

Eisenhower Must Share Blame for Violence

By Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

President Eisenhower's weak-kneed response to racist violence in the South is criminal. His temporizing with Gov. Faubus' armed rebellion has greatly emboldened the white-supremacists.

Eisenhower must share the blame for the humiliations, beatings, mutilations and bombings in Arkansas, Alabama, North Carolina and Tennessee. The Negro people and the numerous Southern whites who accept desegregation have been made to suffer by his temporizing course.

Enforcement is the key to civil rights. That means speedy and decisive aid by the federal government to the

courageous Negro people in the South whenever they need it to back their own magnificent efforts. They need the aid now.

The federal government has enforcement powers including use of federal troops. But Eisenhower refuses to use these powers.

His professed opposition to Jim Crow is phony. So are similar professions by all the other Big Business politicians, the Northern Democrats included. They are made for international propaganda purposes — primarily in dealing with Asia and Africa. And they are designed

purely as vote-getters at home.

Actually U.S. Big Business will permit only a minimum of concessions to race equality, since it profits hugely from segregation and discrimination.

The aid the embattled Negro people need and can't get from Big Business politicians must come from the American working people. The failure of the top AFL-CIO officials to mobilize aid for the Negro people at this time is just as criminal as Eisenhower's temporizing course.

Mass pressure on the U.S. government for arrest and

prosecution of such ringleaders of racism as Gov. Faubus is in order. So is the demand that federal powers be applied to the fullest extent to enforce school integration.

But beyond that, there is the need to replace the Big-Business dominated government with a government representing the working people.

It is necessary for all genuine civil-rights champions to promote the idea of a labor party with a fighting program and leadership. Such a party in power can be counted on to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people.

"We may be beaten but not licked. We may be wounded but not dead. We may be down but certainly not out. We're going to hold our heads up and press the fight. We are front line soldiers in the battle of America..." — Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, after beating by white hoodlums while escorting his children to a Birmingham school.

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Cowley Challenges Mayor Wagner on Integration Stand

By Joyce Cowley
Socialist Workers Party Candidate
For Mayor of New York

SEPT. 11 — Mayor Wagner, a Democrat, said yesterday that he felt "very sad" that Gov. Faubus of Arkansas, another Democrat, had blocked school integration in Little Rock.

But Wagner did not utter a word about school integration in New York City. Last February, the Board of Education passed recommendations to integrate New York City schools which included broad changes in zoning and teacher assignments. The recommendations were to go into effect by September. But when schools opened last Monday, no steps had been taken to carry out the program adopted in February.

On Aug. 20, after the Commission on Integration charged Superintendent of Schools Jansen with "deliberately confusing, delaying, distorting and side-tracking" reports of the Commission, the Mayor's office announced that it would not interfere in the controversy.

In New York as in Little Rock, the story is the same: getting legal approval of integration is not enough if government officials won't enforce it. In New York official indifference is used instead of guns but the effect is the same. Negro and Puerto Rican children continue to receive an inferior education



JOYCE COWLEY

Legless Veteran Refused Back Pay Due from Gov't

NEW YORK, Sept. 11 — James Kutcher, the legless veteran who after an eight year fight in the courts won back his job in the Veterans Administration, told reporters today that he still has a fight on his hands.

Kutcher revealed that the government has refused him back pay amounting to \$22,832 because of his political ideas and membership in the Socialist Workers Party. This is a direct violation of the 1956 decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals which rejected arguments that Kutcher's political beliefs and SWP membership justified his firing. The court then ordered that he be put back to work with all rights.

ONE THING MISSING

Kutcher got back his job as clerk and all his rights — seniority, pay increases instituted during his illegal firing, a ten-year employee's service pin, etc. Only on one thing was there any hitch — his claim for back pay was barred around from bureaucrats to bureaucrats. The Veterans Administration handed it to the Department of Justice which finally handed it back to the VA without any decision. Then it was eventually sent to the Comptroller General. After more than a year had passed Kutcher got the answer. It was "No!"

The Comptroller General claims that he cannot give the back pay because the law forbids payment of government money to a person of Kutcher's political views and affiliation. How outlandish this is may be seen when it is realized that this applies only to back pay—not to current pay. Kutcher for the last year

has been receiving and continues to receive his bi-weekly salary with the approval of the same Comptroller General.

LETTER TO PRESIDENT

In an effort to avoid the lengthy and costly litigation which fighting this out in the courts would mean, Kutcher has written a personal letter to Eisenhower asking him to cut through the red tape. The letter, made public today, was sent Aug. 23. In it Kutcher said to Eisenhower:

"I am writing to ask you your personal intervention to prevent an injustice by the government in whose military service I lost both my legs. . . . After a year of waiting I now hear from the Comptroller General that he won't pay me because I belonged and belong to the Socialist Workers Party. Mr. President, this is ridiculous. The government is paying me today and I belong to the Socialist Workers Party. The same appropriation and other acts apply to my pay today as apply to my back pay. I know that if you told the Attorney General to look into this matter and to urge the Comptroller General to reconsider my case, I will get these funds. If it is legal to pay me bi-weekly now, it is certainly equally legal to pay me what I would have earned had I not been illegally discharged."

Negro Youth Show Their Heroism

By Fred Halstead

As the fall school semester began in the South, Negro children braved abuse and serious physical danger to enter, or attempt to enter, schools they have a right to attend.

In Little Rock, Ark. the first of nine Negro students who attempted to enter Central High School was Elizabeth Eckford, 16. She arrived at the school by bus and alone on the morning of Sept. 4. She walked from the bus stop past a jeering mob of about 300 white racists and repeatedly tried to get to the school. Each time she was stopped by Arkansas National Guardsmen, 200 of whom surrounded the school property. Finally she turned and walked calmly along the line of soldiers back to the bus stop, undaunted by the racist mob, that followed her.

WILL STICK IT OUT

Elizabeth Eckford said later that she would study on her own until she was admitted to Central High. "I'm not going back to Horace Mann" [the Jim Crow Negro School], she said.

A campaign of intimidation is still being carried on against the nine Little Rock youths. "Ever since Wednesday," says the Sept. 10 N.Y. Times, "the phones have not stopped ringing at the Motherhead home or the homes of the other students involved. Sometimes the phone will ring at three in the morning and a voice on the other side will cry: 'Your house is on fire.' Again, the phone will ring in the evening or in the middle of the night. This harassment goes on continuously." Thelma Mothershead, 16, who wants to be a school teacher, says of these calls: "They talk rough. I've learned a lot of new bad words this week."

I'LL BE BACK

Said Carlotta Walls, 14, "I do want to go to school, but I'm not going to back down—Gov. Faubus is." Ernest Green, 15, said, "Central High is the closest school for me and its got a better curriculum. I want to be an engineer. I'm not quitter. I'll be back."

In Charlotte, N.C., the only Negro to be admitted to Harding High School (enrollment 1200) on opening day, Sept. 4, was Dorothy Counts, 15, daughter of a professor. She had to brave a mob of several hundred shouting and screaming racists to enter the school. When she left in the afternoon, she and her single escort were showered with sticks and water from paper cups and followed by the racists along the two block walk to a waiting car. That evening the effigy of a Negro girl was hanged from atop the flagpole at Harding High, but Dorothy Counts

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'Law and Order' in Little Rock



Labor Leaders, the Democrats And the Arkansas Crisis

An Editorial

The use of troops by the Democratic Governor of Arkansas to bar nine Negro children from Little Rock's Central High School makes it as plain as a bayonet that labor and the Negro people must abandon their suicidal policy of coalition with the Democratic Party.

Governor Faubus was elected the last time and the time before that with AFL-CIO and Negro support. What a criminal misuse of the electioneering energy, financial contributions and votes of organized labor and the Negro people it was to put a scoundrel like Faubus in office. Could the Arkansas Chamber of Commerce or the White Citizens Councils have directed labor's endorsement in the state election they could not have picked a more evil, anti-Negro reactionary, than Faubus has proven to be. But this is not the first time. In hundreds of cases from local elections on up, labor-endorsed candidates have proved themselves in office to be enemies of labor and the Negro people. This is not because the top bureaucracy of the union and Negro organizations cannot recognize a slippery, unprincipled politician when they see one, but because the official policy is to con-

fine support to capitalist parties and capitalist politicians. Consequently the lesser-evil AFL-CIO endorsements stink higher to heaven each year. The labor leaders know this but nevertheless they urge the workers and the Negro people to vote for these Democratic so-called "friends" of labor and the Negro people.

If the recent collusion of the Northern Democratic liberals with the Dixiecrats to whittle the civil-rights bill down to practically nothing wasn't proof enough, look at the current attempt of Northern Democratic liberals to bail Governor Faubus out of a situation they fear may become dangerous both for him and the Democratic Party.

Democratic Gov. Furcolo of Massachusetts, like Faubus a labor-endorsed liberal, tried to forestall possible federal action against Faubus, by proposing a bipartisan committee of five governors to settle the Little Rock struggle. Its composition would be two Southerners, two border-staters and one Northerner. Faubus quickly agreed to the plan. This was a move to bargain away the rights of the Negro schoolchildren. It was so

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Governor's Acts Embolden Racist Gangs in South

By George Lavan

SEPT. 12 — The main factor keeping the nine Negro children of Little Rock from attending Central High School is not Gov. Faubus' national guard but President Eisenhower's spinelessness in upholding the Constitution where Negro rights are concerned.

This Presidential reluctance to act against Faubus' armed defiance of the federal courts not only fed and prolonged the barring of the Negro children in Little Rock but promises to end in a deal permitting Faubus

Birmingham Thugs Beat Rights Leader

A civil rights leader in Birmingham, Ala. was the victim of a brutal racist attack when he attempted to escort four Negro children into Phillips' High School, Sept. 9. They sought to test segregation in the state's public school system. Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth was severely beaten by a white gang wielding brass knuckles, chains and clubs, as he alighted from the car in which he had brought the children to the school entrance.

