been taken over by non-strikers.

(2) The decision as to who has the right to the remaining jobs in the plant will be made by a tripartite arbitration board consisting of one person selected by the union, one by the company and one by a federal judge in Illinois. If this board de-

termines that a non-striker has the right to a given job then the striker will be placed on a preferential hiring list. All strikers not rehired after two years will no longer be considered employees.

(3) Strikers accused of illegal acts during the strike will have their cases arbitrated separately on a plant-by-plant basis.

The union officials had to talk hard to sell this settlement to the strikers. They said that getting Wilson to sign any kind of an agreement was a big victory. The issue was presented to the workers as a choice between accepting the offer and putting their jobs on the block or continuing the strike and losing their union.

This threat of losing their union was based on the attempt of the National Brotherhood of Packinghouse Workers, an "independent" union, to get the bargaining rights in all Wilson plants.

This was a powerful argument for the workers here. Their spirit of union loyalty is so strong that during the long, hard-fought strike only eight of them broke ranks. With that same sense of union loyalty, they voted to accept the agreement and save the union even though it may mean their jobs — as did strikers at other Wilson plants except in Omaha.

But there is a great deal of bitterness among the workers. One striker with five years' seniority in the plant said: "If the arbitrators rule the scabs have a right to my job, I'll have to go back to work for a dollar an hour, maybe for the farmer who took my job during the strike. I think the agreement stinks."

A number of other workers said they hoped they didn't have to go back to work until all the scabs were out. Several hundred workers who are waiting for the arbitrators' decision have declared they intend to go down to the plant gate and insist that the company run out the non-strikers so they can go back to work.

They have no faith in arbitration and they feel that with the same determination that kept their ranks solid for sixteen weeks they can get rid of the strikebreakers and win back the jobs that are rightfully theirs.

181-Day Mine-Mill Strike Won at Anaconda Copper

A 181-day strike ended Feb. 15 when members of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers returned to their jobs at Anaconda Copper with a new contract. Anaconda was the last of the "big five" in the copper industry to settle with Mine-Mill. All had been struck last Aug. 19.

The Anaconda settlement, ratified by a secret ballot of the 6,000 strikers, will run until June 30, 1962. The terms include a wage increase ranging from 15 to 35 cents an hour and fringe benefits amounting to an additional eight cents.

The drawn-out fight which imposed severe hardships on the strikers failed to shake their solidarity and they won significant material support for their cause.

The Feb. 12 People's Voice, an independent weekly published in Helena, Montana, reports that the state unemployment commission and the state welfare department both discriminated against the strikers and "assumed the role of strikebreakers, as it were."

However, the paper reports, "The obvious bias of the two state agencies was not lost on the people of Montana. Help, first in dribbles, began coming in. Then public opinion crystallized. Montana people finally awakened to the fact that the company was indeed intent on wrecking the union no matter how many women and children starved in the process. Last week food, cash, clothing, from near and far began pouring in. . . ."

On Tour

Socialist Tasks Loom Large in Election Year

New York, N. Y.

Editor:

Before winding up this series of letters I would like to make a few general observations about political conditions in the country and their meaning for socialists.

There is widespread fear of the consequences an atomic war would bring. People strongly hope that the present softening in international relations will lead to world peace; they are anxious for humanity to find a way to a live-and-let-live policy in global relations.

Many people think the bipartisan imperialist government in Washington has sincere peace aims along this line; or, to put it the other way around, they lack awareness that the American capitalist class is basically responsible for the present war danger.

This causes them to fall prey to the foreign policy double talk of the Democrats and Republicans; and those counting on arms production to keep them employed become even more entangled in the imperialist web.

It follows that socialists can hope to refute the imperialist foreign policy line only by getting down to fundamentals on

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Youth Pickets Resist Racist Mob Attacks

Attempt New Frame-up of M. L. King

Georgia police arrested Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Negro leader, on Feb. 17 at the request of Alabama officials. The charge against the leader of the famous Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott is perjury in connection with the filing of his state income-tax returns in Alabama where he resided until last month.

King called his arrest "further harassment" because of his campaign against racial segregation. He dropped his initial plan to fight extradition even though "it was highly improbable to get a fair hearing" in Alabama.

This latter is an extreme understatement. Alabama white supremacist officials have repeatedly arrested King since he emerged as leader of the bus boycott in 1956.

These unsuccessful frame-up attempts were on charges such as "loitering" in the court house to leading an "illegal boycott." Since income tax evasion is merely a misdemeanor in Alabama, the charge against the Negro leader was made perjury—a felony with severe prison penalties.

Assuming that the charges stem from a recent grand-jury "probe" of the finances of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the organization which conducted the bus boycott, King announced he would ask such prominent people as former Senator Lehman of New York, the deans of the Harvard Law and Divinity Schools, the heads of the National Council of Churches and the Southern Baptist Convention to audit his personal financial records.

Not Their Master

A rally of 1,000 in Buenos Aires Feb. 22 heard speakers of the Socialist party left wing denounce Eisenhower's pending visit as that of a "master" coming to see a subject country. As the rally ended, three American flags were set afire.

"No Trespassing" Arrests Answered by Boycott Action

By George Lavan

Sit-down demonstrations by Southern Negro students against lily-white lunch counters are continuing despite increased racist violence and the "get tough" policy of state officials.

The courageous young fighters against Jim Crow are devising effective countermeasures to meet the officially recommended tactic of arresting demonstrators for "trespassing" in the stores. Moreover, the students are taking the initial steps to coordinate the demonstrations which in a month have spread into five southeastern states.

Typical of the white-supremacist violence against the peaceful and disciplined protest movement were the happenings in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Sit-down demonstrations began there on Feb. 19, but on Feb. 23 some 300 white teen-agers with older leaders attacked Negroes in the Kress five-and-dime store. The white youths threw dishes and other items from the counters at the Negroes. Some jumped onto the counter, shouting "Kill the niggers."

Colored shoppers in other parts of the store were insulted and threatened. One Negro youth was severely beaten with a bullwhip.

Maintaining discipline, the greatly outnumbered Negro youth left in a body, under a heavy barrage of bottles, when the police ordered them out. Eleven whites and one Negro were arrested.

The next day a larger body of Negro youth arrived downtown only to find even larger crowds of hostile whites waiting for them. Upon orders from the mayor, the fire department turned the hoses upon both the white aggressors and the Negroes, dispersing the crowds which totaled several thousand.

Through the pattern of increasing violence by white teen-agers run indications of adult incitement along with a secret (and sometimes not so secret) toleration or encouragement by police and other officials. Though the police finally break up the fracas and, as in Chattanooga, even arrest some whites, the officials have a much-desired "riot" on record.

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Experts Deny Soviets Plan War

Say That Peace Aim is Genuine

By Alex Harte

Ever since the end of World War II, Washington has dinned into our ears that the rulers in Moscow are preparing to conquer the world and that we must arm to the teeth to "deter" them.

A few years back there was even talk of launching a "preventive war" to forestall Soviet "aggression." And there are still many voices proclaiming that the Soviet "danger" is greater than ever.

But many other big business spokesmen have for a number of years taken the opposite view. They are convinced that the Soviet leaders genuinely seek peace.

A year and a half ago, Thomas Hamilton wrote in the Sept. 21, 1958, New York Times that ". . . the Soviet Union wants a separate agreement with the United States under which the two powers would, in effect, divide up the world."

In a similar vein, Neal Stanford wrote in the Christian Science Monitor Nov. 6, 1958, that "The Soviets unquestionably want . . . a two-power decision-making meeting. That was Stalin's goal . . . with President Roosevelt. Moscow, to put it bluntly, wants the Kremlin and the White House to run the world between them."

Now, such descriptions of Soviet foreign policy, though not very complimentary to the Soviet leaders, give the lie to the

American propagandists' depiction of the Soviet Union as seeking to launch "aggression" to conquer the world.

