

## Deutscher Assesses Leon Trotsky's Role

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## Chessman's Fate Up to Legislators

### Governor Claims He Is 'Powerless'

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile, the movement to save Chessman and to win abolition of the death penalty is continuing. In a statement to the Militant correspondent here, the veteran civil-liberties attorney, Leo Gallagher, urged renewed efforts on this score.

"There are two types of justice," he declared. "One for the rich and one for the poor. I know of no rich man who has ever been executed. The only thing of importance in this period of the decay of capitalism is a man's bank account."

### Too Many Babies?

## How War on Babies Began in 1798

By Joseph Hansen

Fifth in a series of articles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Council Vows Highlander Will Be Kept Alive

MONTEAGLE, Tenn. — Complete confidence in Highlander Folk School, its administration and program, as well as a firm determination to continue the program was expressed by the members of the school's executive council at a meeting here last week.

The council met to consider what action should be taken in light of Judge Chattin's decision finding Highlander guilty of violating the Tennessee code forbidding integrated classes in private schools. Myles Horton, director of the school, said: "Highlander will not die. This program of democratic education will be continued regardless of where we operate or what is done to us."

## The Bitter Lessons Of the Wilson Defeat

By Tom Kerry

The labor movement suffered a tragic defeat last week when the top leadership of the AFL-CIO United Packinghouse Workers jammed through an agreement, terminating the 108-day walkout of 5,000 members at six Wilson & Co. plants, which called for arbitration of the key issue: Do the strikers get their jobs back or will the scabs imported to break the strike be retained?

It is estimated that of 1,100 workers who struck the Albert Lea, Minn., plant on Nov. 3 less than 50 were returned to the job when the strike was called off. Approximately 900 scabs hired during the course of the strike remained.

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

And the end is not yet! To submit to arbitration a fundamental principle that permits of no compromise is a gross betrayal of the interests of labor. The union movement can pay dearly for such a precedent.

## Hunger Striker Is Force Fed

A young Negro woman, Ero-seanna Robinson of Chicago, went on a hunger strike Jan. 26 when she was jailed for non-payment of federal income taxes. A pacifist, she has refused to pay income taxes because the money is spent primarily for war purposes.

Miss Robinson, who was carried bodily into court after refusing to co-operate with the authorities in any way, was sentenced to a year and a day on charges of criminal contempt.

During the early part of her imprisonment she was held in Cook County jail in Chicago. Authorities there, to break her spirit, withheld her mail, denied her visitors and placed her in solitary confinement. She is now in a federal hospital where she is being force fed.

## Ku Klux Klan Tied To Austrian Nazis

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

## 4,400 Wilson Jobs Placed In Arbitration

ST. PAUL, Minn., Feb. 27 — As a result of the agreement reached between the United Packinghouse Workers and Wilson & Co., an estimated 1,300 out of 5,700 Wilson strikers have been called back to work by the company. The remaining 4,400 strikers will have to await an arbitration decision to find out whether they or the strikebreakers have rights to jobs in the plants.

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

Meanwhile the company has designated Edward Bullard, a Chicago attorney and member of the Wilson Board of Directors as its representative. The union has designated Rabbi Jacob Weinstein of the K.A.M. Temple in Chicago. The two have failed to agree on a third member, so a federal judge from Illinois will act as the third member.

The union leadership said they agreed to arbitrate the job rights of the strikers to "save face for the company." They stated that Wilson had hired several thousand scabs and now didn't know what to do with them.

The real aim of Wilson is to get a decision from the board in favor of the scabs, thus weakening the union or eliminating it entirely.

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

The company's attempt to smash the union was not only failing to break the ranks of the strikers, but from the way Wilson stock dropped on the stock market, the union's boycott against Wilson's scab meat was becoming more effective as the strike went on.

"The Taft-Hartley law has within its framework all that the employer needs to render the union he is dealing with

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## Ceylonese Trotskyists Report Growing Support

As Ceylon's March 19 elections for parliament draw near, the country's biggest working-class party, the Trotskyist-led Lanka Sama Samajist, appears to be gaining in strength. One of the consequences has been a gang-up against the organization. All the spokesmen of the capitalist class have singled it out for attack; and the leaders of the Communist party have joined in.

In reply, the Feb. 16 Samasamajist, English-language publication of the party, points to the "growing support in the country for the LSSP" and notes that the Communist party leaders are not fighting the capitalist parties, only the LSSP. "... anti-Samasamajist

is the only consistent aspect of Stalinist politics."

While waging a vigorous election campaign, the Ceylonese Trotskyists are keeping a wary eye on the "caretaker" government headed by Prime Minister Dahanayake. This discredited figure has given signs of preparing a coup d'etat to establish a personal dictatorship.

An ominous indication was his creation in January — after parliament had been dissolved — of a Ministry of Internal Security in violation of the constitution. Another indication was the appointment of Sidney de Zoysa to head the ministry. De Zoysa is a police official suspected of complicity in the

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## Negro Youth Defy Jail In Drive on Jim Crow

### Twin Cities Students Hit Woolworth

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 27 — A spirited picket-line demonstration was held here this morning at the F. W. Woolworth store on Nicollet Avenue in the heart of the downtown area. Some 50 youths carried placards in solidarity with Negro students who are fighting discrimination at lunch counters in the South. The store here is one of the ten largest in the national chain.

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

The editors declared that students intended to help the civil-rights fighters in the South because "they don't agree with Woolworth officials that a company has to follow local customs" since they learned in grade school that the United States Constitution supersedes local customs.

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

The store management invited the pickets in for free coffee. Some accepted and had their pictures taken at the lunch counter holding up their banners blasting Woolworth's policy of maintaining Jim Crow lunch counters in the South.

The pickets were well received by the public and several people joined the line.

### Supporting Actions in North Hit Kress, Woolworth Stores

By George Lavan

MARCH 2 — Winning the admiration of freedom fighters the world over, the Negro students in the South are defying mass jailings in their campaign against racial discrimination at lunch counters. Their drive is spreading further through the South and increasing in intensity.

In addition, small but increasing numbers of Southern-born white students are taking part in the sit-down demonstrations. In the North, student organizations are stepping up their sympathy demonstrations, and a section of the labor movement has entered the fight in support of the Southern Negro movement.