The Negroes had sent a telegram informing police of their intention to enter the school, but only three policemen were present when they arrived. The police arrested three of the whites after the beating took place. (Rev. Shuttlesworth is head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. His home was dynamited last December when he was involved in a bus-integration test case.)

The four students with Rev. Shuttlesworth were part of a group of nine whose parents had petitioned the Board of Education to begin integration. The Board took no action, but present among the spectators when the petitions were presented, Sept. 6, was an unidentified white man wearing a button picturing two Negroes hanging from ropes. The previous week a Negro, Judge Aaron, had been brutally tortured and castrated by Ku Klux Klansmen who told their victim to warn Rev. Shuttlesworth that "the same thing will happen to Negroes who try to enroll their children in white schools." Three of the Klansmen were arrested and two confessed to this crime according to a Sept. 7 United Press dispatch.

Birmingham police have announced that Negroes will not be integrated and since the Sept. 9 beating have barred Negroes from approaching white schools. A bus load of Negro students were held for questioning, Sept. 11, in connection with an alleged rock-throwing incident. All but seven were released.

VIOLENCE SPREADS

But Eisenhower's lethargy about his oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution" has damaged more than the Negro schoolchildren of Little Rock.

It is directly responsible for the spread of anti-integration violence in other parts of the South. Because Faubus' militia was permitted to get away with keeping Negroes out of the Arkansas school, racists in Tennessee and elsewhere were emboldened to do their utmost in the hope of similarly preventing integration. And the end is not yet in sight! The Deep South politicians, who instigated and encouraged Faubus, are encouraged by the federal government's softness. If, as now appears likely, Faubus gets off scot free or with a mere slap on the wrist, the governors of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, etc., will use their national guards against desegregation when their turn comes.

For several days the capitalist press has been carrying stories citing unnamed officials in Washington and Little Rock as hopeful for a compromise between the Arkansas governor and the federal government. Such statements of course, come from top figures in Faubus' administration and from White House personnel. "Non-attributed" statements are the usual means by which officials give reporters off-the-record information.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune, in a dispatch dated Sept. 11, writes: "An attitude of hopeful expectation, short of optimism, took hold of officials today. . . . The Governor's request for a meeting with President Eisenhower this weekend was seen as the preview of a possible face-saver for Gov. Faubus. That planned interview, it is known, was arranged largely by a White House emissary who arrived secretly in Little Rock Monday night—[Sept. 9] and spent most of yesterday conferring with the governor and

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"Literature And Revolution"

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. By Leon Trotsky. New York: Russell and Russell, 1957. 256 pp., \$3.75.

This is the finest and most comprehensive Marxist work on art yet written. While Marx and Engels gave us brilliant analyses of the relation of art to society and of several individual writers, these are brief and in passing. The tremendous tasks the founders of scientific socialism had assigned themselves denied them, and us, the full-scale works on literature and art they wished to do. Plekhanov and Mehring are the socialist writers to whom we are most indebted for such studies. But their work was done in an epoch which now seems quite remote—separated from modern life by the Great Divide of imperialist world war and the Russian Revolution.

UP TO DATE

Modern society and its problems are, however, the province of Trotsky's writings. Though the assassin's pick pierced his brain 17 years ago, his living thoughts remain the best statement, analysis and solution of contemporary mankind's problems. The pertinence of Trotsky's ideas is being appreciated more each passing month by the awakening intellectuals and workers in the Soviet orbit and by Marxist students in the rest of the world.

To read Literature and Revolution is to understand why. Here Trotsky not only extends and enriches prior Marxist studies of the lasting features of literature but takes up specific modern schools and artists previously unknown to his great fore-runners. More, he deals with questions that history had not placed before them: the attitude of the working class and its party to art and artists after the conquest of state power.

This is the very question which today plagues the ruling bureaucracy throughout the Soviet orbit because of the half-open, half-concealed agitation of the intellectuals. The fight of the intellectuals, who enjoy a partial relaxation of the censorship, expresses more than their own strivings for artistic freedom. At this stage it helps the workers prepare their revolutionary struggles for political freedom.

'PROLETARIAN ART'

After usurping political power from the workers in the late 1920's, the Stalinist bureaucracy brutally grabbed Soviet art and artists by the neck. Many perished—artistically or physically—in this grip. Though really aimed at choking all voices of

opposition and condemnation, the official justification was the "theory" of proletarian art. This vulgar Marxist theory antedated Stalinism. It was the creation of shallow thinkers, misguided class "patriots" and demagogues. It is still found as a theoretical current in the socialist movement and in Communist Parties of this and other countries. In the present work, Trotsky deals devastatingly and in detail with "proletarian" art from its wrong premise to its attempted applications. Those who think that a "proletarian culture" is possible cannot honestly refuse to submit their ideas to a reading of this book.

Literature and Revolution begins with a series of studies of the various Russian literary schools which had existed before the Revolution and their reactions—in exile or in the USSR—to Soviet society. Taken up next are the schools which developed during or soon after the Revolution. While many of these and other outstanding figures are unknown to the American reader, Trotsky's discussion of them is not only interesting in itself but sheds much light on analogous literary movements in American and Western European literature. Many of the analyses of individual writers are true gems of literary criticism.

The latter half of the book deals more with the theoretical questions of literature and society, "proletarian" art, the socialist art of the future and the general perspectives for human culture. There is also a brief essay on architecture.

Reading this book is pure delight as well as intellectual stimulation. Trotsky's own literary talent is nowhere better demonstrated. Alternating with high seriousness and love are flashes of brilliant wit and annihilating ridicule. One marvels at the author's elucidation of complex cultural problems and at his demonstrations of how art is related to social reality and to the development of man.

For decades this has been a rare, out-of-print book with copies selling for \$15 to \$25, when available. Today no socialist or student of literature should be without one.

—George Lavan

Patriotic Meet in Paris Takes Anti-NATO Turn

By Elaine LeChamp

PARIS — On Sunday, Aug. 25, several thousand Parisians gathered in front of the Montparnasse railroad station to celebrate the 13th anniversary of the liberation of Paris from the Germans.

The event started with all the pomp of a regular public celebration, with policemen decked in plumes and medals, flags all over the place, brass bands, and the usual type of official fanfare. In previous years, the marking of the anniversary had a left-wing slant to it. This year the government had provided microphones, to guarantee that nothing too radical would be said.

The speeches were all nationalistic and patriotic in content. There was no mention of the post-war, imperialist campaigns conducted by the French government—namely, the stamping out of the colonial revolution in Madagascar, the war in Indo-China and now the Algerian war. However, it was interesting to note that when the speakers were introduced, the audience, composed mostly of workers, vigorously applauded the representatives of working-class organizations that had been instrumental in the resistance. Jacques Duclos, of the Communist Party, and the representative of the railroad workers' resistance organization got the biggest hand. When the names of capitalist politicians were mentioned, only a few people clapped. It was clear that

the workers knew exactly who had liberated Paris from the fascists and who hadn't.

WORKERS TAKE OVER

When the official part of the celebration was over and everyone was filing into the railroad station to look at a wreath which had been placed exactly on the spot where the German general had surrendered to the French, the workers took over the affair.

Someone shouted, "What about the Nazis that are in France right now trying to run the country? Is this what we fought and died for?" Someone else shouted, "Kick the assassin Speidel out." Everyone was agreed on that point. From old, kindly looking women to militant young workers everyone was getting angry about Speidel. The fact that the present head of NATO's ground forces in Europe—with headquarters near Paris—was the same German general who had marched into Paris with the fascist conquerors in 1941 is hard for workers who fought in the resistance to take.

People were getting more and more aroused. Some young students shouted, "Liberate Claude Marty." Marty is the son of a resistance fighter. He has refused to go to Algeria and has been thrown in jail with several other young men who refused to participate in the Algerian war.

All this spontaneous action was impressive, but when someone shouted, "Peace in Algeria!" the affair took on even deeper significance. Although not as many people responded to the slogans about Algeria as to those about Speidel, more than half the people present took up the cry for peace in Algeria. This showed that a big section of the French people are strongly opposed to the Algerian war.

Trotsky's Views Spreading in USSR

By Daniel Roberts

A significant aspect of the crisis of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet orbit is the growing interest shown by workers, students and other young intellectuals in the disputes of the 1920's between the Stalinists and the Communist opponents of the bureaucratic regime—primarily the Trotskyists.

Evidence of this awakening interest comes from many quarters. The account of Maurice Pelter, an ex-Communist Party member in England, appeared in last week's Militant. Pelter went to the Moscow Youth Festival, and in the course of his stay in the Soviet Union was able to discuss freely with a number of young Soviet intellectuals. "There is an overwhelming interest in the polemics of the Twenties and how they relate to the problems of the Party in the present period," Pelter reports. "But it is still very difficult for members to obtain the relevant archives."

Another recent visitor to Moscow, Cedric Belfrage, reports in the Sept. 2 National Guardian "the appearance on a wall-newspaper board of a group manifesto against the distorting of Soviet history, including the role of Trotsky. This was removed and put back again, and finally the expulsion of five students connected with it was announced. A protest against this, which even the university Komsomol leader signed, was successful."

MEANING FOR TODAY

Again, Isaac Deutscher, who is well informed on all Soviet developments, states in the Aug. 24 New Statesman that "a new generation of the Soviet intelligentsia are grappling with the significance of Trotsky's struggle against Stalin and with its relevance to the problems of the post-Stalin era. The issue of Trotsky's rehabilitation lurks behind some of the current political conflicts as well...."