Again, when Khrushchev presented his disarmament program before the United Nations last fall, Harry Schwartz, Soviet expert of the New York Times, Wall Street's most authoritative paper, wrote that the Soviet leaders expected major economic benefits "from any approach to complete disarmament, let alone realization of that goal." (Sept. 18, 1959.)

The judgment of the Times' Soviet expert is backed by that of its military expert, Hanson Baldwin. In an article in the Times magazine, Feb. 14, Baldwin acknowledged that the Soviet leaders first proposed the suspension of nuclear tests and have "consistently backed it." Washington, on the other hand, "has been put in a position of seeming to drag its feet on the issue."

Furthermore, he said, "There is . . . probably, an economic motivation behind the fervent Russian support for ending testing and for arms control and limitations. Manpower and resources now used for nuclear developments and arms could be diverted into faster expansion of both capital goods and consumer industries."

Another authority who categorically declares that the Soviet Union does not seek war is Raymond L. Garthoff, a Defense Department consultant in a book, *The Soviet Image of Future War*, he says, according to a review in the Feb. 22 New Leader, that the Soviet "defensive stance" should be

taken at face value and that the Communists have no Hitlerian commitment to total violence as an end in itself.

Finally, though it has certainly not been widely advertised, we are told in the Feb. 14 New York Herald Tribune, "U. S. Policy Banking on Soviet Peace Aim; Russia Seen Working to Achieve Goals Politically and Economically Without Risks of Nuclear War."

The author of the article, Washington correspondent Rob-

ert J. Donovan states: "One of the salient facts emerging from the defense debate is that the United States government is banking to a very great extent on the proposition that the Soviet Union does not contemplate launching a nuclear attack in the foreseeable future."

He reports that none other than Gen. Nathan F. Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told a recent Senate hearing that the Russians "don't act like they are going to jump on the United States."

Radio Station Cancels Speech Hitting McCarthy

NEW YORK, Feb. 19 — Radio station WMCA takes pride in its declarations against McCarthyism. But yesterday the station canceled a debate about the late witch-hunter because one of the participants, Dr. Corliss Lamont "has been so closely identified with Left-Wing causes."

Dr. Lamont, 1958 Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator, had taped the debate along with William Rusher, editor of the McCarthyite weekly, National Review. The discussion had been arranged by Prof. William L. Kuntzler for his program, "Pro and Con." It was to have marked the tenth anniversary of McCarthy's rise to national prominence with his notorious "Communists-in-government" speech.

Announcement of the cancellation was made by the station's president, R. Peter Strauss,

who asserted that "many other people can better express the anti-McCarthy viewpoint than Mr. Lamont."

Dr. Lamont, who had been indicted for contempt-of-Congress because he defied McCarthy and had then won a court acquittal, said today, "I fought McCarthy in the courts and beat him, so I feel pretty well qualified to discuss the question."

He has protested cancellation of the broadcast to the Federal Communication Commission and to the Senate Committee on Legislative Oversight which is currently investigating malpractices in the broadcasting industry. He branded WMCA's action as "following up McCarthy's tactics" and as a new demonstration of "how unfree is the air and atmosphere of America."

Still Hitting the Bottle

By Harry Ring

"Now, it is possible to stress the question of peace in a one-sided way so that we give the impression that we support the Republican Party because it has seized the initiative under Eisenhower on the question of peace. We must avoid that impression. On the other hand, we cannot give the impression that we are a tail to the Democratic Party's kite."

This thorny dilemma was dangled before the recent national convention of the Communist party by Benjamin Davis, the organization's national secretary. His revealing formulation of the dilemma was exactly as quoted above; at least that's the way it was printed in the February issue of Political Affairs.

Related dilemmas seem to have hooked the CP leadership as they concentrate on convincing the rulers of America of how wonderful the Spirit of Camp David could be if they would just relax.

Davis puts it this way: "We have to place the question of peace in such a way that it doesn't look as though we are saying: 'The devil with everything else.' We must avoid what took place . . . during World War II, when the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the leading Negro papers, came out with a Double-V campaign — victory abroad against fascism and victory against jim-crow at home. We mistakenly shunted that aside as wrong."

This "mistake" was, of course, a direct expression of Stalin's efforts to convince Roosevelt and Churchill that he was a reliable partner — one who could be counted on to help scuttle socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia and put the brake on the class struggle and the fight for Negro equality in the U.S.

As members of the Stalin cult, Davis and the other party hacks followed this line slavishly. "Win the war," became their sole concern. They denounced as "treasonous" efforts of workers and the Negro people to defend their interests against big business. This policy disgraced the party in the eyes of militant unionists and civil-rights fighters.

A Bit More Deft

Now a member of the Khrushchev cult, Davis is out to prove that the new head man in the USSR is a fit partner for U.S. big business in preserving the world status quo, including class peace in this country. This time, however, the party leaders intend to be a bit more flexible. Their efforts will not be rigidly confined to the single issue of "peaceful co-existence" that currently clothes their pursuit of a Kremlin-Washington deal.

"We have to have an approach . . . of our Party fighting for peace and social progress in our country," Davis declares. However, lest this "flexible" approach smacks of ultra-leftism, he hastily adds: "I don't propose this necessarily as a slogan."

Fighting for the "Spirit of Camp David" (which Eisenhower claims he never heard of) can be ticklish business. Particularly if you are determined, as is the CP leadership, on supporting Democratic party candidates who offer very little these days in the way of peace or progress.

Demonstrating the typical political alertness of a CP leader, Davis notes "a certain amount of disillusionment that has grown up in the labor movement and among the Negro people over the 86th Congress."

This disillusionment creates problems right and left. First Davis considers the fact that a labor leader like Louis Hollander of the New York AFL-CIO and a Negro leader like Roy Wilkins of the NAACP have been talking about the possibility of shifting over to the Republicans.

"Well, this is a problem to which we have to devise some kind of an approach," Davis opines.

He quickly devises one. ". . . we have to develop a broad electoral line designed to influence both major parties."

But that's just an "approach" to keep people like Hollander and Wilkins happy. The basic "principled" line remains unaltered. The party is going to keep on supporting the Democrats even if a lot of other people in the labor and Negro movement are getting confused on the issue.

Labor's "Victory"

The CP is going to stand right up and tell the world, says Davis, that it was 100 per cent correct for labor to have gone "all the way" in "throwing their weight" behind the Democrats in 1958 despite "the betrayal of labor and the Negro people by the last Congress."

In fact, he reveals, it was not only correct — it was "a victory." The only flaw was that the "victory" wasn't "followed up."

There is still another barbed twist in the CP electoral dilemma: Davis notes that a dozen unions are actively discussing the need for a labor party. And there are radicals, including some in the CP, who favor united socialist opposition to the capitalist parties. How to cut the ground from under them?

Well, one way is to make a verbal concession to them by agreeing on the need for building a labor party eventually. But while offering lip service to the perspective of helping to break the workers away from the capitalist parties, Davis simultaneously declares: ". . . there is just no use talking about a labor party or a third party" while labor and the Negro people are "in" the Democratic party.

This leaves the CP wide open to withering attack from the independents and socialists. What to do about that? Does Davis recognize the danger? He does. While avoiding "premature" moves, says Davis, "we should not leave any gaps in the electoral field for the Trotskyite and other elements . . . to spread their disruption and disorientation."

And how do you do that without fostering or supporting independent or socialist tickets? The Communist party will try to run some local "independent" candidates. But not "a rash of candidates." That might be interpreted as opposition to the Democrats. Just a few carefully chosen side contests.

The convention resolution noted that "Much of our present weakness stems from the hangovers of revisionist thinking. . ." Some people might think they're still hitting the bottle.

Artificial Stimulants Pep British Economy

By Tom Kemp

British capitalism enters the sixties on the crest of a new upsurge. The momentum of the forces which had made for boom in the past decade was strong enough to prevent the recession of 1958—which was itself a serious warning that booms are made to bust—from spiraling into a real slump.

However, there is no doubt that the new boom differs from the old, or is, more accurately not just a simple continuation as before. While the forces which generated the expansion of the fifties have not yet worked themselves out, still they have had to be supplemented by new, artificial measures to sustain the market for growing output.