Thus in New York, the student councils of several colleges and universities have endorsed a picket line to be held Saturday, March 5, from noon to 3 p.m. in front of Woolworth's store at 120 Thirty-fourth Street, opposite Macy's. Elsewhere, picketing has been conducted by students at the University of Wisconsin, University of Colorado, Rutgers University and by students at various schools in Philadelphia. Similar actions are in the offing at other leading colleges.

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

Meanwhile harsh jail sentences are being meted out by the white-supremacist authorities. At this moment, in the country which capitalist politicians tout as the stronghold of the "free world," young men and women are behind bars for the

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## Lahtinen Fights Order to Ship Him to Finland

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

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

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

## Trujillo Boasts Climate "Ideal" For Profiteers

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

In return for such support, the Dominican Development Commission, a Trujillo outfit, is patting American capitalists on the back. In a full page advertisement, the commission cites 18 U. S. firms now reaping profits from the "ideal" business "climate" in the "friendly Caribbean nation that has NO TIME FOR COMMUNISM."

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

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

### Maybe He's Right

Replying to critics, Senator John Cooper (R-Ky.) declared that it's good for the country when President Eisenhower takes vacations.

## 'Go Back and Get More' Say Ranks to Union Tops

Union members are now showing a more active concern over contract agreements negotiated by their representatives, according to Joseph L. Finegan, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

In an interview with the Cleveland Plain Dealer Feb. 18, Finegan said, "In every region it takes longer to put a case to bed. There are more rejections by union members of tentative settlements worked out by their committees than ever before."

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

Finegan said the trends in collective bargaining point to

a "rough year" in contract negotiations. Unions are stiffening demands for greater economic benefits. Employers are shooting more intensively at work rules.

He noted an increasing trend among unions to press for such fringe benefits as medical insurance paid for by the employer, rather than straight wage gains.

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

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

### Prisoners Efforts To Get Out Upheld

A federal district judge in Oregon has ruled that state prison authorities cannot interfere with the efforts of inmates to prepare legal documents in their own behalf.

Judge Gus Solomon ruled that where library facilities are not adequate, prisoners must be permitted to study law in their cells and to communicate freely with attorneys.

# Isaac Deutscher Discusses Leon Trotsky's Place in History

## TV Network in Canada Interviews Biographer

**COHEN:** Your work, your great work based on Leon Trotsky, based entirely on academic research or did you have any dealings with the man yourself?

**DEUTSCHER:** Well I wouldn't say that it was based exclusively on academic research. In the 1930's I was a spokesman of the Opposition in the Polish Communist party at that time. I was very strongly influenced by Trotsky's ideas and you can find this influence in my writings now, though I now take a more detached and critical view of many of his viewpoints although I must say that even in the 1930's I had my controversies with Trotsky. But I never met him personally. It

### A Man of Theory and Action

**COHEN:** Well, all right, let's take that point. In your book you describe him as one of the great revolutionary leaders of all time. Can we specify this? Can we define the anatomy of greatness in this man? In what did his greatness consist of?

**DEUTSCHER:** His greatness showed itself in the various aspects of his activity because he's a very many-sided personality. He was undoubtedly very kind. A man of action. He was the leader of the first Russian Revolution, of the Soviet, of the first council of workers' deputies, of the first Russian Revolution of 1905, and he was in 1905 the first leader to declare that the Soviet is the form, the institutional form of the next Russian revolution.

In 1906 he developed his theory of permanent revolution in which he forecast that the Russian revolution would not stop in its bourgeois phase but would pass into a socialist phase. A viewpoint which was then rejected by Mensheviks and Bolsheviks alike, by the great theorists of the Right Wing of socialism, if you like, by—and by Lenin.

Well he was the leader much more than Lenin himself, he was the practical leader of the October Revolution in 1917. He was the founder of the Red Army, he was the actual inspirer of the Red Army and its actual leader throughout the period of the civil war. There wouldn't have been—had he laid the foundations if you like of Soviet military power and he laid it in 1918-1919. He created the Red Army almost out of nothing.

Of course that is historically and sociologically a metaphor when I say out of nothing. No one can create anything out of

### Intellectuals and the Masses

**COHEN:** And yet Mr. Deutscher, this man with all these qualities was unable to foresee or unable to do anything in the realistic and practical manner to prevent the Soviet state from taking the turn it did after Lenin died?

**DEUTSCHER:** There are situations in history, and there are forces in history that are much stronger than individual foresight, than the genius of a leader. He is not—that's why he is a martyr. I wanted to say he is great as a man of action, he is great as a thinker, he is also great as a martyr. He had a very clear prescience of his fate.

**COHEN:** Now what do you mean by that, sir?

**DEUTSCHER:** I mean that he had a very clear premonition

didn't occur to me then I would ever become his biographer. If I thought that I would perhaps I would try to see him and to watch him at close quarters.

However at that time I thought, well, who was I to trouble the great man, exiled leader of the Russian Revolution. I didn't think I was important enough to impose myself on him.

**COHEN:** You always thought of him as the great man, as a great revolutionary.

**DEUTSCHER:** Yes, I always thought of him and I still think of him as one of the greatest figures in the histories of revolutions and as one of the greatest, how shall I put it, intellects of our age.

nothing. What I mean to say is that he laid the foundations of a new army when, after the old army had collapsed and there were on the surface of it no elements for the creation of a new army. Lenin for instance almost despaired of the possibility of creating a new army and Trotsky created it. He was largely responsible for the strategy and the tactics and the organization of the army that allowed the Bolsheviks to win the civil war.

Now he was then the one who formulated the whole program of Russia's industrialization. The program which Stalin carried out later with many distortions: I am not going into the question to what extent those distortions were inevitable or not, but anyhow Trotsky was so to say the promoter of Russia's—the first promoter—of Russia's industrialization.

Well perhaps that's enough for one man of action, but he wasn't only a man of action; he was a thinker. He was a brilliant writer. I think that his history of the Russian Revolution is probably one, certainly one of the greatest works of history that have ever been written. It's a work that is now largely unknown, neglected, but it will keep its place in historical literature.