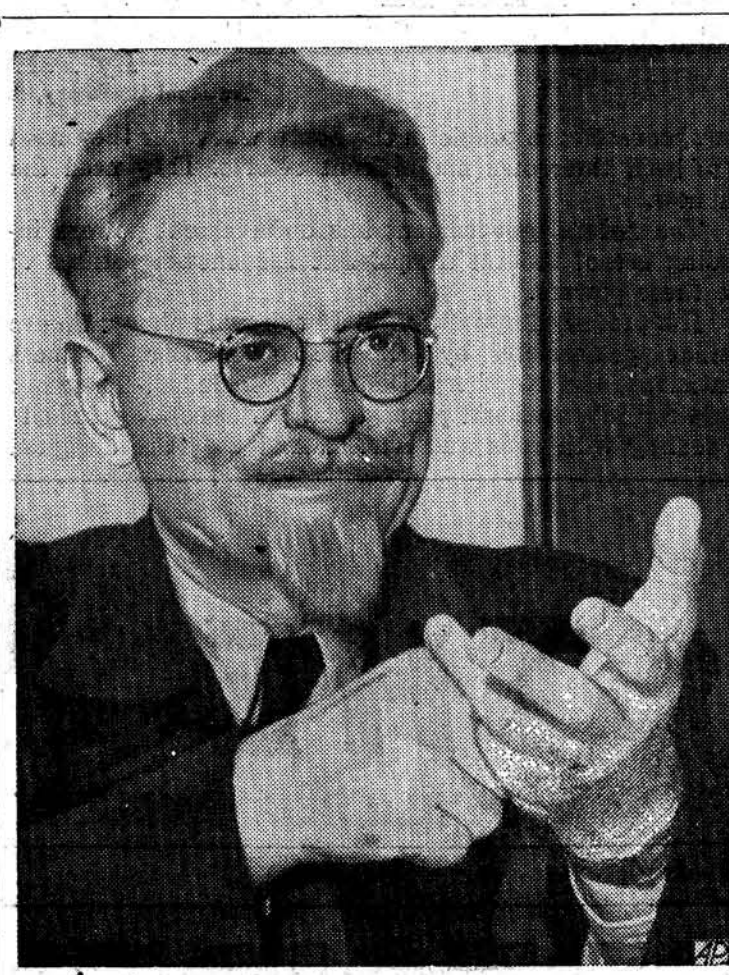
"What is involved here is not merely history or the rendering of posthumous justice to the reputation of a great revolutionary

leader. If this were all, Trotsky would not occupy as much place in the Soviet discussions as he does—17 years after his assassination and 30 after his deportation from Moscow. The intelligentsia of Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, East Berlin... and perhaps even of Peking, are wondering whether they can learn anything from Trotsky. Do his writings convey any message to Communists who are freeing themselves from Stalinism and trying to shape an alternative to it?"

In this connection, Deutscher cites a document that was circulated last spring in East Germany. It sought to elaborate a program against bureaucracy by reexamination of the dispute of the Twenties. Wolfgang Harich, the author of the document, was sentenced to ten years in prison for "treason." What he wanted was to reform the East German Communist Party from within. "We adhere to Marxism-Leninism; we reject Stalinism," said Harich. "This means that Marxism-Leninism must be complemented and broadened by taking account of the thoughts of Trotsky, and even more of Bukharin, Rosa Luxemburg and partly, Karl Kautsky." Harich's thinking is very confused. He wants to unite the teachings of such irreconcilable opponents as Trotsky and Bukharin, Luxemburg and Kautsky. But what is equally significant is that he and many others like him are seeking to rebuild a theoretical basis for the fight against Stalinism and the struggle for socialism.

HUNGARICUS DOCUMENT

Another important document which looks to the struggles of the Twenties for guidance in the fight against Stalinism is by Hungarian. Circulated among Hungarian Communist Party members who fought on the side of the workers in the revolution last November, it deals with the tasks of the anti-Stalinist CP-ers. (Excerpts from the Hungarian document appeared in the June 17 and 24 Militant.) The first task, says Hungaricus, "is



LEON TROTSKY

to create the theory of Hungarian socialism by means of a re-examination of all the theories considered until now to be definitive and their confrontation with the reality of our epoch. It is only after having clarified our ideas, our goals, that we must pass to the second stage, that of organization."

At the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last year, Khrushchev struck at the Stalin cult and dealt a mortal blow to the ideology of Stalinism. But Khrushchev has not been able to put a coherent, scientific ideology in its place. As the crisis of the bureaucratic rule deepened after the 20th Congress revelations and led to explosions in Hungary and Pol-

and, Khrushchev tried to slow down public discussion—pro or con—on the Stalin cult.

The result is to be seen in a new manual of Soviet history recently published in the USSR. The manual, says Karl Landon in the Aug. 22 France Observer, is certainly a radical revision of Stalinist history. There is no glorification of Stalin. "But, paradoxically, it gives the lie to Khrushchev's pronouncements about the 'nightmare we have lived.' In fact, it would seem that there never was a personality cult over the years, nor any violation of socialist legality. For Stalin, himself, hardly lived after 1925."

According to the new manual, there were Trotskyist, Bukharin-

ite and Zinovievite "deviators," to be sure, who sought to oppose the general line and whom one can even suspect of having assassinated Kirov. "But that is all one can learn about them. Thus there were never any trials, purges or counter-purges in 1935-39." As for Stalin, the manual mentions him only four times after 1925. It cites his election to the general secretary, his speech of June 22, 1941 following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, his participation at the Yalta conference and his death.

The manual simply expunges everything from the record that Khrushchev and Co. find controversial or embarrassing dur-

ing the last three decades. But this will not satisfy young workers and intellectuals seeking a genuine end to Stalinist tyranny. They want to know how Stalinism came into being, what its relation is to the rule of the bureaucratic caste, and above all how to get rid of it so as to clear the way for a new advance to socialism. They deeply resent the continued ban on Trotsky's works and the falsification of the historical record. For they suspect that Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October 1917 revolution and foremost opponent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, will help them find the answers they are looking for.

Eisenhower Issues Threat Of War to Syria

By Myra Tanner Weiss

On Sept. 7, President Eisenhower threatened war with Syria and announced an airlift of arms to Syria's hostile neighbors in the Mideast. In addition the U.S. Sixth Fleet is now reported

cruising off the Syrian shores.

After a sudden conference with Secretary of State Dulles and U.S. Mideast envoy, Loy Henderson, Dulles issued a statement, Sept. 7, that said, "The President affirmed his intention to carry out the national policy... and exercise as needed the authority thereby conferred on the President." This was a reference to the Eisenhower Doctrine passed by Congress last winter despite strong popular opposition. It gives the president war-making powers in the Mideast under the guise of preventing "aggression" by "international communism."

SOVIET ECONOMIC AID

U.S. changes that the Syrian government is becoming an outpost for "international communism," arise primarily out of a recent aid agreement between Syria and the USSR. It is the biggest economic accord between the Soviet Union and a country outside the Soviet orbit.

According to the Aug. 24 New Statesman, a British pro-Labor weekly, "Syria is to get \$300 million in goods, services and credits (total Eisenhower Doctrine aid amounted to only \$200 million, to be divided up among 12 countries), of which only one-third has to be paid back over ten years." These terms are far more favorable to Syria than any it could receive from U.S. imperialism. It is for taking aid on such terms that the Syrian government is accused of abetting "Communist subversion" and aggression.

That the real aggression and subversion in the Mideast comes from the U.S. government was underscored by Eisenhower's Sept. 7 directive to the people of Syria to act against the "apparently Soviet domination" of their government. Even pro-Western Arab leaders are quoted in a Sept. 8 dispatch from Cairo to the New York Times as expressing "fear that the United States might be paving the way to take direct action against Syria."

The Syrian government answered Eisenhower's threat with justifiable anger. In response to the arms airlift it said, "Syria does not intend to attack anybody. All that Syria is doing in the armament field is for purely defensive considerations. Syria, however, will not tolerate any action against her security."

SYRIA SURROUNDED

The idea that Syria is planning aggressive action against her Arab neighbors is fantastic to say the least. Syria is completely surrounded by hostile nations under U.S. domination. Arms obtained from the Soviet bloc countries are nothing compared to the military power of the surrounding countries, allied, as they are, to the imperialist powers, Britain, France and the United States.

Syria's only reliable defense is the popularity it has won among the Arab masses by its stand of independence against all imperialist powers. The Arab national independence movement is, indeed, the only force that holds in check the aggressive designs of the imperialists and their puppets.

Syria is one of the few parliamentary democracies in the Mideast. Far from being a Communist regime, it is based on business and landed interests. According to the British labor journalist, Paul Johnson, Syria "has achieved more than any other Middle Eastern state since the war... Basic agricultural production has been tripled, the national income has risen by 120

per cent, real wages have doubled."

But since U.S. pressure began, the Syrian economy has suffered one catastrophe after another. Only two alternatives existed: either capitulate to U.S. demands or accept aid from the Soviet orbit. Syria took the latter course.

A Syrian corporation lawyer, interviewed by Johnson, explained last June that "Western business interests won't give us easy, long-term credit, and their tenders for contracts are not competitive. So we look to the East. From them we can get 20-year loans at 2½ per cent. You can [the West] compete with that? Of the last three big contracts offered by the government—for a refinery, an airport and geological survey—two went to Bulgaria and one to Czechoslovakia. Their tenders were, on average, 20 per cent lower than those of western firms. If they lost money, that's their business. All we care about is that there are no political, economic or military strings attached."