And some of these measures, by their very nature, cannot be used twice, or only with diminishing effectiveness. The long-term prospect of the British economy is by no means as rosy as the outlook for the coming months.

Two Factors

The expert reports on the performance of the economy which have been made recently show that the boom is now specifically related to two main factors—one in the domestic field, the other flowing in from the behavior of the world market. (The long-term factors of expansion over the past decade are not examined in this article concerned with the immediate past and future.)

The first of these was the opening up of an hitherto untapped consumer market by tax concessions in the budget of April, 1959, and the easing of credit restrictions which had been started as a counter-cyclical measure in the previous autumn. More money was left in consumers' hands by lower taxes—especially in the hands of the rich.

Meanwhile the banking system has taken full advantage of the relaxation of controls over credit to expand advances and to introduce personal loans after the American pattern. Likewise, it backed the lifting of government regulation of hire purchase dealings (installment-plan credit) by lending large sums to the financial houses handling this business.

No wonder bank chairman are announcing bumper profits for the past year's operations in their annual reports!

For over a year now it has been easier to go into debt in Britain than at any time in history. Consumer durables can now be obtained for small down payments. Those on cars now stand at 10 per cent, whereas government controls had formerly set a one-third minimum. As a result the expenditure on cars, motorcycles, radio and electrical goods rose 40 per cent in the second quarter of 1959 compared with the third quarter of 1958, that is, before the lifting of the "credit squeeze." The corresponding figures for furniture and floor coverings were 20 per cent. And, though sales on credit were not prominent here, beer consumption went up 8 per cent following the lopping off of part of the hefty share of the price taken by the excise!

The basis of the Tory election slogan of "you've never had it so good" was partly laid in the policies of the preceding year. But these policies only postpone some of the tricky problems of British capitalism and prepare further difficulties for the future.

Stimulus Wears Off

It is generally accepted that the stimulus given by the last budget is wearing off. Many workers have already stretched themselves to the utmost to acquire washing machines or TV sets for which they had not been able to put down the higher down payments formerly required.

Now comes the pay-off—wages going on meeting the payments are not available for buying other goods. Moreover, on an aggregate basis, repayments are mounting and the curve of new business done on credit is rising more slowly than before. The artificial market opened for the realization of surplus value thus threatens to contract in the coming year.

The second main factor favorable to a high level of industrial activity in Britain has been the continued growth of exports, a reflection of the revival in the United States and Germany. Thus in the first eight months of 1959 exports to the USA were no less than 40 per cent higher than in the previous year, and those to West Germany were up 15 per cent.

Prosperity in Britain was linked to the fortunes of the capitalist world market as a whole. Significant, however, was the fact that the British share in the world trade in manufactures continued to decline slowly: from 18.1 to 17.6 per cent between 1958 and 1959. British exports have grown only because of the expansion of world trade as a whole, but Britain's competitive position has not improved. (Figures in United Nations Bulletin for Europe, No. 3, 1959.)

A new factor in world markets, already becoming visible during the last recession, was the altered world position of the almighty dollar. The weakening of the dollar leads to the possibility that American industry will pressurize the Administration to get tough with foreign importers and will, in any case, intensify its sales policy abroad. Either of these courses could hit British exports.

In the meantime business here is pinning its hopes on the growing purchasing pull of sterling countries (and some other primary producers) who are earning more, owing to the better prices they are getting for their exports. But this again is a situation extremely liable to alteration without prior notice.

It is true, nonetheless, that Great Britain's gold and foreign exchange reserves—a sensitive barometer of economic health, though not the only one—have been rising over 1959 as a whole, despite some exceptional out-payments. There is now a somewhat larger cushion against unexpected draws on sterling.

Fear Higher Interest Rate

But the balance of payments surplus was smaller than some optimists were predicting at the mid-year and the cheap credit policy, necessary to maintain domestic spending, was already raising the specter of withdrawals of cash held in London to other centers where interest rates might go up.

If such withdrawals took place on a sufficiently large scale higher rates in London to "protect the pound" might be necessary. The Tories own supporters have unkind memories of the crash increase to 7 per cent which took place in 1957 and contributed to the subsequent stagnation in the economy.

If it has been possible to realize surplus value on an extended scale again in the past year, what about its extraction? There is no doubt that at that point of production the general situation, aided by the acquiescence of the trade-union hier-



Tory Prime Minister Macmillan rode back into office last fall on the crest of prosperity in Great Britain. Now there are signs that the boom may be petering out.

archy, has been favorable to capital.

Parallel with the rise in unemployment—still much below prewar, but severe enough in some localities and industries—went a virtual cessation of wage advances.

The rhythm of an annual claim in most industries, established since the war, has been broken as the trade-union leadership stayed their hand or played along with the long-drawn out negotiating machinery.

The upshot has been that markets have been expanding, there has been an uninterrupted increase in production, new techniques have been introduced, capacity has been more fully utilized but wage rates have remained stationary. The rate of exploitation in many industries has gone up, with a considerably greater profit per worker and a somewhat smaller, but still appreciable, rise in productivity.

Profits Hit New Peaks

Business has certainly never had it so good. Profits have reached new high points. Mergers and take-over bids have gone on apace. The stock market has responded with an apparently ever upward movement despite repeated counsels of caution from some of the more wary of the financial gentry. Big capitalists—and not so big ones—have been making hay.

Deep down, however, things are not so secure. Not only is there the feeling abroad that what goes up must come down, and the possibility of a break in the stock exchange boom, but the prosperity has left almost

untouched some important sectors of the British economy.

Most spectacular is the crisis in the coal industry where about one-quarter of the pits at present operating will have to close in the next few years. While the markets for coal shrink, production per worker is expected to rise by up to 10 per cent. Sackings have already taken place and more are to come. A new feeling of insecurity is abroad in the mining villages—the one-time heart of industrial Britain.

Hardly less critical, though not yet on the surface, is the problem of the shipbuilding industry which is being acutely affected by changes in world trade and the competition of air travel on passenger routes. Textiles have recovered temporarily from their recession, but here again is a weak link. Similar weakness can be found in a number of the older British industries.

Intertwined with this is the fact that all the boost given to consumption has not produced a powerful all-around boom in heavy industry. It is true that some industries which have been doing well are expanding capacity. But many firms are drawing in the slack and can increase production still further without embarking on new investment.

Apart from steel—where some special considerations have applied, such as the boom in cars and the U. S. strike—the situation and prospect in the capital goods sectors is still rather stagnant. Output has increased much faster in consumption goods.

Boom Has Narrow Basis

In fact, the all-round increase in industrial production does not look very impressive (especially to those with one eye over their shoulder observing the rate of increase in the USSR, or even in other capitalist countries). In the third quarter of 1959 the index of industrial production stood at 121 on the basis of 1953 equals 100; it had been 112 in the worst quarter of the recession. No one would claim this as a spectacular rate of advance.

The basis of the boom is thus a narrow one. Britain remains vulnerable to shocks from outside and her competitive position may be weaker in the next downturn. Where industrialists are aware of this possibility they have been making some quite frantic efforts in the last year or two to put themselves in a better state of preparedness by re-equipment and changes in organization.

Indeed this has been a factor in keeping up the level of investment above what it might otherwise have been; and the money has certainly been available. Mechanization, even where it does not mean direct redundancy, involves a pressure against established union and workshop practices and this has been one aspect of the struggle of the classes in

Britain, and will continue to be.

It should be noted that different industries in Britain stand at contrasting points on the curves of growth and decline. While the prospect of a much deeper recession than that of 1958 at the end of the present boom seems likely, it is not certain because of the continued possibilities of expansion in some of the more advanced sectors of British industry.

As they are in the front line of any intensified overseas trading struggle the pressure on them to continue to make heavy investments in new plant may grow during a recession—and thus help to limit its incidence on other industries. The possibility of a sharp aggravation of the difficulties in some sectors, together with continued prosperity in others, cannot be ruled out.