Well in my last book, *The Prophet Armed*, I devote a whole chapter to his writings on philosophy, science and literature. He was a very great literary critic; Russia's leading literary critic in the 1920's and as literary critic he denounced in advance all the practices of Stalinism and declared bluntly that the Communist party had no right to exercise any tutelage over art, literature and science.

that he was not going to win, that he would be defeated. I quote in my book from his private writings that in 1926 or 1927 he said, a revolutionary leader may end either like Lenin or like Karl Liebknecht—either like Lenin who fought and won and died at the height of his triumph or like Karl Liebknecht, leader of the German socialists who was assassinated in January 1919, that way. He—and you feel as you read his private notes he knew that the fate and the way for him was Liebknecht's, that is the martyr's fate.

**COHEN:** I wonder, sir, if it didn't have something to do with the fact that he was an intellectual and that the entire approach of the intellectual to an event, to a movement based presumably on the strength of the workers is essentially when put to the practical test, theoretical and alienated from the realities of experience.

**DEUTSCHER:** How? Theoretical and alienated from the realities of experience—first of

all what do you mean, he was an intellectual? Do I hear an undertone of intellectual contempt of the intellectual?

**COHEN:** No, you heard an undertone of skepticism about the intellectuals.

**DEUTSCHER:** Skepticism about the intellectuals? Well I would not play down the intellectual. I know it's fashionable now to play him down. I would not play down the intellectual in politics. If you like, the greatest initiators of the greatest political movements were always intellectuals in one way or another.

Wasn't Luther an intellectual

### Was Trotsky at Odds with the Workers?

**COHEN:** Well here you have a situation where an intellectual agitates, works, sacrifices himself for the establishment of a workers' state, a state in which power both in terms of the means of production and in terms of the apparatus of government is to be handed over to workers—right?—to non-intellectuals, a condition which the intellectual cannot—a condition in which the intellectual cannot be a true part. Doesn't that follow?

**DEUTSCHER:** No, not necessarily. Not necessarily, that depended of course on the specific circumstances. The intellectuals in the early years of the Russian Revolution worked in very close and good harmony with the workers. There wasn't this antagonism between worker and the revolutionary intellectual which you imply in your question.

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

**COHEN:** I was thinking in terms of his expectation and Lenin's. That the revolution would come in the most advanced sections of the industrialized world rather than in the most backward. I was thinking of his assumption that the moment revolution did break loose, there would be contagion spreading all over Europe—the permanent revolution theory. I was thinking of his assumption that in the communes and in the workers' state, once it was established, there would be in very quick order a withering away of the apparatus of state. I am thinking of all these.

**DEUTSCHER:** That's right. Oh yes, when we go down to the specific issues then of course we can discuss the things specifically. Of course Lenin and Trotsky were valuable men. They made very great mistakes, but — well let us try to disentangle the truth of their views from their mistakes.

You mentioned the permanent revolution. Now in the permanent—in the whole theory of permanent revolution of which Trotsky was still author but which in the years of the revolution was implicitly also Lenin's theory, and in the whole theory of permanent revolution there are so to say two elements, a basic element and a secondary one.

### Is the Rise of a Bureaucracy Inevitable?

**COHEN:** There was another—

—if I may put it this way—a mistake that they made of course connected with the theory of permanent revolution and that was the assumption that when you took over the apparatus and machinery of government that the group which took over that power would not attempt to monopolize and hold that power for itself. Do you agree with that?

**DEUTSCHER:** Yes, but that

for his day? Wasn't Jefferson an intellectual? Well of all the political influences of our people is there any influence that is greater for good and evil than the influence of Karl Marx who spent thirty years of his life in London in the British Museum over very dusty—very, very dusty—unknown, obscure volumes?

I think that it is a very bad fashion to play down the role of intellectuals. The known intellectuals may perhaps continue what the great intellectuals have started but the initiators of things important in history are always intellectuals.

The basic element consisted in this, that the Bolsheviks recognized that the Russian revolution wouldn't be self-sufficient. That this was not just a revolution within one nation's state, that this revolution was bound to spread, that the conflict that led to the revolution in Russia existed also elsewhere. And that the revolution would transcend so to say the boundaries of a single state. That was the basic element.

The secondary element was the expectation that the revolution would spread to Western Europe, that it would spread like wildfire, that it would immediately, or in the very near future, conquer in Western Europe and help Russia to get out of her inherited poverty and backwardness with the help of the advanced Western European nations.

Now, there was—there were two questions involved here and two distinct and different questions; one was whether the Russian revolution was a self-sufficient historical development and the second question was what were the immediate prospects of international revolution.

Now to the first question, events have given an answer and have justified the theory of permanent revolution. The Russian revolution has not remained the only revolution of its kind. There is the Chinese revolution, there was the Yugoslav revolution. Very different and yet basically identical in pattern. You have now a Soviet Bloc. You speak about the Soviet Bloc, this is not the time of Stalin's socialism in a single country any more.

Now as far as this basic question is concerned whether the Russian revolution was a self-sufficient historical development, I think that the offers of Trotsky, in particular the offers of permanent revolution, are justified by the events. They were mistaken in imagining that the revolution was about to spread to Western Europe and win there. Yes, in this they were mistaken. The mistake was rooted in certain fallacies that went deeper than the mere forecast. The mistake really went back to the classical Marxist forecast of the future and the development of capitalism.

**COHEN:** The rich would get richer and the poor would get poorer.

**DEUTSCHER:** At any rate the assumption that the working classes in the advanced industrialized countries would rise or were about to rise to overthrow capitalism.

was so to say an honorable mistake.

**COHEN:** Well what's that?

**DEUTSCHER:** By this I mean a mistake which does honor to those who made it. They made the assumption that the revolution would be some sort of war of class democracy and in which no single group would monopolize power for itself. This assumption has been proved wrong but it has been proved wrong in particular circumstances because of particular circumstances. If you allow me to be so immodest as to quote myself in my last volume, well the Russian working class proved incapable of exercising its own dictatorship and that was why the proletarian dictatorship turned out to be a bureaucratic dictatorship.

**COHEN:** You speak of this happening due to this particular set of circumstances. I suggest to you, Mr. Deutscher, that in point of fact this is the inevitable pressure, whether you refer to it as a working-class dictatorship or any kind of dictatorship springing from a working class and laboring sources, that in point of fact there is a kind of law of oligarchy, a circulation of the elite which applies in the instance of every revolution and every revolution is therefore, if I may attempt to theorize for a moment, every revolution is doomed to a defeat of its basic ideals.