ECONOMIC SQUEEZE

U.S. imperialism hoped to force Syria to abandon its national independence struggle means of an economic blockade. Syria's markets were sharply cut off by a shut-down some months ago of the Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, and the Lebanon borders. Syria's attempt to shift its wheat sales elsewhere was thwarted by a "judicious" dumping of U.S. surplus wheat in Southern Italy. As a result of all these economic measures the Syrian pound quickly lost 30 per cent of its value.

Border incidents flared repeatedly, first with Israel (requiring U.N. intervention) and then with Jordan. On Aug. 4, Syria announced the receipt of a threatening note from Jordan. The note demanded that the Syrian government suppress Syrian newspapers that were attacking King Hussein's bloody rule. Jordan reportedly threatened a "resort to arms." The entire press of Syria, including the right-wing paper Al Sham, denounced the Jordan threat in angry terms, calling it a "Hitlerish, warlike ultimatum" and a "nervous breakdown act."

Now comes Eisenhower's threat of war against Syria. And if that doesn't get the Eisenhower Administration what it wants, it might seriously consider an actual war under the powers granted by Congress last winter.

Daily Worker's Foreign Editor Resigns

By Murry Weiss

SEPT. 10—The resignation of the Daily Worker's foreign editor, Joseph Clark, from the staff of the paper and from the Communist Party, is the most recent manifestation of the prolonged and deepening crisis that has wracked the American CP since the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution last year. Rumor of the resignation was reported in the Sept. 8 New York Times by Harry Schwartz who asked Clark, for comment, Clark replied, "I regret that my old friend Bill Foster made his statement to the New York Times. What I have to say in this matter will appear in the Daily Worker."

AFTER 28 YEARS

The Sept. 9 Daily Worker published Clark's resignation. "After 28 years of association," he said, "I'm resigning from both [the Party and the paper's staff] because I find it is no longer possible to serve the cause of American socialism through them."

Emphatically reaffirming his socialist convictions, Clark said: "I continue to adhere as strongly as ever to the ideal which brought me into the Communist movement—a world free from

poverty, racism, injustice and war."

Clark cited the figures released by the recent National Committee meeting of the CP which showed that 7,000 of the estimated 17,000 members left the party during the last year. "Among those who left the party before me," Clark said, "were the great majority of its working class and Negro members, active trade unionists, as well as writers, scientists, professional and also party organizers, Smith Act prisoners, Daily Worker editors and reporters."

In his comment on Clark's resignation today, Daily Worker Editor in Chief John Gates, expressed regret at Clark's decision. "I disagree with Clark," he said, "that the Communist Party has become a hindrance to socialism."

INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Gates declared that "a struggle is now going on in the Party" between "those who want to advance the ideas adopted by the recent national convention of the Party to again become an effective political movement in our country" and "those who opposed these new policies before the convention and who resist, obstruct and seek to reverse them now." Gates argued that res-

ignations such as Clark's weaken this "real struggle [which] has not yet come to a definitive conclusion."

The group Gates says is obstructing the National Convention's decisions is headed by William Z. Foster. The Foster group has been gaining ground ever since the convention last February largely as a result of the continued mass exodus from the party and the feeling of many remaining CP members that the Gates group represents a right wing current. Both groups claim to base themselves on the convention decisions.

At the July 27-28 National Committee meeting Gates denounced the campaign of the Foster group to remove Clark as foreign editor of the Daily Worker and noted one of his friends as saying: "We have saved the Party twice. We saved the Party first from Browder in 1945, and we went down from a membership of 75,000 to 17,000. And now we have saved the Party from Gates! And we've gone down from 17,000 to 10,000. The more we save the Party, the more the Party is disappearing."

Gates' treatment of Clark's resignation, while expressing disagreement with the step, was extremely sympathetic—even friendly. Referring to a farewell party the Daily Worker staff gave Clark a few days ago, Gates said, "We parted in sorrow and not in anger, as friends, not enemies."

SOURCE OF CRISIS

In his Sept. 10 comment on Clark's resignation, Gates said: "It is easy to condemn Clark for his action and necessary to disagree with mistaken views that he may hold. Far more difficult is it to analyze the fundamental causes of the loss of 45% of our membership in the past year, of which the resignation of Clark is another symptom."

At the July National Committee meeting, Sid Stein, National Organization Secretary of the CP, in discussing the causes for the heavy losses in membership, reduced all explanations to "the common denominator that underlies all these reasons... the serious weakening of what some of us call our moorings or our ideological foundations." Stein, as all the other CP leaders, failed, however, to specify why and how the "ideological foundations" of the CP have been seriously weakened. He confined himself to a few speculations concerning the psychological reactions of the party membership to the Khrushchev revelations.

Clark, on the other hand, sets

out to provide a serious explanation in his letter of resignation. "My view," he said, "is that socialism can be served only by a complete break with Stalinism. The latter perverted socialism by substituting autocracy for democracy. But Marxists have always advocated socialist democracy, which they uphold as more libertarian than any yet attained."

In one of his last columns in the Daily Worker, Clark tried to find the social basis for this rise of an autocratic bureaucracy in the Soviet Union by citing Isaac Deutscher's analysis of the historical circumstances which gave rise to Stalinism. It is well known that Deutscher, for all his profound differences with Trotskyism, has based his entire analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy on the theoretical work of Leon Trotsky.

Moreover, Clark attacked the Stalinist version of "proletarian internationalism" as expressed in French Communist Party leader Jacques Duclos' letter to the American CP's National Convention. Duclos said that proletarian internationalism "implies solidarity with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." In reply to this conception, Clark said, "In 1956 proletarian internationalism required solidarity with the Hungarian workers opposing Soviet intervention. It demanded support for the Hungarian workers who formed a solid phalanx of workers councils and for their 100 percent solid general strike."

Clark's open break with Stalinism lacks consistency and thought-out conclusions. He fails to connect the policy of Stalinism in the Second World War and the present foreign policy of the Kremlin with the Stalinist perversion of socialism. Nor does he see the relation of Stalinism to the basic policy of the CP in the U.S.—the class-collaborationist conception of a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" and continued support to "lesser evil" capitalist politicians.

Nevertheless, by calling for a break with Stalinism, Clark has gone to the root of the problem that faces the disoriented and demoralized ranks of the radical workers who are seeking a revolutionary road out of the crisis of the CP. By basing his break with Stalinism on a socialist opposition to American capitalism at home and abroad, Clark gives promise of playing a vital and constructive role in the current regroupment movement of revolutionary socialist forces in the United States. Class conscious workers and revolutionary youth, in and out of the Communist Party, can only hope that this promise will be fulfilled.

Letters from Readers

Criticizes Cevlon Trotskyists

Editor:

When I read in the Aug. 5 issue about the visit of the Ceylonese Lanka Sama Samaja representatives to the Soviet Union and China, the account made me angry. Why the big play-up in the Militant about the first Trotskyists to officially be invited to visit the Soviet Union and China?

What purpose did the visit serve? The LSSP people gave a fine speech about Lenin and his life. Did they mention anything about the violation of everything Lenin stood for?

They made speeches and TV broadcasts greeting the Soviet people. But did they greet the struggle of the Soviet masses against the oppression and exploitation of the Soviet bureaucracy?

"We could not do that," they say, "because there is no freedom of speech in the Soviet Union." What kind of greetings did they give then? What a picture! Trotskyists making speeches in the Soviet Union and only the ruling bureaucracy knowing they are Trotskyists!

I think the reasoning of the LSSP leaders in going to the USSR and in failing to express their Trotskyist ideas while there is opportunistic. They indicate this would help them in the Ceylonese elections. According to that explanation, they could also excuse a visit to this country—including the White House—in which they did nothing but make fine speeches about George Washington. If anyone took issue with this they could say, "After all there is a witch hunt in America. It is impossible to praise Socialism there. They might not let us visit again. After all, we were the first Trotskyists to visit President Eisenhower officially."

Would Lenin have gone to Germany when it had a Social Democratic government and allowed his prestige to be used for the benefit of the Social Democratic betrayers of the German working class? Or did Lenin build a Third International to fight world capitalism?

What is the editorial position of the Militant on the Ceylonese Trotskyists?

S.G.
Newark

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Monday, September 16, 1957

... Labor Leaders and Little Rock

(Continued from page 1)

crass that even the ardently Democratic New York Post (Sept. 10) editorially declared: "It is the degradation of the Democratic Party that this design for surrender emanated from one of its leading Northern governors."

A number of Democratic liberals and their press are denouncing Eisenhower's reluctance to enforce the rights of the Negro schoolchildren in Little Rock. But no one with any memory can believe that if the Democrats were in the White House there would be any more enforcement of Negroes' rights in the South than now. When in all the years of the Roosevelt-Truman regimes did the federal government enforce civil rights in the Deep South? Never!

If any doubt still lingers consider the pitiful Sept. 8 statement of that alleged "courageous" liberal Adlai Stevenson, Democratic candidate for president last

year. Weakly deploring the trouble in Little Rock, Stevenson said "my friend, Gov. Faubus' action" will have a "serious and sad impact" on the colored nations of the world. Then lest it be thought this criticism was too strong Stevenson hastened to add that he does not believe in the use of force to bring about compliance with the Supreme Court's school decision.

Continuation by the labor movement of its coalition with the Democratic Party deprives the embattled Negro people of the support of their natural and only trustworthy ally. This in turn delays the day when the Jim-Crow South will be destroyed as a bastion of anti-union reaction. More than ever it is becoming clear that the only road for labor and the Negro people is the formation of a new political party — a Labor Party. That road will lead to victory.

The September-November Blues

The liberal political commentator, Thomas L. Stokes writes as follows in his Sept. 7 column:

"It's getting so the Democratic Party hates to see September come around. It's bugaboo month."