Tasks of Militants

The tasks of militants is clearly to advance the interests of workers in both types of situation—or, indeed, in intermediary ones—and to expose the role of the "responsible" trade-union leader, so beloved, on occasion, of the capitalist press. And to link up the struggle between one sector and another.

In the declining or stagnant industries that means a fight against sackings in the first instance. In the prosperous and expanding industries it is to help workers secure a larger share of the product of their labor which is now being scooped up so lavishly by the employers. The latter are already aware that published profits and the general economic situation means that wage claims are going to be pushed, under pressure from the shop floor, in coming months.

Some have hastened to grant or prepare concessions intended to forestall the larger ones demanded by the workers—especially an hour or two off the working week. They argue that this can easily be met out of the higher profits now being made, is a better option than a pay increase wrested by the workers in struggle and a hedging on the grant of the 40-hour week. It is also a precaution against a subsequent, falling off in profits to a greater extent than these.

While the present boom, with its limitations, is likely to be some time working itself out, the crisis of British capitalism, continues in new forms. It does not at all follow that a new, deep slump is in prospect and socialists would be wrong to base their prognosis and program upon such an eventuality for the near future.

But they have the heavy responsibility of welding themselves to the British working class, which despite some superficial appearances, is potentially stronger than prewar, and carrying it into battle before insecurity and prolonged unemployment do their demoralizing work.

... You Need Brains to Outfox Foe

(Continued from Page 1)

the previously cited pamphlet, "The Population Bomb," takes an optimistic view:

"Male sterilization — vasectomy — is a simple procedure. One American surgeon writes: 'It may be done easily, rapidly and painlessly. The patient walks in, walks out and goes about his affairs. No after-care is necessary, no hospitalization.'"

We are assured, in addition, that "It does not affect sexual relations adversely and is not to be confused with castration."

People burdened with an inclination to criticize in a carping way — and what sin is greater than that? — may point to the fact that mass sterilization of male humans is advocated only for underdeveloped countries, not the United States, and that this is much like the "master race" business in Nazi mythology about sterilizing the Jews. The criticism shares the fault common to such one-sided picking of flaws; it overlooks what the true experts really advocate. The population problem is "unrelated to color, race or geographical location," explain the authors of "The Population Bomb." "It could apply to the United States if our population were outstripping our resources. . ."

Sir Charles Darwin, grandson of the Darwin of evolutionary fame, has done much to outline the scope of the inquiry that should be made into the population problem.

In an interview in U.S. News & World Report, he held that the main immediate danger from the hordes of babies now being born is that they are "black" or "yellow." The long-range peril from his point of view is, of course, even more ominous. Having eliminated such natural checks on population as famines, plagues and wars of high mortality, "we're responding just the way the rabbits did in Australia."

"Man is an animal, and, however much food is produced, there will always be too many mouths asking for it."

The foresighted grandson of Charles Darwin believes that a good birth-control device for use on a world-wide scale is "the best economy for the human race you could possibly get."

"But you've got to have an educational system. You've got to teach a billion — at least a billion — grown-up people how to use it. Well, how many men can a man educate? A

thousand, something of that kind. You've got to have over a million teachers just to show people how to use this. You can't get that going in 50 years. So it's out."

The entire current birth-control program is in a blind alley! That's Sir Charles' startling discovery. The natural stupidity of men was overlooked and along with it the staggering problem of educating them to see that their first duty to the human race is to learn how to use a good birth-control device and to never forget it at the critical moment.

Such a discovery might dismay a scientist of lesser stature. But not Sir Charles. Fresh approaches must be tried!

"I would like to have a system of taxation — and it would have to be stuck to for a century or so — in which the richer you are, the more inducement you have to have children."

That might be an exciting contest, the rich whites in this world trying to outspurn the poor whites and all the blacks and yellows. But wouldn't such a race play into the hands of the foe we set out to conquer? Sir Charles is no idiot. He dismisses the proposal as unrealistic. "I don't think you'll ever get it the way political opinion is going now. . ."

Can the surplus population be sent to other planets? Our eminent authority believes not. You've got to have a reasonable temperature, plenty of water and oxygen. Have you got these on other planets? No. So that's out.

"What effect do you think a nuclear war would have?" asked Sir Charles' interviewer. Darwin's grandson gave this the benefit of his full powers of thought:

"I don't know, but there is the point that people quite rightly talk about the horror of nuclear war and say that the whole of New York might be blotted out or the whole of the Eastern States of the United States might be blotted out."

"This would be the greatest catastrophe ever, but it doesn't solve the problem. What does it mean — 100 million dead? One hundred million are replaced in three years. You've got to have a war like that every three years, you see. You must keep to arithmetic on this thing."

This would seem to end any hope of keeping down the population. If you can't sweep back the tide by dropping an H-bomb in a populated area every three years, our wily new foe would seem to be invincible. However, one avenue does remain open:

"There, of course, is also the danger of one possibility: If you went and destroyed the whole human race, that certainly would solve the population problem."

That's a joke our generation can readily appreciate. In this modern world, which has advanced so far from the insecurity of the cave, we need never feel nervous about our rulers doing something like that. And if they do, we can rest assured it will be done in the best interests of the human race.

A less drastic solution, which experts like Sir Charles Darwin might well consider, is one offered by an amateur, Pakistan's ruler Ayub Khan. He is reported by Time magazine to have "sighed" one day:

"If our population continues to increase as rapidly as it is doing, we will soon have nothing to eat and will all become cannibals."

(Next week: The Rev. Malthus.)

... Little Time Left for Chessman

(Continued from Page 1)

ture meets. San Francisco Mayor George Christopher will make the keynote speech.

Last year, the legislature voted down a bill to abolish the death penalty. Governor Brown will introduce it again on Feb. 29. He has stated that unless the legislature abolishes the death penalty within the 60-day-reeve period, he will not commute Chessman's sentence.

The facts in the Chessman case glaringly illustrate why capital punishment should be abolished. Gene Marine reviews them in careful detail in an article in the October 17 issue of the Nation.

In the first place the "Little Lindbergh" law under which Chessman was convicted and which provides the death penalty in kidnapping cases, has been changed since Chessman's conviction so that it no longer covers the particular type of crime alleged against him.

In the second place, like thousands of other people without means who get caught in the conviction mills known as courts of "justice," he did not get a fair trial or a fair chance to appeal his case on its merits.

Arrested in 1948 and charged as the "Red Light" bandit who preyed on couples in "lover's lane," Chessman was indicted on eighteen counts including robbery, sex perversion, rape and kidnaping.

At the police station, several victims of the "Red Light" bandit declared he was not the man, but Chessman says he was never given the names of these so that he could subpoena them. Witnesses against

him were helped by the police in making the identification.

A paroled convict, Chessman had nowhere to turn for his defense. He refused two attorneys who wanted him to "cop a plea," and he could not afford the price of a third lawyer who was willing to fight for an acquittal. Rather than trust his case to a public defender, he decided to conduct his own defense.

He knew nothing of law or legal procedure, and he charges that additional obstacles were put in his way by the late Judge Charles W. Fricke, who presided at his trial.

Fricke refused his repeated requests to be allowed to interview other persons connected with the case at the jail. . . . They also refused his repeated requests to possess and use personal legal books . . . papers, clerical supplies or a typewriter. . . . said a Chessman brief. Unprepared to take up his defense when the trial began, he asked for more time. Fricke denied the request.

Right after Chessman was convicted, the court reporter died without having transcribed the shorthand notes of the trial proceedings. All death sentences receive automatic appeal in California, and an exact reproduction of the trial proceedings is mandatory.

Another court reporter, Stanley Fraser, was assigned to transcribe the dead reporter's notes at an unusually high fee of \$10,000.

Fraser was an alcoholic, says Marine. "Evidence from other court reporters seemed to cast serious doubt on Fraser's ability accurately to transcribe his own notes, much less anybody else's."