**DEUTSCHER:** I don't accept this view. I think it is true that every revolution so far has

## Our Viewpoint

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

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

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

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

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

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

seen this process and ended in this process by which power was gradually monopolized by one ruling group or one ruling group or came under—

**COHEN:** Vested interest would you call it?

**DEUTSCHER:** Yes, yes, yes. Every revolution has gone through that. It doesn't follow that all revolutions must go, I don't see the inevitability. A historical precedent suggests that this has happened, so far. We must—it has happened in every revolution for different reasons. It has happened to bourgeois revolutions because between the masses that made the revolutions and in the masses that made the revolution and the leadership of the revolution. It has happened in Russia.

Of course, the immaturity of the Russian working class, not only its immaturity because of the extraordinary weakness and

of the dissipation of strength which the Russian working class suffered after the revolution, the civil war. It is a point which I am trying to illustrate with some facts in my last book, how the whole process happened.

There simply wasn't a working class, there wasn't a working class after the civil war to spare to any political... the state, it was decimated, broken up, shrunken, demoralized, sociologically speaking you couldn't even see a working class in existence in Russia at that time and that explains the rise of the bureaucratic power.

It doesn't follow that if a working class, if the working class had won in the revolution in any other country a strongly developed, numerically strong, educated, self-confident working class that it would allow the bureaucracy to usurp power in the same way.

### Prospects for Socialism in the West

**COHEN:** When you speak, Mr. Deutscher, of a highly sophisticated and articulate working class leading a revolutionary movement and consolidating and taking power afterwards, aren't you surely speaking in terms of contradiction, because in the only countries where you might expect that, in the Western countries and the highly industrialized countries, in fact the working classes are not interested in revolution and by your concepts may be described as a reactionary and backward force.

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

**COHEN:** Well my observation is that, let's say in the United States and in England, the working classes are certainly not interested in revolutionary movements or movements which have revolutionary aims.

**DEUTSCHER:** I think it contradicts as I said before, it contradicts one of Marx's major forecasts, but granted this I wouldn't say that it demonstrates a flaw in the Marxist philosophy of life and Marxist method of approaching society, of analyzing history and so on. Not at all.

### Men of Power and Men of Character

**COHEN:** We've wandered somewhat afield from our original subject—Leon Trotsky—and I wonder if we might come back to him now, and discuss a point which you mentioned earlier concerning the premonition of martyrdom and tragedy that Trotsky himself had. Would you say, Mr. Deutscher, that there was in his nature a flaw, a durable continuing and growing flaw which made him unable to contend with Stalin in the struggle for power that developed after Lenin's death in '21 wasn't it, no '23, I am sorry.

**DEUTSCHER:** Well, if you consider the inability of a man to struggle for power as the proof of a flaw in his character, well then the greatest heroes in history had that flaw in their characters.

**COHEN:** Was he—

**DEUTSCHER:** Oh start from Socrates. He was defeated. To be defeated, if defeat is proof of a flaw in a man's character, and I am not saying that Trotsky's character was without its flaws, but I don't see the connection between a man's defeat in this case and the flaw in his character. You suggest that only the victorious, the

armed, you have a lengthy section in which you describe the curious passivity of Trotsky at that period when Stalin began to centralize power in the General Secretariat. Doesn't this indicate a kind of inability on Trotsky's part that was in effect a serious flaw that had nothing to do with victory or defeat.

**DEUTSCHER:** But I also indicate the dilemmas that were responsible for the curious spells of his passivity. It wasn't a passivity that flowed from the man's character, if anything Trotsky was the man, the dynamic man of action. It was his tragedy that his dilemmas drove him in a situation in which his dynamic energy as it sagged. He found no application for his dynamic energy because he was beset by sudden dilemmas. Dilemmas

### Did Trotsky Cover Up for Stalinism?

**COHEN:** I have a feeling, you know, reading your book that at this point in his life Trotsky had begun to realize, although he never said it, that in point of fact the revolution was perverted and that he could simply, and that the rest of his life was going to be an apology for the perversion of that revolution. That he groomed himself to play—

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

**COHEN:** No, no but he defended his role in it and continued to assert that the revolution could have gone a different way when in fact he knew differently. That he knew the revolution was bound to develop this bureaucratic content and that the rest of his life was to assert — I toss this as a suggestion arising from your book.

**DEUTSCHER:** No I don't think so. That wouldn't at all be consistent with his character because what you imply there is really more than a streak of hypocrisy in the man and you can accuse Trotsky of very many things but hypocrisy is not one of them.

**COHEN:** What can you accuse him of when you say that. What are you meaning?

**DEUTSCHER:** Well, I think he sometimes allowed his self-confidence to run away with him. He was sometimes during the civil war perhaps needlessly ruthless although it's very difficult to judge the situation of a leader of any army during a civil war, to condemn him post factum for what he had done but maybe he was sometimes too — he was sometimes over-scrupulous when he dealt with his opponents. He was sometimes too much bound by his own views and his own preoccupations.

He had all the human weaknesses and all the fallibility that you must expect in any man. But he was not a hypocrite. He was in his own mind absolutely sure that it was his duty to fight against what he considered was

### The Individual's Role in History

**COHEN:** You don't accept at all the idea that men make history, do you?

**DEUTSCHER:** Oh yes I do but I don't accept the idea that the men who make history were only Stalin, Lenin or Trotsky. I accept the idea that millions of men make history, that the great masses, they are also the men who make history. They make it either through their passivity or through their activity. They make it when they have the courage to stick out their necks and when they don't have it. When you say men make history do you really mean that men, only men like Stalin make history, or only men like Hitler or men like I don't know, any other, presidents or party leaders?

**COHEN:** It was a man like Stalin who enforced the policy

which existed objectively, the dilemma of authority and freedom. A dilemma which recurs in the revolution just as it exists in non-revolutionary society.

**COHEN:** I don't follow that, Mr. Deutscher. I am sorry.

**DEUTSCHER:** You see Trotsky had to choose between Bolshevik discipline and the assertion of what he called proletarian democracy. He wanted the Bolshevik party to be a free organization of free members, free to speak their mind. On the other hand he also accepted the principle of Bolshevik discipline. They were two contradictory principles. They were not always in absolute conflict with one another but now in the 1920's they came into absolute conflict. This was his dilemma.