"September means the opening of school, once a happy event for parents, which most Democrats are. But now the opening of school means such episodes as those at Clinton, Tenn. and Sturgis, Ky., last year and this year at Little Rock, Ark."

"That means the eyes of the nation are turned toward the South. The South is the part of the nation identified more than any other with one political party."

"If September goes on this way in the South for several years, it could mean

long trouble for the Democrats. . . . November comes after September. . . . November means a national election every two years, and if succeeding Septembers in the South match the last two, the September could react against the Democrats at ballot boxes in the North in November. . . .

"But beyond that and more important, the Southern wing of the Democratic Party, monopolized the spotlight here day after day, week after week, month after month by its resistance to the civil rights bill. . . . Congress barely had gotten out of town and back home, with all this still echoing, than it broke again. The only change was the locale. This time it was at Little Rock. . . ."

The New York Petition Fight

On Aug. 29 the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party proposed to the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Campaign Committee that collaboration be arranged to collect signatures for the respective independent nominating petitions.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who is a leading member of the Communist Party and a prominent Smith Act victim, is running for councilman from the Lower East Side under the designation of the Peoples' Rights Party.

The SWP is collecting signatures to qualify four candidates for the November municipal elections: Joyce Cowley for Mayor, Lillian Kiesel for New York City Council President, Morris Zuckoff for City Comptroller and Alvin Berman for Brooklyn Borough President.

Anyone familiar with how the capitalist political machines have been creating onerous and prohibitive difficulties for minority parties getting on the ballot will appreciate the vital need for this kind of elementary cooperation among all those who want to challenge the two-party political monopoly.

In making this proposal, the SWP was concerned with the need of all working class parties to make common cause on the civil liberties issue of minority ballot rights. The differences between the CP and the SWP on many important political questions should not be allowed to stand in the way of unified action in this field.

The SWP also took note of the urgent appeal of the Flynn Campaign Committee

for petition workers. The SWP's campaign is now in the last lap of its drive to get on the ballot and from long experience in electoral activity during the worst periods of the witch hunt the party is fully aware of the terrible difficulties that confront the Flynn petition campaign. The SWP therefore felt that it was its duty to suggest mutual assistance in assuring the success of both petition drives.

At this date no answer has come from the Flynn campaign committee. Instead, word has been indirectly passed along that leading members of the Communist Party are opposed to the proposal. We think that this type of procedure is impermissible in relations among workers organizations.

If the Flynn Campaign Committee or the Communist Party have any objection to the SWP proposal it is a matter of simple courtesy for them to inform the SWP of this and state their reasons for rejecting the proposal or present different proposals.

Meanwhile we urge all workers in New York City, who want to see a socialist challenge to the capitalist political machines, who want to fight for civil rights, civil liberties, an end to slums, poverty and the threat of nuclear war, to do everything they can to qualify independent candidates for the ballot.

At the same time it is necessary for all radical workers to press for unity in action in the fight for the ballot rights of the working class candidates.

Nashville -- A City of Terror

By Shirley Clark

SEPT. 12 — Nashville, Tenn., has been transformed into a city gripped with fear. Gangs took over, threatening whites and Negroes alike — all to prevent 13 little six-year-old Negro children from attending schools previously reserved for whites.

Shortly after midnight, Sept. 10, an explosion rocked the city. The \$500,000 Hattie Cotton grammar school was reduced to rubble. Within a radius of three blocks families in this white neighborhood were knocked out

of their beds. Windows were shattered. The next morning mothers and teachers wept as they viewed the debris.

3 CASES OF DYNAMITE

Police estimated that at least three cases of dynamite containing 300 sticks had been set off. This was the climax of an ugly campaign waged by a small racist gang of the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils roused to murderous intent by Frederick John Kasper, formerly of New Jersey and his local WCC associates.

The terror began last Friday,

Sept. 6, when Federal District Judge William E. Miller ruled unconstitutional a Tennessee law passed by the state legislature to circumvent the anti-segregation ruling of the Supreme Court. Miller ordered integration to begin with the first grade in six public grammar schools. There are 3,200 first graders in Nashville, 40% of whom are Negroes. Because of housing segregation, however, only 126 Negro children were eligible to attend the former white schools. And only 13 of these registered to begin the session.

On Sunday, Sept. 8, 150 racists

gathered to hear the ravings of Kasper and others. White parents were told to keep their children out of school the next day "for their safety." The racists were told to gather at the schools to make certain the boycott was effective.

The next morning, the fall session of school began. Several hundred whites shouted curses and threatened Negro and white mothers who took their children to school. Despite these threats only 25 to 30% of the pupils, at first, were kept out of school — many out of fear. The boycott at no time won a majority.

A white woman who had four children in school warned the racists, "If anyone comes into my yard to bother me let the police be warned that I've got a gun and they're going to have to haul that person's body out."

Negro mothers and children were spat upon. Bottles, rocks and boards were thrown at them. A Negro woman who had been hit with a bottle finally pulled a paring knife from under her dress and shouted to her attackers, "come and jump me now." Police arrested her. They also arrested two white women who had been hurling boards and other objects at the Negro mothers and children.

The Superintendent of Schools, William A. Bass said, "The Little Rock situation has given the impression of possible victory to those who would like to defeat the Supreme Court decision. The quicker the government reaches a conclusion as to its responsibility and ways and means of carrying out the law, the quicker the whole problem of racial integration will be solved."

But Arkansas governor Faubus was still successfully defying the federal government and Eisenhower was still pursuing a "patient" course. On Monday night the racists gathered symbolically on the steps of Nashville's War Memorial Building — 150 of them. Every night Kasper was seen haranguing the crowd to stop integration by

He Knows When To Keep Quiet

White House Press Secretary Hagerty told reporters on Sept. 9 that President Eisenhower had been apprised of racist violence in the South.

"I think like every other American, the President deplores violence wherever it occurs," Hagerty said.

According to the New York Post, a reporter then asked if President Eisenhower "intends to do anything besides deplore the violence."

"I won't even answer that," Hagerty snapped.

"shotgun, dynamite or the hanging rope if necessary."

On Sept. 10, after destruction of the school, police arrested 28 people — "mostly whites." Seven were arrested in connection with the bombing. The three primary suspects had been riding in a car that bore KKK signs and a picture of a Negro boy kissing a white girl. In the car was a supply of detonating wire, plus bolo knives, weighted clubs and two wooden mallets.

KASPER FINED

Kasper was booked on charges of vagrancy, loitering, disorderly conduct and offensive conduct. Then he was given a ticket for illegal parking. Fines of \$50 were charged against each count.

On Wednesday, Sept. 11, ten more arrests were made. All of them were Negroes. They were taken from the home of a Negro girl who had attended one of the white schools. Several weapons, including shotguns and pistols had allegedly been found there. Nashville city officials are now seeking a federal injunction to restrain Kasper and other segregationists who are impeding integration.



Arkansas National Guardsmen escort a Negro newspaperman, Moses Newsom of the Baltimore Afro-American, away from Little Rock Central High School Sept. 10. The commander of the Guard warned newsmen that they might be arrested for "causing trouble," but allowed an unruly racist mob to congregate freely.

... President Fails to Halt Faubus

(Continued from page 1)

working out the precise wording of the governor's telegram requesting the interview."

SAVING FAUBUS' FACE

A dispatch of the same date, sent by the New York Times correspondent in Little Rock reports the opinions of unnamed "officials" in the Arkansas capital: "It is also believed that the meeting [with Eisenhower] could provide the 'face-saving' for Gov. Faubus that many of his friends have been seeking. They feel that if he bowed to the order of District Judge Ronald N. Davies it would have appeared as a defeat. But, his friends say, the Governor can acquiesce to an offer made by the President and still keep face with most of his friends and voters in this state."

Benjamin Fine, the N. Y. Times correspondent, in the same article reports that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is also being approached by "negotiators" in Little Rock. Whether these are representatives of the White House or of Governor Faubus is not indicated. "The negotiations seek assurance that the Negroes will not attempt to enter the school until a final solution is reached. If such assurance were offered then the Governor could remove the troops." This is true, for if the Negroes agreed to segregate themselves the Governor would have no need for his rifleman at Central High School.

THE STALLING GAME

As it now stands there is no way of determining how long it will be before the Negro children can enter the school. It is not until Sept. 20 that the hearing at which Gov. Faubus will be asked to "show cause" why he should not be enjoined from interfering with school integration, will begin. If Judge Davies rules against Gov. Faubus and issues an injunction, that injunction can be stayed — i.e. its application postponed — while Faubus appeals to the Circuit Court and then the Supreme Court.

It would ordinarily take at least several months for an appeal to be heard by the Circuit Court. All this time the Negro children would be barred from their rightful school. If the delay could be prolonged till a sufficient number of school days had been missed, the Negro children would then be ineligible under school board regulations to enter the school this term.

NATIONWIDE RESPONSE
The only force that has prevented a complete surrender by Eisenhower and which, if it continues, may prevent the Negro schoolchildren from being completely sold out in the

coming "compromise," is the wave of popular sympathy for the courageous Negro children that has swept all sections of the country save the Deep South. This has brought millions of white workers and middle-class people, who never before had any strong feelings on the school integration issue, over to the side of the Negro people.

There is universal admiration for the insulted, threatened children who heroically faced the insulting, threatening mob only to be forced back by the National Guard. Popular feeling is that the school should be opened to these children and that Gov. Faubus should be tried and jailed for his flagrantly illegal use of troops against them.

The extent of popular sympathy for the Negro children may be gauged by the volume of letters that have poured in to all newspapers and the widespread discussion of the subject at work, on the street and in homes. A demonstration of this feeling was shown at a summer theatre in Westbury on New York's conservative Long Island. There a performance of the well-known musical play, South Pacific, was stopped dead several times by audience booing and hissing whenever the name, Little Rock, the home town of the play's leading character, was mentioned. For the time being the script is to be changed so that Little Neck will be the home town.