Fraser was also a relative of the prosecutor and was hired on the prosecutor's recommendation. On about twenty-five occasions, he checked his rough draft with the prosecutor and made changes at the prosecutor's suggestion. He also checked his draft with two prosecution witnesses — both policemen. Chessman never saw the draft at all.

In a 1957 hearing for habeas corpus, even prosecution experts admitted that the Fraser version of the record contained nearly two thousand inaccuracies and that entire sections of the dead recorder's notes had not been transcribed.

The habeas corpus hearing stemmed from a U.S. Supreme Court decision in June 1957. Justice Harlan ruled that because of the inadequate trial record, Chessman had been denied due process of law.

But what if Chessman had been proved guilty after a fair trial, would he then have deserved the death penalty? Progressive opinion throughout the world holds that capital punishment itself is barbarous. It has been abolished in more than fifty countries and in nine states of the U.S.

" . . . all punishment growing out of hatred is cruel and anti-social," said Clarence Darrow, the great lawyer who earlier in the century specialized in defending the underdog.

Society must first understand that the criminal's act "had an all-sufficient cause for which the individual was in no way responsible and must find the cause of his conduct and, so far as possible, remove the cause." If

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The Chessman Case

The revolutionary founders of this country wrote their Declaration of Independence out of a "decent regard to the opinions of mankind." Today the rulers of the U.S. regard the opinion of mankind as infuriating "interference."

That is why such a bellow of rage went up from politicians of both major parties and from a large section of the capitalist press when the State Department and Governor Brown thought it advisable to bow to foreign opinion and grant Caryl Chessman a temporary reprieve from execution in California's gas chamber.

Especially galling to American big business is the fact that protests and demonstrations by students and workers in Uruguay or Brazil can affect the working of "justice" in this country. America's rulers emerged from World War II confident that this was the American Century; i.e., the era of their world domination. Instead, a revolution "robbed" them of China while anti-imperialist revolutions and the rapid rise of the Soviet Union forced them to indefinite postponement of their dreams of conquest.

Each protest movement abroad reminds them of this; and the protests have not been few. American intervention in the Korean civil war and the testing of nuclear weapons are but outstanding examples. Public opinion abroad has made itself felt against McCarthyism and the witch-hunt, the execution of the Rosenbergs, and repeatedly against the Jim Crow "justice" meted out to Negroes in the South.

Another important source of the outburst that met the stay of execution for Chessman is the dedication to, indeed, glorification of, the death penalty. This reveals much about the psychology of America's ruling class.

Consider, for example, a Feb. 20 editorial in the Los Angeles Times entitled "Chessman Lives to Shame Us All." After vilifying the movement for clemency for Chessman as ignorant and "lynch law in reverse," the editors laud the gas chamber as the "sanitary disposal mechanism that a civilized society" uses to protect itself from "contamination." One has to go back to the newspapers of Nazi Germany to find such brutal contempt for human life and the likening of men to garbage.

The Los Angeles Times' editorial is an accurate reflection of a widespread frame

of mind among our big-business rulers and "power elite." It is not only an unspoken recognition of the death penalty's political usefulness to a decaying ruling class. It ties in with their rationalizations for use of the H-bomb.

They have adjusted their thinking to mass slaughter and have even worked out their religious and moral "justifications." They are coming to feel an emotional affinity for death sentences and gas chambers.

Our labor bureaucrats have played an abominable role in the Chessman case. Their way of reflecting the reactionary views of America's rulers has been to remain silent. And this in a case involving cruel and inhuman punishment and one in which it is highly doubtful that the victim was granted a fair trial.

Time was when the American labor movement stood in the vanguard of all humane endeavors — whether for social progress or justice and mercy for an individual. The bureaucrats who "lead" the labor movement today cannot be accused of such broadness of vision or universal sympathy. They have reduced American labor's moral influence to an all-time low.

The advance of science and reason long ago disposed of all arguments for executing criminals and psychologically disturbed people. The death penalty is a vestige of mankind's dark and vengeful past. "Before the rise of fascism in Europe," the Encyclopedia Britannica points out; "it seemed probable that the growing demand for the abolition of the death penalty in Europe and in South America would force a change in the United States. With the advance of the totalitarian powers from 1938 on, the tide of reaction toward drastic punishment was sweeping..."

We welcome the foreign protests against the execution of Caryl Chessman. We welcome and thank the students and workers in Uruguay, Brazil and all other parts of the world who voiced, in their way, the philosophy of Tom Paine: "The world is my country; all mankind are my brethren."

We pledge to do all in our power to aid by protests the halting of injustices in their countries. What is foreign "interference" for the capitalists is international solidarity for the working people.

Merger of Socialists in India

The Revolutionary Workers party of India has announced that it is merging forces with the Revolutionary Communist party. The announcement appeared in the Feb. 5 issue of their official newspaper "The Militant." (By choosing this name, the Indian comrades indicated their adherence to the revolutionary-socialist tradition which we have sought to maintain through the years.)

The united organization, to be called the Revolutionary Communist party of India, has four main points in its program: (1) Support of the struggle of the masses against foreign imperialism and native capitalism. (2) "Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, China and other workers' states against any capitalist attack." (3) Support of the struggle of the working people to end "bureaucratic privileges in the Soviet camp countries." (4) Subordination of all partial and sectional interests of the working people to "the world socialist revolution."

In a document jointly adopted by the central committees of the two parties, the basis of the merger is stated to be the acceptance of the "fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism" and rejection of "all doctrines of class peace and revisionism."

"Capitalism as a world system is historically doomed," the document declares. "Its signs are unmistakably evident today. We are already living in an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. World capitalism can be finally vanquished only through the struggle and victory of the international proletariat, subject to the laws of the uneven development of capitalism."

The fate of Indian capitalism, as part of world capitalism, is held to be sealed. The Indian masses can solve their fundamental problems only through a "socialist social order and organization of a democratic workers' state based on the leadership of the working class in alliance with the rural masses and urban petty bourgeoisie."

In a series of planks, the nationalization of basic industry is advocated together with a state monopoly of foreign trade. Transitional measures are advanced such as workers' control of production and a sliding scale of wages and hours. Stress is placed on the struggle for complete equality and defense of democratic rights.

Specifying their attitude toward the main opposing forces in the radical movement, they call for "Relentless struggle, ideological or political, against the pro-imperialist policies of the social-democratic parties as well as against the class-collaborationist, opportunist and revisionist policies of the Communist parties."

In a statement accompanying the joint platform, "The Militant" declares that discussions on the differences that separated the two parties were held between leading members for the past 18 months. The joint platform is essentially the same as the one proposed in the first issue of "The Militant" (March 20, 1959) as a "minimum basis" for Marxist unification in India.

The RCPI has already ratified the agreement to merge; the RWPI is holding district conferences to consider ratification. It is expected that the membership will approve the proposed step. A merger conference is scheduled for April.

We hope that this unification of Marxist forces in India will serve to hearten and inspire revolutionary socialists throughout the world. To strengthen the Marxist movement in India is to strengthen its counterpart in the centers of imperialist power, particularly in Britain.

The unification in India will increase the political weight of the Socialist Labor League, the Marxist wing of the British Labor party. This is especially timely, for the Socialist Labor League has been the object of a savage witch-hunt, visited upon the tendency, in part, because of their firm support of socialist and anti-imperialist movements in India and other colonial areas.

We can think of no more auspicious first step which the new Revolutionary Communist party of India might take than to express the international side of its program by issuing a strong declaration of support to the Socialist Labor League against the witch-hunting capitalist press, right-wing Labor party and trade-union bureaucrats, and assorted centrists who seek to destroy this promising tendency.

To come to the aid of the beleaguered British socialists may seem no more than an elementary expression of international solidarity. But it has a reciprocal effect. It strengthens those who take such action. That's one of the ways the world socialist revolution moves ahead.