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

With another part of his mind he hoped that perhaps defeat wasn't inevitable. That in any case it was his duty to go on fighting, there might be a chance still of saving the Russian revolution from its perversion. He was guided in this I think by a principle which Engels once, Friedrich Engels, once expressed in a very lapidary form that anyone who gives up even a hopeless position without fighting it, for it, without defending it, is a traitor to his cause.

**COHEN:** What were the qualities that Stalin had that enabled him to triumph so decisively over Trotsky?

**DEUTSCHER:** I think if we look for an answer to this question wholly in Stalin's personal qualities we shall probably never find the satisfactory answer because as far as personal qualities were concerned Stalin was in every respect Trotsky's inferior in my view. Even as a practitioner he was Trotsky's inferior.

Nevertheless he proved himself practically superior to Trotsky in the 1920's because he was helped in his struggle against Trotsky by the mood prevailing in Russia, by the condition of Soviet society, by post-revolutionary weariness, by a reaction that set in against the great aspirations, the great hopes, the heroic flights of the early years of the revolution.

To explain Stalin's success and study his victory over Trotsky one has to see the whole state, the whole condition of Soviet society at the time and not only look at Stalin as the self-sufficient actor

with all of its implications and all of its horror.

**DEUTSCHER:** Yes, but it wasn't only Stalin who enforced it. There were other factors much wider, much bigger, much more important than Stalin that enforced it. Well I shan't go now into the history of collectivization, you know. That is a long history but I just mention that in 1928 and 1929 the fact of famine stared into the face of urban Russia continuously. That was a problem to be solved, a problem to be solved of how to feed Russia and the old smallholdings just couldn't do it.

As I say I am not going to go into this problem now. I don't think it was just by fear of Stalin that the collectivization had to — I believe that so-called

(Continued on Page 4)

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## That Wrestling in Congress

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

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

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

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

## The Fight on 'Apartheid' Here

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

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

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

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

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

## Let's Stop Screening "Risks"

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

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

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

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

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

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

To restrict the civil-rights legislation to the voting issue, is the strategy of Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson. His plan is to permit the filibuster to continue until the House passes a bill whose only substance will be the registrar plan. Then in the name of saving the Senate from further exhaustion he can call for passage of the House bill without amendment.

Trying to outbid the Democrats by one or two per cent, the Republican leadership is pushing a similar voting bill with two little extras. Neither has any substance, but the Nixon forces believe they will be eye catchers for Negro voters.

One is a tip of the hat to school desegregation, authorizing federal financial aid to districts which desegregate. The other gives a congressional birth certificate — but no power — to the ineffectual Committee on Government Contracts which exists under a presidential executive order.

Neither capitalist party really gives a damn about the Negro people. That is why they propose such weak civil-rights legislation in Congress.

If the Democrats and Republicans were truly concerned about equality they could right now legislate a system of federal voting registration which would not require hundreds or thousands of long-drawn-out lawsuits; they could fix a specific date and mechanism for total school desegregation with penalties for violation; and the powerless Committee on Government Contracts could be empowered and directed to cancel contracts with employers guilty of discrimination in hiring or upgrading.

On the other hand, a well-organized mass movement against white supremacy in this country can deal solid blows for the advancement of civil rights.

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

A boycott movement is now spreading in the South against five-and-dime and drugstore chains that discriminate against Negroes at lunch counters. Students in the North are organizing picketing in support of the civil-rights fighters in the South.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

## African Working Class Shows Fighting Temper

By James Baker

The imperialists have much more at stake in the "white settler" states than they have in "Black" Africa. Since the war, more than half the new investment of overseas capital in Africa has gone to South Africa, the Belgian Congo and the Central African Federation. Huge profits have been taken out by overseas investors; these economies have been expanding at a fantastic rate.

In these territories the main form of exploitation of the African peoples is through wage-labor on European farms, and in mines and factories. They are employed as unskilled workers at low wages, and many depend on their land holdings in the reserves to provide food for their families and for themselves when they are no longer able to work. Increasing numbers have, however, succeeded in establishing themselves in the towns as an urbanized proletariat.

From the point of view of the imperialists, future development in these territories is limited by several factors. Since the white population is insufficient to provide workers for further industrial expansion, if this is to take place, more effective use must be made of African labor. This means that the "color" bar in industry which restricts Africans to unskilled jobs must be lifted. It also means that the legislation which prevents Africans from settling permanently in the towns must be rescinded.

In the present conditions with the Afrikaner nationalists in power, and with their ideology of white supremacy, both these measures are impossible. White industrialists in both Southern Rhodesia and in the Union of South Africa have attacked the the stupidity of preventing Africans from acquiring industrial skills. They do so because they are concerned with making profits, not because they are concerned about human equality. But they have not succeeded in convincing the nationalists.

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

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

Conflicts between Africans and the police have become more frequent and more violent; the incidence of robbery with violence in the Union has increased. To this the various governments have responded with repressive legislation, the training of riot squads, and the imprisonment and exile of African leaders.

Contacts between African workers and the European working-class tradition is minimal. The Africans only contact with the heritage of proletarian internationalism has been limited to the various maneuvers with which the representatives of the Stalinist bureaucracy have distorted local working-class struggles. So far there is little sign of the emergence of a Marxist leadership among the Africans; but neither is there any sign of reformism.

In their present circumstances the African workers may soon begin to understand that they

can rely only on themselves to end their exploitation. And if they once take up the struggle, even under nationalist leadership, it will be almost impossible to confine it within the same framework of constitutional activity as has occurred in "Black" Africa.

If armed struggles begin in the predominantly proletarian areas of the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Northern Rhodesian Copper Belt and the Congo, there is no telling how far they might spread. The peasant masses of "Black" Africa would not stand aside idly while their proletarian brothers were fighting in the south. The whole framework of imperialist exploitation would be in ruins.

This is the danger which Macmillan has glimpsed; as the representative of world imperialism he is seeking to stabilize the situation in Africa before it is too late. Even if this means throwing overboard the representatives of the white

minorities this will be a small price to pay.

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

And he will still have to deal with the revolt of the whites in Kenya, Central Africa and the Union of South Africa who will not accept being dropped so easily. Macmillan will need all his astuteness to deal with this situation.