Nor is the support that the Negro people is receiving in its present battle only from the American people. The Arkansas case is front-page news around the world causing no little embarrassment to Secretary of State Dulles who is trying to promote Wall Street's imperialist policy as the policy of "democracy."

FEDERAL POWERS

The federal government's powers for dealing with Faubus are clear and ample. (1) It could have ordered his arrest by federal marshals for violating the existing injunction against "all persons, in any manner, directly or indirectly from interfering with the plan of integration as approved by the U.S. District Court on Aug. 15, 1956."

(2) Eisenhower could have immediately taken the Arkansas National Guard away from Gov. Faubus by declaring it federalized and putting it under the command of the U.S. Army.

(3) He could have sent federal troops to Little Rock to uphold the federal court.

(4) The Attorney General could ask the indictment of Gov. Faubus under a federal statute forbidding the deprivation of citizens' rights.

While Rome Burned

The following is from an Associated Press dispatch: NEWPORT, R. I., Sept. 9 — Presidential Press Secretary James Hagerty was told today of the North Little Rock development as he and President Eisenhower played golf. Hagerty did not immediately tell the President what has happened but presently will do so after finishing the remaining nine holes of golf.

ministration's record was one of retreat and conciliation.

Eisenhower's first reaction to Faubus' insurrection, given at the Tuesday, Sept. 3, press conference, was to make excuses for the racists. He asked for understanding of the emotions of Southern whites who feared (and Eisenhower used the word) "mongrelization."

This was not only an insult to the Negro people but a perversion of the facts about Little Rock. The city had not risen up emotionally against integration. The integration plan was not only backed by the court but accepted by the community. The local school board, the mayor, the civic clubs, the student councils, the newspapers had all accepted it. The city overwhelmingly opposed Faubus' use of the militia. But for Eisenhower the "emotions" of Gov. Faubus and the few hundred crusaders against "mongrelization" weighed as much or more than the emotions of the Negro people, struggling for a right which is legally theirs, and the great majority of white citizens of Little Rock who were willing to accept integration.

Commenting on the President's press conference a Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times (Sept. 8) observed: "There is some belief that Mr. Eisenhower's extraordinary hold on public opinion would have been sufficient to turn Gov. Faubus from his course had the President made a stronger statement on Tuesday."

As it was, Faubus drew only encouragement from Eisenhower's statement and the next day took an even bolder stand, which he outlined in a telegram to Eisenhower ending with these words: "Many expressions of fairness and understanding have come from you regarding the problems of the South and of the nation. As Governor of Arkansas I appeal to you to use your good offices to modify the extreme stand and stop the unwarranted interference of federal agents in this area. . . . May I have the assurance of

your understanding and cooperation?"

After Faubus' guardsmen turned the Negro children away, U. S. marshals in Little Rock let it be known to reporters that they would personally escort the children to school the next day. This was apparently countermanded from Washington when the Justice Department officials immediately denied there would be any such action.

When Federal Judge Davies requested the administration to tell him by means of an amicus curiae brief what action it wanted, the Attorney General asked for the least possible and that at the slowest rate. Instead of requesting a restraining order against Faubus, which would have gone into effect the moment he received a copy of it, the Justice Department asked for a temporary injunction which leaves Faubus unobstructed until a hearing has been held and a decision made and perhaps for months if the injunction is granted and then stayed.

DEMOCRATS FEARFUL

But the effort to bail Faubus out of his dangerous situation is not confined to Republican President Eisenhower. The Democrats have had their own rescue party, headed by liberal Governor Furcolo of Massachusetts. (See Editorial, page one.)

Democratic strategists want to get Democratic Governor Faubus off the hook and off the front pages as quickly as possible. They are in despair lest the Arkansas scandal cause a popular demand for further civil rights legislation when Congress reconvenes in January. They figured they had got rid of the civil-rights fight for many years to come, and certainly for 1958 (election year) by passage of the emasculated act just signed by Eisenhower. The Arkansas story, however, has made it possible that the Democratic Party's nightmare — a civil-rights fight — may be starting up again.

Those Senators From Arkansas

The Senators from Arkansas, John L. McClellan and J. W. Fulbright have reacted to the events in Little Rock by reaffirming their friendship for Governor Faubus. When questioned by reporters, each expressly refused to criticize Faubus' use of armed force to turn Negro children away from Little Rock High School in defiance of a federal court order. McClellan is chairman of the Senate labor-probe committee. Fulbright is a liberal Democrat.

... Heroic Negro Youth

(Continued from page 1)

went back to school the next day.

School opened the following Monday in Nashville, Tenn. where token integration was to begin in the first grade only. Crowds of racists, whom John Kasper had been organizing for weeks, and who were emboldened by the action of the Governor of Arkansas, were present in front of most of the schools throughout the day. Cars with Ku Klux Klan signs and confederate flags drove by. Thirteen Negroes children, aged six and seven, ran the gauntlet of jeers and threats to enter schools with their parents. "Wouldn't that make your blood boil," sneered a woman racist as a six-year-old Negro child entered a previously all-white school.

On the same day in North Little Rock six Negro students, all boys, braved the atmosphere created by the governor's action in the state capital across the river, and attempted to enter North Little Rock High. They were turned away by a crowd of white youths, led by adults.

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, who was severely beaten as he tried to enroll four children in Phillips High School in Birmingham, Alabama, on Sept. 9, said the following day: "The children were the real heroes. They were ready to go back today in spite of all that happened. But we must plan our next step. And whatever it is, the children will be ready."

Most reports agree that only a small portion of the white students participated in any of the racist actions. On the other hand, many white students braved intimidation themselves to defend the right of the Negroes to go to school.

The president of the student body of Central High in Little Rock, Ralph Brodie, told Mike Wallace in an interview published in the Sept. 8 N.Y. Post, that he didn't think there would be any resistance to the integration from Central High students themselves and put the blame for the trouble on Governor Faubus.

In Charlotte, Dorothy Counts said that inside the school, students approached her in a friendly manner, and that many white residents phoned her at home to apologize for the action of the racists.

In Nashville, where the racists organized a boycott of the integrated schools, a majority of the white parents and children braved intimidation to enter the schools. One white Nashville youngster, a boy aged 10, was held back by police as he lunged at the racists.

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Calendar Of Events
Chicago
Fri., Sept. 20, 8:15 P.M.
"Women in American Society."
Speaker: Lou Griffin, Chicago
Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams.
Brooklyn
Youth Forum, Sun. Sept. 22, 8:30 P.M. "Recent Changes in the Soviet Union." Speakers (Organizations listed for identification only): Dave McReynolds, Socialist Party - Social Democratic Federation; George Watts, Communist Party; Bert Deck, Young Socialist Forum; Sheldon Weeks, Am. Friends Service Committee. Brighton Beach Community Center, 3120

(The following account of conditions in migrant labor camps was issued last month by the Amityville, Long Island, N. Y., Race Relations Class. The class visited camps at Cutchogue, L. I., about 125 miles from New York City. Surveys conducted recently by the N. Y. Post and the N. Y. World Telegram indicate that migrant farm workers throughout the rest of the state are in a similar plight. — Editor.)

On approaching the first camp, we saw that it was wired in with barbed wire fences with strands of wire about one foot apart to a height of about six feet. At the entrance there was a sign on a gate post which read "No Visitors Allowed," and said that the gate was guarded by a policeman in uniform. We stopped our cars outside and walked over to the officer and asked if we might make a tour of the camp. He agreed and let us drive our cars on the grounds.

We saw many cabin-type shacks which looked to be about ten feet by twelve, some even smaller. We talked to many of the inhabitants. All seemed to be willing to discuss conditions there. In one of these small quarters there was a man, two daughters (in their teens) and a teen-age son. The cooking and ventilation facilities were poor. There was no bath or toilet for the whole camp. The bedding was inadequate and dirty.

BREAD AT 40 CENTS

Some of the workers told of bread selling at 40 cents a loaf. The menu showed tomato and lettuce sandwiches at 60 cents. The workers said that if any one refused to trade at the company store they were discriminated against; when the opportunity for jobs came, they would be the last to be called.

The owners promised clean and sanitary housing and medical care. People must pay for the doctor on arrival, or they get no medical care at all. However, even when they do pay, the service is inadequate.

We talked to some high school boys from South Carolina, and they said that they had been promised pleasant recreation centers by the employment agency in South Carolina. The play equipment at the camp seemed merely for show and was never used.

A mobile merchant came in on the premises with wearing apparel and dry goods. We asked the merchant what some of his prices were. The ones he quoted seemed horribly inflated.

Meager furnishings in the shacks: there were no chairs, no closets, and cooking was done on wood stoves (laundry-type stoves). The atmosphere was quiet, but the people are anxious for help and for the public to be made aware of existing conditions.

DUES, BUT NO UNION

The employers deduct money from the workers for union dues. No union cards were given to the workers, and we were told that they never saw a representative from a union. One man was saying that he was above the average potato picker and the most he could pick was from 120 to 125 bags a day. They were paid seven cents a bag this year compared to eight cents last year. The most one could possibly make was \$8.75 a day, and he had to pay rent and board out of that. Some weeks he made only one or two days, he stated.

We then left the first camp and went to another camp which was called the "Zack Wright Camp" which is about two or three miles east of the first camp. It seemed to have mostly men workers. We went into the kitchen (maintained by women), and it looked as if it were kept for animals. Then we went in where the men slept. There were double bunk beds about 18 inches apart. There were about 75 men in a building about 20 by 40 feet. The only bedding we saw was a dirty mattress or mattresses and a dirty army blanket on each bunk. When we were about to leave, the proprietor came up and seemed very indignant.