Tempers Flare in Africa



Part of a crowd of 1,500 African women who battled armed police last summer. The women were demonstrating, sticks in hand, against an increase in the poll tax. City officials at Ixopo frowned on the protest and ordered police into action. Increasing civil strife in Africa has moved British Prime Minister Macmillan to advise "apartheid" rulers of South Africa that it would be discreet to modify their brutal exploitive system.

Mounting Revolution in Africa Spurs British Policy Changes

By James Baker

Give the devil his due! Macmillan has shown himself in a number of situations the most astute and the most unscrupulous political boss that the capitalist class has had for many years.

His performance in Africa was masterly. He was able to derive the maximum of political advantage by taking decisions to which he was driven by sheer necessity.

His African safari, with its climax in the Cape Town speech on February 3 in which he condemned apartheid, took most people by surprise.

He has confused his opponents and consolidated his own position by taking the only course which may possibly make Africa safe for imperialism for a few more years.

Apart from a few old diehards, his own party will welcome his statement although only the big capitalists among them will understand its significance. The opposition, who have insisted on treating Africa as a "moral issue," will be surprised and gratified that Mac is on their side.

The Afrikaner Nationalists were not slow in the uptake: "We are being thrown to the wolves," Die Burger, the government paper wrote, quoting the comments of many Nationalist politicians. If we are to understand these developments we must examine them in the context of events in other parts of the African continent and of the world generally.

A Revolutionary Situation

There exists in Africa at the present time a revolutionary situation. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean 130 million people have shown that they are no longer willing to live under the conditions imposed on them by the old forms of society. This does not mean that the population will break out in open revolt everywhere, as it has done already in some areas. But it does mean that there is a possibility that it will do so.

The outbreak of civil war in Central Africa or in the Union of South Africa would threaten the whole precarious structure of capitalist society in Africa, and indirectly in the rest of the world. World imperialism is now facing the problem of its own internal reorganization; it must try to re-establish in Africa systems of government which are more than mere terror.

Totalitarian dictatorship in the form of fascism is not a possible solution at present; throughout the world there is a sharp contradiction between the actual structure of present-day society and the needs of world capitalism. This contradiction takes on its sharpest forms in Africa. In order to save capitalism it is probably necessary to deprive the white settlers of some of their privileges. This was a hard decision to make, but now that it has been decided Macmillan and Macleod are determined to go ahead in spite of the squalid band.

This is a similar decision to that which De Gaulle has taken in Algeria and the Belgians in the Congo. And it will not be long before the Portuguese come up against the same problem in Mozambique and Angola. The eyes of the world are on Africa; no one wants the responsibility of starting a second Algeria.

Imperialism has subjected the peoples of Africa to the most ruthless forms of exploitations;

in the nineteenth century investments are needed, however, to develop the agriculture and the industrial resources of these countries; and so far there is no sign that capital is available on anything like the scale necessary. Moreover, their dependence on the sale of their primary products makes their economies extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in the world market.

The success of this experiment in West Africa has, however, encouraged the imperialists to believe that a similar solution might be found in the other areas of Africa. If it was possible to contain the African revolution within a bourgeois framework in West Africa, why should it not be possible in Central Africa, Kenya or even the Union of South Africa?

(Reprinted, somewhat abridged, from the Feb. 13 Newsletter, British revolutionary-socialist publication.)

Dr. Rubinstein in Seattle

SEATTLE — Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein will speak here Friday, March 4, 8 p.m., on "Sean O'Casey and Bertold Brecht—Two Political Playwrights." Sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, the meeting will be held at the Downtown YMCA, 909 Fourth Ave.

In Other Lands

AFL-CIO to Boycott So. Africa

Joins World Move Against Apartheid

Branding the racist policies of the South African government as "brutal and inhuman," the AFL-CIO Executive Council has called for a boycott of all South African goods. An appeal for such boycott was made last summer by the African National Conference of South Africa.

The Feb. 13 decision of the AFL-CIO follows adoption of a similar stand last December by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The council noted that the boycott is being actively supported in Western Europe, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Jamaica and many parts of Africa.

In Great Britain, the boycott has won the support of the Trade Union Congress, the Labor and Liberal parties and many student groups.

To promote the boycott here, the AFL-CIO instructed its Department of International Affairs to provide affiliated unions with educational materials.

The council also endorsed the Pan African movement as "the expression of solidarity which Africans, regardless of the artificial regional divisions imposed on the various peoples by the colonial powers, feel for each other."

General Electric Seeks to Purchase West German Firm

According to a Feb. 20 report from Bonn, the general manager of the General Electric Company's Jet Engine Division has been conferring with the majority stockholders of the Bavarian Motor Works with an eye to securing 50 per cent of the company's stock.

Long known as an auto manufacturer, BMW has been losing money in recent years and has been receiving subsidies from

The American Way of Life

How to Beat Down a Deadbeat

Eugene H. Barnes is an American to keep your eye on. He is a psychologist — in fact, as of now, the only psychologist working full time for a collection agency.

Barnes may well be on the way to revolutionizing the art of bill collecting. He says he's turning it into a science.

His success may be gauged by the fact that the agency that employs Barnes collects about 79 per cent of the debts turned over to it, while the average agency collects only 55 per cent.

According to the Feb. 27 Saturday Evening Post, Barnes' success assumes its proper significance when you realize that every month \$85 million worth of debts are turned over to the professional dunnors.

Barnes is convinced that "bill collectors play an indispensable function in our economy." Outstanding consumer credits now amount to more than \$50 billion—three times as much as a decade ago. The competition is no longer for the buyer's dollar but for his promise to pay that dollar later. When that promise is broken, merchants have to tack the loss onto their prices. So you see, bill collectors are really combating inflation.

Stake Debtor's Fears

To advance this patriotic endeavor, Barnes employs a number of psychological precepts. The primary one is: "We must motivate the debtor to pay up by lighting within him the fires of anxieties and fears."

To ignite such flames, dunning messages are sent exactly five days apart. "This is frequently enough to approximate the techniques of the Spanish Inquisition, when the torturers made drops of water drip-drip-drip on the foreheads of their victims."

To keep the drip-drip-drip from putting out the flames of anxiety, notice are illustrated with stern pictures of "an accusing finger attached to a hand lurking out from a judicial robe."

Taking a tip from Smell-O-Vision, Barnes says that "scenting will come next. For a while I thought I might make our notices smell of decay, but this would only arouse repugnance. I am searching for ways to inspire fear subliminally." One idea is the odor of charred wood since this "suggests fire and a connotation of urgency." More prosaic methods are also used, but with a twentieth century psychological twist. Messages are left through neighbors, thus creating in

the debtor a fear of gossip and disgrace.

Annoying phone calls are used to arouse wives against their deadbeat husbands. Such women often become "24-hour-a-day collection deputies." This no doubt gives the economy an added boost by providing more business for divorce lawyers.

But the basic ingredient remains the human one—the bill collector himself. Barnes says: "Our most valuable collectors are restless, driven fellows who sit tensely on the edge of their chairs, walk rapidly and derive pleasure from the battle of wits with debtors..."

"I found that the best men harbor a certain hostility for which their work provides a socially acceptable outlet... It is best for him to view the world in terms of blacks and whites—that is, good guys who pay their bills and bad guys who don't. Otherwise his work might trouble him."

As long as he can "walk rapidly," why should a bill collector be troubled? —Evelyn Sell

Pass FBI Test On Belly Crawl

The regents of the University of California formally apologized Feb. 20 to the FBI for daring to include a question in an examination so formulated as to indicate the true role of America's secret political police.

The question, in a test for college admission, read: "What are the dangers to a democracy of a national police organization, like the F.B.I., which operates secretly and is unresponsive to public criticism?"

The regents said that questions of this kind were sometimes included in exams for "shock values."

The school authorities got down on all fours before J. Edgar Hoover's secret snooters after the American Legion, self-appointed guardian of the nation's political "purity," had sounded the alarm over placing such a thought-provoking sentence before would-be college students.

Iraq Government Denies License to Communist Party

Iraq's Premier Kassim is favoring a nationalist split-off of the Iraqi Communist party as against the official party.