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

### The Uninvited Guest

The American Association of Advertising Agencies has advised its members that they should display better taste in the preparation of TV commercials dealing with laxatives, deodorants, etc., because "the advertiser is a guest in the family living room."

## ... How War on Babies Began in 1798

(Continued from Page 1)

knee buckles and a powdered wig. It would seem fitting, however, to avoid such a disrespectful attitude; and, instead, extend to the Reverend the benefit of a modern approach such as his modern views deserve.

Psychoanalysts should find the good parson of considerable interest. A curious blank exists in his sex life. It appears that he did not engage in this common field of human endeavor until his marriage at the age of 39. Not that he was ignorant of what the birds and the bees and people do. It was just that his primary interest was to keep the population down. To accomplish this laudable aim, he advocated "moral restraint" and he really seems to have been one to practice what he preached.

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

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

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

As if such subversive views were not enough, Daniel Malthus associated himself with the ideas of William Godwin, a British firebrand who declared, "God himself has no right to be a tyrant." Once a Calvinist, Godwin became converted to the materialist views of the Encyclopedists. He denounced accumulated property as a monstrous injustice, maintaining that property should be available to any who need it. He considered marriage the worst of all legal institutions. Government, he believed, is inherently evil and will eventually be outgrown. Godwin had great power of influencing men, especially "enthusiastic young people, who hung on his words as those of a prophet." Among his disciples he counted the renowned poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, an avowed atheist, who eloped with his daughter. (Mary was a talented woman, whom Hollywood should immortalize in the pavement at Sunset and Vine as the author of Frankenstein.)

Young Tom Malthus found his father's subversive background rather painful. However, instead of turning bitter, as might have been expected, or developing neurotic symptoms, he took a healthy fighting stance which the American Legion might have approved. He set out to convince his father that revolutionary views are utopian. Not having much of an original mind, he dug around among old books and publications until he came up with a set of arguments which he thought would shake anyone. These he fitted together in a manuscript.

## The American Way of Life

### Pets Are Part of the Family

Several weeks ago we reported in this column the observation of a designer that a well-dressed child "complements a parent as effectively as a diamond or a poodle." But we didn't grasp the full import of that statement until we read a report in the Feb. 21 New York Times Magazine on how Americans dress their poodles. For example:

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

Just a couple of exceptionally well-treated poodles? Not at all. Read this:

"At a Sutton Place canine beauty parlor, while the customers, sat under dryers and had the nails on all four feet painted gold or silver, hanging from the pegs in the cloakroom were: a paisley coat with matching lead, an autumn haze mink coat and a gray chesterfield with black velvet collar and a tiny black lace handkerchief fluttering from the pocket."

Last year Americans spent some \$150 million on accessories for their 26 million dogs. True, most of this money went for ordinary leashes, collars, feeding bowls, etc. But there was also a brisk business in such items as knitted booties, rain slickers, ski pants, black velvet opera capes, black lace britches, four-poster canopied beds and canine cologne.

One of New York's better shops, Saks Fifth Avenue, offers the following: "A glass, gold and rhinestone cookie jar with a dog (his own breed, of course) and 'My Favorite Yummy' hand-painted on the side. A combination safe ('My Personal Treasures') to hold his jeweled collars and earrings. A black (or pink) lace carrying bag and matching coat, rhinestone stud-

ded. Bibs trimmed in lace and ribbon with 'My Darling' embroidered in pink or blue. Fancy motoring goggles (\$7.75)."

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

And it certainly is no indication of silly snobbishness on the part of the loving owners. This is demonstrated by the report of the proprietor of Poodles Boutique, a fashionable canine beauty salon. He finds that the trend in names for our better dogs is toward such unpretentious handles as Irving or Nellie.

Nor does a stylish get-out prevent the dog from being a regular fella. One veterinarian, who has seen dogs decked out in all kinds of jewelry, reports: "A dog does not have our sense of social values."

Marybeth Weston, author of the Times' article, says: "Perhaps it is a mark of a healthy civilization that well-dressed people feel that their dogs should also have snug coats and boots on a cold day."

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

No question about it, Miss Weston. Even an aborigine would have to agree it's a better way of life.

—Alex Harte

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

Whether Daniel Malthus was really bowled over by the dusty arguments, or felt a kindly paternal interest in Tom's career, he encouraged the 32-year-old lad to publish the manuscript. The resulting pamphlet in 1798 was an instant success. British ruling circles considered it a dazzling answer to the subversive ideas about liberty, fraternity and equality emanating from the French Revolution.

Britain's rulers took the youth's argument as confirmation of their view that it is harmful to seek a better society. If human nature is such that population will always outstrip the food supply, the poor and hungry will be with us forever, since it is obvious that you can't change human nature. It is, moreover, futile to help the poor. Indeed, charity is harmful, for it encourages them to reproduce.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Malthus himself thus turns out to be no more help to us in beating back the phalanxes of the world's babies than his distinguished disciple Sir Charles Darwin. We seem to have an enemy that is truly invincible. With 100,000 new recruits a day donning the uniform of the diaper and the safety pin, it looks like nothing will be left in our refrigerators soon except the chromium trim.

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

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

(Next week: Our Food Supply.)

It Was as Cold As a Cop's Heart

Editor: I never did like cops, and after an experience I had last night I like them even less. A friend and I were walking home around midnight. It was freezing cold. As we passed Union Square, a woman who was walking her dog told us a man was calling for help down the block. We went over and found an old man, perhaps in his eighties, lying on the steps of Washington Irving High School. He was calling, "Someone please help me." We got him to his feet but he could barely stand. He was trembling violently from the cold. He had scraped his hand and it was covered with blood. He was finally able to explain that he lived at a nursing home for old men about a mile away. He had gone to a movie and when he came out apparently became confused, walked in the wrong direction and finally just collapsed on the school steps. We were trying to figure out how to get him home when we saw a police car approaching. We hailed it and explained the problem to the two cops, told them where he lived and suggested maybe they could drive him home. The wind was whistling right through that old man as we held him up beside the patrol car. The two cops looked at him through the window and one said that if he wanted, they could call an ambulance to take him to a hospital for a check on his hand. But they couldn't take him home. "Why not?" "This is in the Ninth Precinct. I think where he lives is in the Tenth. Can't take him." They rolled the window up to keep out the cold and drove off. We finally managed to hail a cab to take him home. I doubt that I'll soon forget the sight of that suffering old man or those two cold-blooded cops.