British Trades Union Parley Ignores Issues

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

The 89th Trades Union Congress, though it was held in a year of remarkable working-class militancy, with the employers clearly sharpening their knives for further attempts to weaken organization and conditions, was one of the dulllest—if not THE dulllest—in living memory.

If the British TUC were a predominantly rank-and-file gathering, the Labor Parliament that its founders conceived it as, no doubt this paradox would not exist.

But this is largely a gathering of trade union officials, with the bigger unions for the most part sending their paid officials to represent them. The TUC therefore expresses the problems, preoccupations and consciousness of the man on the workshop floor only at a certain remove, haltingly, fitfully and with a constant bureaucratic bias.

COMPLACENT 'LEADERS'

This is why, from Monday morning to Friday afternoon, the urgency of the situation in which the British working-class currently finds itself rarely managed to break through the prevailing atmosphere of complacency, not to say somnolence.

The strike of three million engineers and shipbuilding workers last spring might have taken place on the moon; the Covent Garden marketmen might never have been defeated after five weeks of struggle.

The remoteness of the General Council from the workers' struggles can be gauged from the financial report presented to the Congress. There is an item of \$59,000 for salaries—and not a cent for aid to strikers, even though quite a number of strikes in Britain over the past year

have been "official"—i.e., backed by the unions concerned.

These unions were, of course, affiliated to the TUC, but the latter's General Council held aloof.

A number of praiseworthy resolutions (praiseworthy as far as they went, that is) were, of course, passed by the TUC. First, there was a call to the Tory Government for "an immediate and substantial increase in pensions rates, with periodic reviews to ensure their real value keeps pace with the cost of living."

One delegate said that hundreds of thousands of old people in Britain were being "slowly starved to death"—and indeed the condition of old age pensioners, particularly those living alone, is a national scandal.

Secondly, the Congress passed a resolution calling on the next Labor Government to repeal the Rent Act, which has recently come into force, and whose effect in legalizing often quite vicious rent increases for a great number of working-class and middle-class tenants is now beginning to make itself felt.

This resolution, whose mover, Ted Hill, general secretary of the boilermakers, called on trade unions to use their industrial power to defeat the Act, was quite a defeat for the Right wing among the trade union and Labor Party leaders.

For the Right wing have been doing their best to evade this vexed question of the Rent Act; they did not want to close a loophole to the rent increases they themselves might feel inclined to impose when they come to power.

The third important resolution rejected the principle of wage restraint in any form and reaffirmed the determination of the trade union movement, "while prices and profits remain

uncontrolled, to take such steps industrially as will ensure that wages keep pace with rising costs."

The significant thing about this resolution is its extremely limited character. Wages are the burning question of the hour—yet the TUC formulates no plan, gives no lead, for the improvement of wages. The resolution was essentially defensive.

And it will not escape the notice of Mr. Frank Cousins's members in the Transport and General Workers' Union that the speech of this much-boosted "Left" was regarded by many commentators as more "restrained" and "quiet" than his fiery words last year.

This, of course, does not prevent the Daily Worker, voice of the Communist Party, from licking the last drop of polish off Mr. Cousins's boots—boasting him up before the Congress in a eulogistic profile, building him up in every possible way.

CP ROLE AT CONGRESS

But the Communist Party, judging by its showing at the TUC, is paying the price for its Stalinist leadership. In particular it is paying the price for its betrayal of the Hungarian Revolution last autumn. Its spokesman on this question, Leo McGree, was jeered and cat-called for his brazen apology for Russian intervention, and not even his own party comrades seated in the hall applauded him. But many of the communist delegates did applaud Brian Behan, who until a couple of months ago was a member of the Communist Party Executive Committee, but who resigned and joined the Labor Party.

Behan put clearly the need to defend the socialist economy while opposing bureaucracy, condemned the Rakosi-Gero and Kadar regimes, and declared that "the British trade unions must show that their solidarity with Hungarian workers has nothing in common with the capitalist gangsters."

Except for McGree's disastrous intervention, the Communist Party took a definite back seat throughout the Congress. Arthur Horner, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, was soundly beaten in the elections for the General Council: he is likely to retire within a year or two, leaving now no likely CP candidate for the General Council.

Making all allowances for the differences, the resemblance between the present situation of the TUC leaders and that of their 1926 forerunners (that was the year of the General Strike) is quite apparent on one essential point: there is no preparation for the big battles that quite clearly lie ahead.

No one who has been studying the employers' tactics and those of their Government can fail to recognize the peril in which the British trade union movement stands if it does not prepare to meet an offensive much more concerted and dangerous than the first few preliminary probings, skirmishes and sallies we have been witnessing.

It is to be hoped that the rank-and-file delegates will be impressing this danger, and the General Council's incapacity, on their branches when they return.

Seek to End Witch-Hunt Committee

"Honor and Up-hold the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court" will be the demand made at the Carnegie Hall meeting on Friday, September 20, called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The ECLC will open a national campaign to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities at that time.

Dalton Trumbo, prominent Hollywood writer, featured in the recent mix-up of anonymous Academy Award "Oscar" winners, will speak on "Who is Robert Rich." Trumbo has been officially "blacklisted" since serving a year's prison sentence as one of the Hollywood Ten who claimed the right to silence under the First Amendment in defying the Un-American Activities Committee in 1947. But he has lately been rumored to be the "blackmarket" author of many recent top Hollywood screen plays.

Other speakers will include Hugh H. Wilson, professor of politics at Princeton University, and Philip Wittenberg, Lecturer in Law at Columbia University.

In announcing the forthcoming campaign, Harvey O'Connor, ECLC chairman, struck at the unanimous action of the House of Representatives on Aug. 23 in citing three witnesses for contempt of Congress. They had refused to answer questions as to their personal beliefs and associations and based the refusal on a recent Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case.

O'Connor said: "On the basis of the principles laid down by the Supreme Court's Watkins decision, it is high time that the Congress acted to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The powers of Congress to conduct investigations are broad, but not unlimited. The Bill of Rights is applicable. The first amendment freedoms of speech, press, religion, or political association can no longer be abridged, by the unconstitutional investigations of Congressional Committees."

Hit Harassment Of Chicago Negro By Police Dept.

(The following is a press release by the Washington Park Forum in Chicago; Rev. Joseph P. King, President; John Hamilton, chairman.—Ed.)

CHICAGO, Sept. 10.—The recent attacks against the Negro people by the racists have been followed by insults, harassment and intimidation by the Chicago Police Department. The following is one example of such acts by the police.

On August 16, 1957, Mr. and Mrs. Clifton Laws were driving home when they saw the police stopping Negro motorists for no apparent reason. The police stopped the car ahead of Mr. Laws' car and ordered the people out while they searched it.

Mr. Laws parked his car properly, got out and observed what the police were doing. The police, noticing that Mr. Laws was watching, approached and demanded to know what he wanted. Mr. Laws asked the officer if he was going to arrest the motorist. The police then told Mr. Laws that he wanted to see him and that he should wait, which he did.

The first motorist was given a ticket, and he drove away. The police then came over to where Mr. and Mrs. Laws were waiting in their car. They were told to get out. The police searched the car but found nothing. The officer said to Mr. Laws, "You are disturbing traffic."

Mr. Laws was given a ticket charging him with a traffic violation. His case was scheduled for Sept. 4, 1957. It has been postponed until Oct. 2, 1957.

Detroit Election Results: Lovell, 2092; Patrick in Runoff

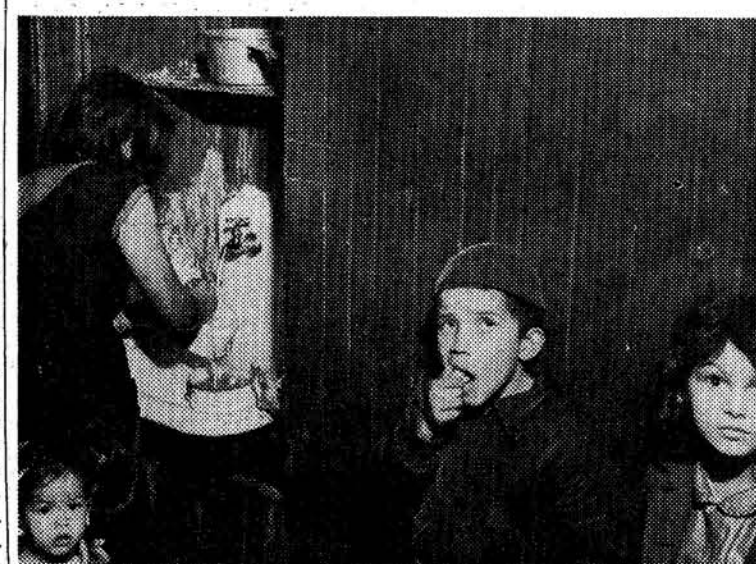
DETROIT, Sept. 11.—Sarah Lovell, candidate for Mayor endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party, received 2,092 votes, or a little over one per cent of the total in yesterday's primary election. She ran seventh out of a field of 11 seeking the two run-off nominations. Louis C. Miriani, "non-partisan Republican," endorsed by the CIO and AFL, got over two-thirds the votes.

In the Common Council primaries, William T. Patrick, Jr., came in ninth out of the 18 nominated for the November election, when nine members of the Council will be chosen. His vote reflected the strong desire of the Negro community to win representation on the City Council. In addition to broad Negro backing, Patrick had CIO endorsement and critical support from the Socialist Workers Party. Two other Negroes made the Council runoffs—George H. Edwards (13th) and Charles M. Diggs (16th). In the last weeks of the campaign a great deal of anti-Negro literature was circulated in Detroit.