It was reported that the Iraqi government has rejected, at least temporarily, the regular organization's application for a government license but has granted one to the dissident group which has attacked the official party as lacking in independence from Moscow.

Monkeys Shine In Monastery?

The Italian national police announced Feb. 19 that it had arrested four Roman Catholic monks in Sicily. The police charged that the monks had been operating an extortion, arson and murder gang from their monastery at Mazzarino.

Jailings Increase In Fascist Spain

More than 100 persons were arrested in two days following the explosion of bombs in public buildings in Madrid Feb. 18. Another 40 persons were jailed in connection with a recent Spanish Communist Party conference reportedly held in Prague.

What Eisenhower Won't See in Chile

President Eisenhower will see the "immaculate center" of Santiago, capital of Chile, during his visit there, reports Henry N. Taylor in the Feb. 17 New York World-Telegram.

But, Taylor adds, the president will not make the acquaintance of Senor Guillermo Munoz Romero. By missing him, "he misses half of South America."

"Guillermo is bent and burdened and lives in a civic back pocket called Bulnes, in a mud hut with a roof shingled with old tin cans. He is a man with much smile but no teeth, who looks 70 but is actually only 47, he thinks. "He has never had a steady job or averaged more than 50 cents a day. He has no hope.

"Every Latin American city has tens of thousands of Guillemos; jobless, bedless, bookless, often doctorless... They live in shoulder-to-shoulder squalor, usually along the banks of some open-sewer stream in sub-slum suburbs.

"Bulnes lies behind a high-long, crumbling wall. In it live 10,000 people. There are for this multitude, precious few loaves and fishes. And, for the whole slum, just 16 water faucets."

Disagrees with Us On Adam C. Powell

Editor: In my opinion your editorial rapping Meany for his attack on Congressman Powell is a smokescreen. You treat Powell like you do Walter Reuther. You criticize them but with a lot of reservations.

Reuther, the liberal union bureaucrat, and Powell, the liberal Democratic party bureaucrat, will both get along OK. To satisfy their own ends, they will both help to put the brakes on union democracy and on the struggle for Negro equality.

J.J. O'B. Columbus

The Lofty Purposes Of Chicago Police

Editor: TV programs show crime series in which the defenders of law and order invariably are heroes motivated by high moral purposes. In real life, however, as we in Chicago have been recently reminded, the men behind the brass buttons turn out to be as lowdown as the TV crooks.

Chicago's current police scandal (the first in American history) started with the old-fashioned gangland-style killing

of "Terrible" Touhy, who, it is generally assumed, was silenced by former "syndicate" rivals. He had written a book containing juicy information about the ties of the Capone mob with highly-placed officials.

Chicago's "finest" proved singularly inept in solving the crime. This aroused suspicion and alarm among a number of citizens, but Mayor Daly, head of the local Democratic machine, and his side-kick, police chief O'Connor, hastened to point out that organized crime just does not exist in our fair city.

Smack on the heels of this assurance, the lid blew off the wholesale organized crime carried on by various sections of the police.

First came the exposure of a Northside police burglary ring. The cops employed a professional second-story man and hauled off the loot in their squad cars.

Then the spotlight fell on the cops who shook down motorists and on the vice-squad men who took the usual bribes from gambling operators and bordello keepers.

Exposure of crooked operations connived in by police officers and politicians came thick and fast. In Stickney Township, a man who signed an extortion complaint against one of Chicago's "finest" has been threat-

ened with death, bombing and the burning of his home. FBI agents are investigating.

Yours for more realism in TV shows.

Ed Larsen Chicago

Should Socialists Jibe at Experts on Population Riddle?

Editor: I take exception to your recent articles on the population problem. So far in the series you have merely quoted various public figures who are anxious about this situation, and have then commented with sneers against their (admitted) hypocrisy and confusion. But there has been no solid, constructive socialist answer presented.

To be sure, we assume under socialism production would be maximized and distribution rendered more efficient and just, but can we be completely sure that even under socialism population growth would not be a problem?

Do we have a real answer to the assertion that food production can only be increased arithmetically while people reproduce at a geometric ratio?

G.C. Los Angeles

... Socialist Tasks in 1960

(Continued from Page 1)

the war question. Over and over again, and in plain language, they must explain: what drives capitalism toward imperialist exploitation of peoples abroad; how this policy clashes with the growing world struggle for better living standards; why atomic war will remain a constant danger until labor takes full charge of American affairs.

Socialists will be helped in this effort by the present shift in capitalist strategy on the home front; for it is in domestic policy that the real imperialist foreign policy is today most clearly expressed.

Labor Under Attack

Having been dealt a series of setbacks by revolutionary advances abroad, the imperialists are turning their fire on American labor. The attack has as its aims: to protect capitalist profits at the workers' expense; to cripple the unions so they can't fight back; and in the process to get in a better position to drag the country into war.

Wage demands today run up against stiff resistance from the employers, who at the same time are trying to put a crimp in escalator clauses pegged to the cost-of-living index.

Without resorting as yet to open wage cuts, the bosses are forcing the workers into a position where price rises and high taxes eat more deeply into purchasing power.

Automation, speed-up and related devices are used with cold calculation to cut into jobs like termites eating into a dwelling. Chronic unemployment grows worse; over four million are now jobless in the midst of a boom. And the AFL-CIO predicts the boom will slack off by July, bringing on another economic slump by 1961.

Instead of showing concern for labor's social needs, the bipartisan capitalist government has slugged the unions with the Kennedy-Landrum.

Fraternally, Farrell Dobbs

Victimized

Griffin law; and it is moving openly toward support of strikebreaking attempts in industry.

The break in class relations catches the unions flat-footed. For years the top officials have bureaucratically imposed a policy of wheedling concessions from the bosses with government help; but far from granting concessions, the bosses are now trying to knock out past union gains and the government is backing them up.

A widening gap appears between official union policy and the workers' needs, producing a search within the ranks for an effective labor program. Under these conditions socialists can expect to get a hearing for policies based upon recognition of the class conflict between labor and capital.

Negro Struggle

Formation of the Negro Labor Council within the AFL-CIO reflects the determination of Negro workers to intensify their struggle for civil rights; and the student demonstrations against discrimination at Southern lunch counters marks a trend toward mass initiative among young Negro militants.

Manifestations of political dissent are on the rise throughout the student movement as a whole; some who have become disenchanted with the capitalist two-party system are showing definite interest in socialist ideas.

Social tensions generally are easing conformist pressures long imposed by the witch-hunt. More people are examining all views in search of fresh political answers. These trends give special importance to the Socialist Workers' party's coming presidential campaign. If socialist-minded people everywhere in the country pitch in and do a real job of campaigning, revolutionary socialism can make a step ahead in 1960.

Fraternally, Farrell Dobbs

Judge in Tennessee Outlaws Integration in Private Schools

It's against the law in Tennessee to have integration in private educational institutions, according to Circuit Judge Chester C. Chittin. Revoking the state charter of Highlander Folk School Feb. 16, Chittin declared the state's segregation laws "constitutional and valid."

Highlander has offered short-term interracial workshops on labor, integration and community organization for 28 years. Because of this it has been under attack by racist authorities for everything from "immorality" to "communism."

Governor Marvin Griffin charged in 1957 that the school's Labor Day seminar constituted a "communism-training school" to promote "methods and tactics for precipitating racial disturbances."

Prominent public figures from all parts of the country have protested these attacks on the school. Among them are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Jackie Robinson, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

If upheld, the Highlander verdict threatens a number of Tennessee's privately operated colleges and universities that are integrated, including Vanderbilt University.

Vanderbilt has announced that the ruling will not interfere with Highlander's current program. "I assume that the ruling will not be final and binding," he said, "as long as new trial actions and appeals are before the court."

Not Healthy to Be Poor Families earning under \$2,000 a year lost an average of 10.3 days from work last year as the result of illness or injury, according to a federal survey. Families earning \$7,000 or more lost only 5.9 days.