H. C. New York

Would Like to See A Lot More Articles On Basic Socialism

Editor: How about some articles on basic socialism in the Militant? I think most workers are quite thoroughly convinced that capitalism is corrupt, etc., etc. Drew Pearson and others are doing a good job in this respect. Let us show the alternative to capitalist corruption, crisis, etc. Let us have an article on socialism (some aspect) in each issue of the Militant. Weeks go by without any socialist articles. What are we, reformists? Look over some of the back issues! If you were to pick up the Militant for the first time would you know that it was supposed to be a socialist paper?

H. L. Philadelphia

"Black Orpheus"

By Trent Hutter

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

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

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

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

The Brazilian Negro Orpheus in the film is a streetcar conductor and, at Carnival, the much admired head of the Morros' folk-art society, an excellent guitarist, singer and dancer. Marcel Camus and writer Jacques Viot have perfectly blended the story's mythical and social significance. The symbolism never becomes heavy-footed. Everything rings true. The characters are no abstractions. The rhythm of the Carnival scenes is breath-taking, the picture's poetic beauty overwhelming. The drama takes place during Carnival; for at Carnival, Orpheus the worker becomes Orpheus the artist. In the encounter with Eurydice he finds complete love. While the Carnival is ebbing, the girl is killed. The weird rites of a half-pagan sect cannot bring her back to the desperate Orpheus. With the end of Carnival Orpheus dies, Eurydice's body in his arms. But a talented boy inherits his guitar. He plays it, and children dance in the rising sun. . . .

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

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

Notes in the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LEGAL VICTORY FOR WOMEN — Married women in Michigan won a legal victory when the State Supreme Court upheld an appeal Feb. 26 on the right of a wife to sue for loss of consortium (marital comfort and companionship). The case involved a suit filed by Mrs. Shirley Montgomery of Garden City against the owner of a car that had severely injured her husband. Few states affirm the right of consortium for women although the right of men to sue on this basis has been long established.

DISPLAYS POLITICAL TALENT — Alois Williams, 16, a witness at a New York murder trial arising out of a youth gang feud, was asked if any of his friends were members of one of the rival gangs. Williams displayed how he is to some of the dangers of American politics by promptly replying: "I never asked any of my friends what organizations they belonged to."

BABY-SITTERS BEWARE — New York state officials have informed taxpayers that money earned by their children for baby-sitting or delivering papers or similar chores must be included in their report of taxable income. Some of the parents are balking at this on the ground that it is un-American to act as government stool pigeons and pry into the private affairs of their children.

Deutscher

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

COHEN: What was it — DEUTSCHER: Now I know I am very often criticized because I speak about the social forces and not about the men who make history but who are the social forces? They are men. It's just another, another name for the same thing, for the same characters, men — men make their history.

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

DEUTSCHER: Well I don't consider myself a Trotskyist and —

COHEN: You're frequently identified as one.

DEUTSCHER: Yes, I am but I don't consider myself a Trotskyist and as I said in the preface to The Prophet Unarmed I think that the historical development is transcending both Stalinism and Trotskyism. . . . But Trotsky maintains his great place in history and you ask why, well, this so furious — this ferocity — this ferocious hatred of Trotsky.

Well Trotsky remains something like the conscience of the revolution. You see at the time when Communism was involved in so many compromises, in so many crimes, in so much hypocrisy, there was something like an uneasy conscience in the Communist parties — international Communism. And that conscience, articulate conscience, was — of Communism — was Trotsky and you know with individuals as with parties it is true that you hate no one more than someone who is your conscience at a time when you want to get rid of your conscience. . . .

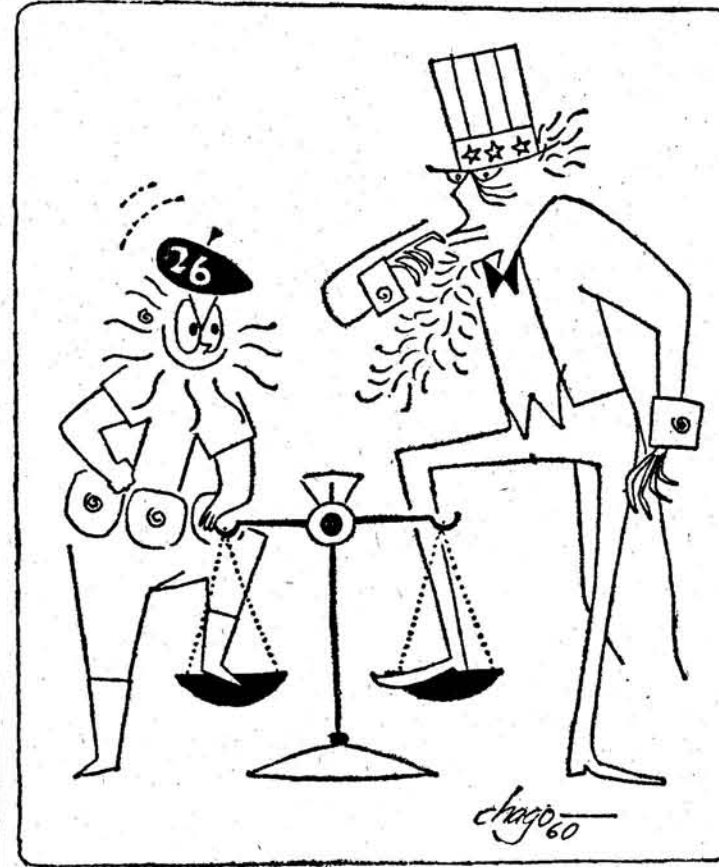
COHEN: Well then to follow this point through, your conviction is that notwithstanding everything that has happened, I am speaking of you now personally and your own beliefs as a Marxist which you obviously are —

DEUTSCHER: Yes, that's the oneism that I accept with a certain pride with this reservation, Marx is not the infallible prophet to me either. I am Marxist in this sense that I accept the Marxist method of thinking, analyzing events, of approaching society but that doesn't necessarily mean that Marx's writings are sacred texts. . . .