Jim-Crow Conditions in Housing Lashed by N.Y. SWP Candidate

By Morris Zuckoff

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for New York Comptroller



Scene, above, shows a family in one the East Harlem "apartments," in the rent-gougers' paradise. Puerto Rican and Negro families are Jim-Crowed into these slum dwellings. Housing segregation is one of the main issues in the current N. Y. election campaign.

Sobell Asks High Court To Set Aside Conviction

WASHINGTON, D.C., Sept. 9.—Invoking the precedent of a Supreme Court ruling handed down last term, Morton Sobell today asked the United States Supreme

Court to set aside his trial as unfair. If the high court grants the motion, it would also be ruling in effect that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were unfairly tried.

In addition, Morton Sobell asked the court, in two petitions, to review his case and order a hearing of evidence that the prosecution used fraud and that the FBI seized Sobell illegally on the Mexican territory in violation of the U.S.-Mexican Extradition treaty.

Sobell was condemned to 30 years in prison in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial. He has begun serving his eighth year in Alcatraz. He is attempting to prove his innocence of conspiracy to commit espionage. The Rosenberg-Sobell trial has never been reviewed by the Supreme Court. The Rosenbergs, who asserted their innocence to the last, were executed in June 1953.

RECENT PRECEDENT

A recent Supreme Court ruling regarding the use of the Fifth Amendment was cited by Sobell's attorneys as proof that the Rosenberg-Sobell defense was illegally and improperly prejudiced by the conduct of the prosecution and by presiding Judge Irving Kaufman. Last spring, the court ordered a new trial in the Grunewald-Halperin tax case because the judge and prosecution had prejudiced the case when they used the defendant's resort to the Fifth Amendment before a grand jury as basis for discrediting his testimony.

Sobell submitted excerpts from the Rosenberg-Sobell trial record to show that the prosecution and Judge Kaufman had attacked defense testimony (in particular that of Ethel Rosenberg) in the same manner that the high court declared unlawful in the Grunewald-Halperin case.

Sobell's attorneys point out that, because this was a conspiracy trial, prejudice against the Rosenbergs tainted the entire proceeding. Therefore, they contend, Sobell must have a new trial.

"It would be hard to find a case which more imperatively calls for relief," Sobell's attorneys told the Supreme Court. "As a result of a trial which is now revealed to have lacked essential fairness, petitioner (Sobell) is awaiting a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz Penitentiary—a punishment and a place of incarceration which themselves reflect the passion engendered by the case. Elementary justice requires that he receive a new day in court."

"There may be those who would shrink from granting petitioner the modest relief he seeks," the petition said further, "because it might cast a shadow upon the validity of his co-defendants. But only by exposing these charges to the test of a judicial hearing can we resolve the substantial doubts which haunt this case. No one unaffected by a partisan interest in protesting the extreme measures of the past era against the criticism of history will understand a reluctance to give this petitioner his day in court."

The appeals for Sobell were filed by the New York law firm of Frank Donner, Arthur Kinoy and Marshall Perlin, by Benjamin Dreyfus of San Francisco, and by Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton, professor of international law at the University of Mexico and a former Mexican Minister of Education.

"I work in their defense plants, I fight in their armies, I pay taxes. Why can't I live in a decent home. Once a man opens a building to the public he shouldn't be allowed to bar a person because of color." This was said not with bitterness but with determination by a young Negro waiting to testify on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs bill at a City Council hearing. He was giving voice to the demand of tens of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican families in the city who want a decent place to live.

The old saying that the only thing that matters is the color of a man's money, doesn't apply to housing. Here, the only thing that matters is the color of a man's skin. In New York City, discrimination against Negro and Puerto Rican families in housing is flagrant, widespread and profitable.

According to Welfare Department reports, over 1,300 families on relief rolls, including children from ages four to 14, have been living in one furnished room because that is all the department could find for them. Approximately 786 families, more than half, are Puerto Ricans and nearly all the rest are Negroes. Only 11 white families were found to live under these severely crowded conditions. The Welfare Department claimed that while they could find decent apartments for white families, they could not find any decent apartments for the Puerto Rican families or other minority groups.

The proportion of slum housing is five times as high for minority groups as it is for white families. Overcrowding is four times as high. Typical of this situation was a report a few years ago by the now defunct Brooklyn Eagle, of the plight of Puerto Rican families in New York. Describing one of the many buildings in Brooklyn the paper reported that "The house contained 28 rooms, and each one of them was a separate dwelling.... Here lived whole families, with up to four children, crowded into a single cubicle.... The furniture consisted of a second-hand bed, a miniature aged ice-box, a dresser and a chair or two.... There were no fire escapes and no exits except the main front entrance.... The tenants pay rent here 'todos Domingos' (every

Sunday).... They pay \$10 a week and up to \$15 and \$16 a week on the 28 cubicles.... The weekly take of the landlord must be over \$300. This means \$15,000 a year.... It must be admitted that their condition was far from being the worst in Brooklyn. Compared to some cases where as many as five and six Puerto Rican families have been found occupying one apartment and sharing rental of as high as \$200, the circumstances border on luxury." (Emphasis mine—M.Z.)

Between 1944 and 1954, at least eight laws were passed by the state and city administrations barring discrimination in public housing and FHA subsidized housing. These laws have not only remained without power of enforcement, but the federal government has continued to maintain and encourage a policy of discrimination in housing.

According to the testimony of Frances Levinson, director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency last April, "approximately 85% of federally aided housing is currently operated on a segregated basis."

In predominantly Negro areas, land has been cleared to make way for new housing developments. However, according to the same testimony, new housing will be restricted to whites by the developer's policy or by restrictively high prices. About two-thirds of the displaced families were Negroes. Over 50% of new private housing was insured by FHA and VA during the past year. Yet despite an official clause preventing restrictive covenants on government insured housing, builders of these developments do not admit Negroes.



MORRIS ZUCKOFF

Flynn Group Urged to Accept SWP's Offer of Petition Aid

(The following letter, urging the Communist Party to accept the Socialist Workers Party's proposal for mutual collaboration in the two parties' respective drives to get New York City on the ballot, was submitted for publication in the Daily Worker. When publication was refused, the author submitted it to the Militant.—Ed.)

Editor:

The wisdom behind the State Committee's motivation in launching a campaign to place Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on the ballot as councilman candidate from the Lower East Side, has been completely vindicated by my own personal experience as a canvasser. My own conviction is shared by all participants at the headquarters at 15 Second Avenue. Even comrades who viewed with some reservations the decision to initiate an independent candidacy, as well as those who were opposed outright to the project, have experienced a change in heart as a result of the favorable response enjoyed at the homes of the Negro, Puerto Rican, Jewish and Italian members of the community. One has only to observe the ardent, glowing features of the comrades who participate to conclude that here are the elements of a reinvigorated pulsating communist movement in New York City.

It is precisely the independence of the campaign, unshackled from any commitment to a two-party hack which has given the campaign its basic drive. Here and there in the course of canvassing one observes the last traces of the old atmosphere hanging around like the stale, flat taste of a bad drink. But—let me emphasize—by and large the community is curious to hear what we have to say, think and offer. Yes, the program we can

offer in the course of the campaign corresponds to the real inner needs and heartfelt desires of the exploited sections of our great city. No Democrat or Republican candidate can replace an independent working-class candidate in the Lower East Side.

It is therefore amazing to me that we have chosen to reject the comradely offer of the Socialist Workers Party to cooperate in the collecting of signatures for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and their own candidates for Mayor, Comptroller and President of the City Council. On the one hand, our campaign committee calls urgently for canvassers and clerical workers. On the other hand we reject the outstretched hand of another socialist tendency. We from East New York have assembled small forces—all of whom are contributing because we recognized the need to place Flynn on the ballot at all costs. We realize that what is lacking woefully in this campaign is the co-operation and activity of a large part of our own membership. The campaign is in great danger. The SWP with a smaller—alas much smaller—membership has successfully concluded its own drive to place its candidates on the ballot. In the face of this, can we afford Comrade Blumberg's capsule rejection of the SWP offer—"They're a splinter; we're a plank"?

Elementary wisdom dictates that we immediately take up the offer of the SWP in the spirit of Sid Stein's report to the National Committee, particularly our approach to other socialist tendencies. Let's dispense with arrogance and get Elizabeth Gurley Flynn on the ballot.

Our recent experience in joint activity with the Socialist Workers Party insures a fruitful,

constructive relationship. Witness the defense of the Communist Party's right to participate in the American Forum for Social Education by the representative of the SWP, Farrell Dobbs. Then, the free speech fight in Union Square in which the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party (George Watt) participated on Aug. 25. Then the Minneapolis, Brighton Beach and Brownsville forums where Carl Ross, St. Germain and John Gates participated with the SWP representatives in the most successful local meetings in more than a decade—not to mention the Joint May Day Rally on the East Side where George Charney (CP) and Myra Tanner Weiss (SWP) shared the platform. Finally, a word with respect to the Sobell Campaign to which the SWP has contributed a major service in the successful boat-ride venture attended by 1500 people. Our own East New York effort at Premier Palace for the Sobell Committee, at which \$75 was collected, was supported fraternally by members of the SWP.

Our paths will cross time and again in the struggle to ban the H-bomb, against the Smith Act, in defense of the heroic Negro people, in launching an independent political action movement, and finally in regrouping the Socialist-Communist movement into a mass party of American socialism.

When we meet at the crossroads, let us accept, and in turn, extend the outstretched hand to heal the naked wounds of yesterday.

Let us make the first step today by warmly accepting the gracious offer to help save the candidacy of our own beloved Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Comradely,
SWS

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