CHICAGO A Symposium on "THE NEW SWASTIKA FLAG" will feature Rev. William Baird, Rev. Joseph P. King, Eugene Feldman, Howard Packer, Tim Wohlforth and Rabbi Arnold Wolf, Sunday, March 6, 7:30 p.m., Fine Arts Building, 410 S. Michigan Ave., Room 812.

MINNEAPOLIS Dr. Annette R. Rubinstein speaks on "THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK FOR SOCIALISTS IN 1960" Thursday, March 10, 8 p.m., Andrews Hotel, Room M-3. Joint sponsors: Twin City Labor Forum and National Guardian. Donation: 50 cents.

NEW YORK Two lectures on "THE WORK AND THE WORLD OF C. WRIGHT MILLS," by William F. Ward.

Friday, March 4, 8:30 p.m.—"The Causes of War and the Prerequisites for Peace," a critical analysis of Mills' book, THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR III, and of his program for peace.

Friday, March 11, 8:30 p.m.—"Social Science in Our Time," a review of Mills' book, THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION.

At 116 University Place. Contribution: 50 cents per lecture. Auspices Young Socialist Alliance.

Bankers' Delight Taxpayers will shell out more than \$9 1/2 billion in interest on the national debt in the fiscal year starting July 1, 1960. This is the second biggest item in the federal budget, topped only by the armaments program.

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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 a copy.

International Socialist Review 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

January's Jobless Figures

By Herman Chauka

It always pays to take a close look at the fine print — particularly in any information put out by the government.

Early this month the Department of Labor issued a press release on unemployment in January. It cheerfully noted that though total employment had hit a new peak, the seasonal decline in jobs was "normal" and the number of jobless was less than in January 1959.

Then came the follow-up in the form of an official bulletin of finely typed statistics and charts. The facts in the bulletin are not quite as cheery as the news release which had been featured in the daily press. This is particularly true for Negro workers.

The bulletin shows that unemployment rose to 4,150,000, or a seasonally adjusted rate of 5.2 per cent of the labor force. This percentage was the same as the month of December, slightly higher than last spring prior to the steel strike and significantly higher than the pre-recession month of January 1957. At that time the rate of unemployment was 4.2 per cent. Despite the increase in total employment there were one half million less factory jobs last month than in January 1957.

More than half of those unemployed in January had been looking for jobs more than five weeks. Moreover, the number of long-term unemployed — those seeking work 15 weeks or more — moved up from 800,000 in December to 900,000 in January.

The bulletin reports: "The number of long-term unemployed has shown no significant downward trend since last May. . . . And there

were 400,000 more long-term unemployed last month than there were in January 1957.

The figures on "nonwhite" unemployment indicates the heavy economic price of Jim Crow. While 5 per cent of the white labor force was jobless last month, about 12 per cent of the nonwhite workers were jobless.

This was not some fluke situation last month. "The proportion of workers among the long-term unemployed was three times as great for nonwhites as for whites," says the bulletin. "In each occupation group the unemployment rate for Negroes was significantly higher than for white workers."

"Moreover, Negroes are heavily concentrated in occupations with the highest unemployment rates — laborers, farm laborers, and operatives."

The same situation applies among the substantial number of workers who are on a short week. There are now 2.2 million people who are regularly working part time (less than 35 hours) either because slack production has put their plants on a regular short week or because they simply can't find a full-time job. About 350,000 more workers fitted in the latter category last month than in January 1957.

The Department of Labor says: "Nonwhite workers who have jobs are more likely than white workers to be involuntarily on part time. In January 1960, about 10 per cent of all nonwhite workers, but only 3 per cent of white workers, had less than 35 hours of work for such reasons as slow business or inability to find full-time jobs."

reiterated the company's stand that the failures were really successes. He said the aborted launchings provided valuable engineering data not otherwise obtainable.

MORE POWER FOR COPS? — O. W. Wilson, dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California says the police need broader powers. Speaking at an international conference on criminal law in Chicago, he proposed that cops should be allowed to hold arrested persons for twenty-four hours without bringing them before a judge (the police in most cities do this now without legal authorization). He also urged that arrests for "probable cause" be made easier and that police should be allowed to detain anyone merely on "reasonable suspicion" that he "may be seeking an opportunity to commit a crime."

MUSE BEFORE NEWS ON BBC — The British Broadcasting Corporation has demonstrated a truly impressive dedication to the arts. A few moments after beginning a broadcast of the Symphony in D Minor by Cesar Franck on Feb. 19, the BBC's Home Service received official word that the Queen had given birth. However, "it was decided not to interrupt the music," a spokesman said, and so listeners had to wait thirty-five minutes to hear the momentous news.

LIBERALISM DEFINED — Adlai Stevenson, spokesman for the liberal Democrats, told a Feb. 19 news conference in Panama that he saw "little objection" to raising the Panamanian flag alongside that of the U.S. in the Canal Zone — provided the Panamanians clearly understood that the U.S. was the real boss in the area. He also favored Panamanians having access to the Zone if they abstained from "violence and demonstrations such as occurred here last fall." At that time bayonet-wielding marines attacked Panamanians demonstrating against U.S. job discrimination in the Canal Zone.

THE SUMMATION — Sylvester Lee Garrison, 27, a Negro construction worker, was sentenced to death in Denver Feb. 5 on a murder charge. Asked if he wished to say anything before sentence was imposed, Garrison said: "There's not too much to say, not too much to say. I knew I would lose. There were 13 jurors — all white — and I was husky and dark. You [the judge] fought so hard to prove me guilty. I could say a lot but it wouldn't do no good. I can only say I'm not guilty. There's nothing else to say." Garrison has been ordered put to death in the gas chamber the week of May 9. He is appealing the conviction.

"The Wall Between" Selected By Pioneer as a "Best Buy"

The Wall Between, by Anne Braden. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1958. 306 pp. Paperbound. Regularly \$1.85. (Special buy \$1.25 from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.)

When this book was first published it was reviewed at greater length in the Militant (July 14, 1958) as an outstanding work on the struggle for Negro equality. On reading it again a year and a half later, one finds that the passage of time has not injured it. On the contrary, events since then emphasize its current importance and literary merit.

Basically, it is the story of how Anne and Carl Braden bought a house for a Negro friend in a lily-white neighborhood in Louisville, Ky.; how a courageous band of people attempted to defend that home from white-supremacist violence; and how the Louisville authorities organized a combined segregationist and McCarthyite witch-hunt against the Bradens and their supporters.

That in itself would make a stirring story. But The Wall Between is much more. It is a sensitive and enlightening description of the effect of segregation on Southern whites and Negroes, of the social and psychological motivations and reactions. And it is a moving autobiographical account of a family that stood up to persecution and prison for their principles.

Anne and Carl Braden still live in Louisville. Today they are leaders in the South-wide desegregation fight. Anne Braden, besides her family responsibilities (she has just had another child), is working full time for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Her husband, continuing to battle for civil rights, faces prison for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee.

To understand what they are fighting for and what inner forces keep them going, read The Wall Between.

Originally published in hard covers at \$5, its appearance now in paper covers puts it within easy reach of every Negro and white opponent of Jim Crow. —G. L.

Pickets Empty Woolworth's In Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 21 — An F. W. Woolworth store in the Negro community here was emptied out yesterday when a picket line was set up in solidarity with Negro students fighting Jim Crow at lunch bars in the South. The action was conducted by about 50 Negro and white youth, mostly college and high-school students, organized in the Philadelphia Youth Committee against Discrimination.

Preparations for the action were made at a meeting at the University of Pennsylvania with representatives from Swarthmore College present. The Congress on Racial Equality supported the committee's action.

The chairman of the meeting, LeRoy McRae, a Negro student, called for solidarity with the fighters against racism.

He urged organized labor to lend its support to the fight, pointing out that "the same forces which bolster Jim Crow benefit from the non-union South."

The effective demonstration won local publicity. One of the organizers, Arlene Felberbaum, 21, was interviewed over Station WDAS. She urged public support to the Southern fighters.

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