COHEN: . . . you said earlier that when you started out in the Polish Communist party you were very heavily influenced by Trotsky's teachings and that since then you've revised your opin-

Julito 26

by Chago



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

ions on certain of these ideas. May I ask what these particular ideas have been where you now differ from Trotsky?

DEUTSCHER: I wouldn't say — I would say Trotsky obviously overrated the chances of and the possibilities of socialist revolution in the West. In this respect he continued the classical Marxist tradition which as I said before had this flaw that it really underrated the stability. . . . in the West and the possibility of society expanding under capitalism.

Whether this is a fundamental error which will be seen as such a hundred years from now or whether that was an error in the estimate of the immediate situation and in a situation for thirty or forty years ahead, that is a different question; that people will be able to discuss a hundred years from now. I also think that Trotsky in the last phase of his life was despairing of Soviet society and saw no possibility of any movement for reform developing within Soviet society.

COHEN: Do you think he was in error on that?

DEUTSCHER: In this I think he was in error. I think he underrated the vitality of the new Soviet society that was growing up under Stalinism and was potentially growing out of Stalinism. I mean to say he underrated the pressures that would develop within Soviet society and would force even the Stalinist group to bury Stalinism piecemeal.

COHEN: They buried Stalinism but they haven't buried bureaucracy surely?

DEUTSCHER: Oh they have very strongly curbed bureaucracy and they have done away with the excesses of bureau-

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

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

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

DEUTSCHER: Man-made history. And again let's remember that when we say man-made history we don't only mean that man Nikita.

COHEN: Yes, all right. Are you suggesting that in fact he has completely altered this line of development, because my observation —

DEUTSCHER: Again, excuse me, again no I don't say Khrushchev has completely altered. Khrushchev has been made to alter certain things, very often against his inclination.

COHEN: Well specifically.

DEUTSCHER: Oh specifically I think, I think that in this whole de-Stalinization which had its climax at the Twentieth Congress, I think that Khrushchev acted under pressure from within the party, that he wasn't at all this — the man who was most ardent, most anxious you know to bury Stalinism.

Bitter Lessons of Wilson Defeat

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completely ineffective. If an employer is willing to put up the fight, spend the money and use Taft-Hartley machinery, he can just about reduce any union to uselessness insofar as carrying out the principal objectives of the trade-union movement is concerned."

The COPE statement then went on to cite the classic case of this union-busting technique, that of the O'Sullivan Company vs. the United Rubber Workers. It was the identical pattern followed by Wilson. First the scabbers recruit the strikebreakers to replace the strikers. Then some phony outfit is set up or invited in to claim that the striking union no longer represents the workers on the job. Under Taft-Hartley, the National Labor Relations Board calls a certification election to determine the "collective bargaining agent."

Under the original Taft-Hartley law only the strikebreakers could vote. As amended by Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin, both the strikebreakers and the strikers have the right to vote. But the company can pick its time. They count on first demoralizing a minority of the strikers who together with the scabs could virtually guarantee a defeat for the striking union.

When Wilson first began recruiting scabs it evoked a powerful movement of resist-

ance by the strikers. Mass picket lines acted as a potent deterrent to the scabbers. This brought a howl from the "law and order" boys, as it always does whenever effective mass action is applied by striking workers.

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

To restore "law and order" a so-called "friend of labor" in the governor's mansion ordered National Guard troops to Albert Lea. To befog the strikers, to disarm them, to convince them that there was some way other than their own independent class action to win the strike, the governor ordered the Wilson plant closed. This action was acclaimed by union heads in the most glowing terms. The AFL-CIO News of Dec. 19 commended Gov. Orville Freeman in a banner headline and declared that his "prompt action won praise from numerous union officials throughout the country."

Forgotten were the lessons of a hundred years of labor struggles. Forgotten were the more recent lessons of the great Minneapolis Teamsters strikes of the 1930's. Forgotten was the very basis of law in capitalist society which makes prop-

erty rights and freedom of contract the foundation of the legal pyramid. A cogent reminder was not long in coming. The courts soon set aside the plant-closing order and instructed the governor to do his duty by private property and order his troops to protect the right of scabs to break the picket line.

Whereupon union president Ralph Helstein rushed to Albert Lea to preach the virtues of passive resistance to a union membership outraged by the "law and order" hoax. This was the beginning of the end. Once the decision was made to abide by the rules laid down by the union-busters the result was inevitable. It was merely a matter of time before demoralization led to disintegration of union solidarity and union defeat.

It is reported that the union tops urged the ranks to accept the Wilson agreement as the lesser of two evils: To sacrifice their jobs if necessary in order to save the union which would lose out if the question of bargaining rights went to an NLRB election.

This appeal to union loyalty undoubtedly had its effect. It would be the worst mistake, however, to confuse loyalty to the union with loyalty to the labor bureaucrats whose commitment to the doctrine of class collaboration can only multiply the number of lost strikes and union defeats.

Students in Alabama Stand Up to Violence

The Negro student struggle has reached the Deep South and Alabama students are in the midst of a desperate battle. On Feb. 25, a group of 35 students from Alabama State College in Montgomery sat down at the lunch counter in the county courthouse. It was immediately closed and Sheriff Butler, swinging a club, appeared on the scene. He ordered the students to stand single file against the wall as state police photographed them.

Alabama Governor Patterson summoned the president of the

... Negro Youth

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"crime" of trying to buy a cup of coffee while sitting down at a lunch counter.

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

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

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

The students were tried individually. The first three, one of whom is white, refused to pay the fines, preferring to go to jail instead.

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

Twenty students, already convicted, are serving sentences. Mass arrest of student demonstrators again took place on Wednesday (March 3) when students sat down at the lunch counters in two Nashville bus stations.

Police ordered everyone in the Greyhound station not having bus tickets to leave. One student thereupon bought 60 tickets to a nearby town and distributed them to his fellows. Police then declared they had to clear the station to search for a bomb. The Negro students refused to leave the lunch counter and 60 were arrested, bringing the total arrested in Nashville to about 150, of whom four are white.

On the same day as the bus station arrests, some 250 other students trudged through snow and slush to continue the demonstrations at the downtown stores.

In Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 22 students, ten of them white, were convicted on March 2. The arrests resulted from a sit-down demonstration and were on warrants, signed by the manager of Woolworth's, charging "trespass."

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

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

Local Directory

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