

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.

Vol. XXI - No. 37

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1957

PRICE 10c

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 employer's service pin, etc. Only on one thing was there any hitch — his claim for back pay was batted around from bureaucrat to bureaucrat. 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

PRESIDENT FAILS TO HALT FAUBUS' ARMED DEFIANCE

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, 15. 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, unbroken 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 Mothershead 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." Theima 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."

TILL BE BACK

"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."

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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

(Continued on page 3)

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

to continue barring these children for an indefinite period — perhaps long enough to prevent integration in Little Rock this year. It is for precisely such a deal that the meeting between Faubus and the President has been arranged in Newport.

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.

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.

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

(Continued on page 3)

"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, opposition and condemnation. 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 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 forerunners. 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

—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 arrived 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—is 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.

Literature And Revolution

By Leon Trotsky

256 pages \$3.75

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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 Stalinism and with its relevance to the problems of the post-Stalin era."

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 now 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.

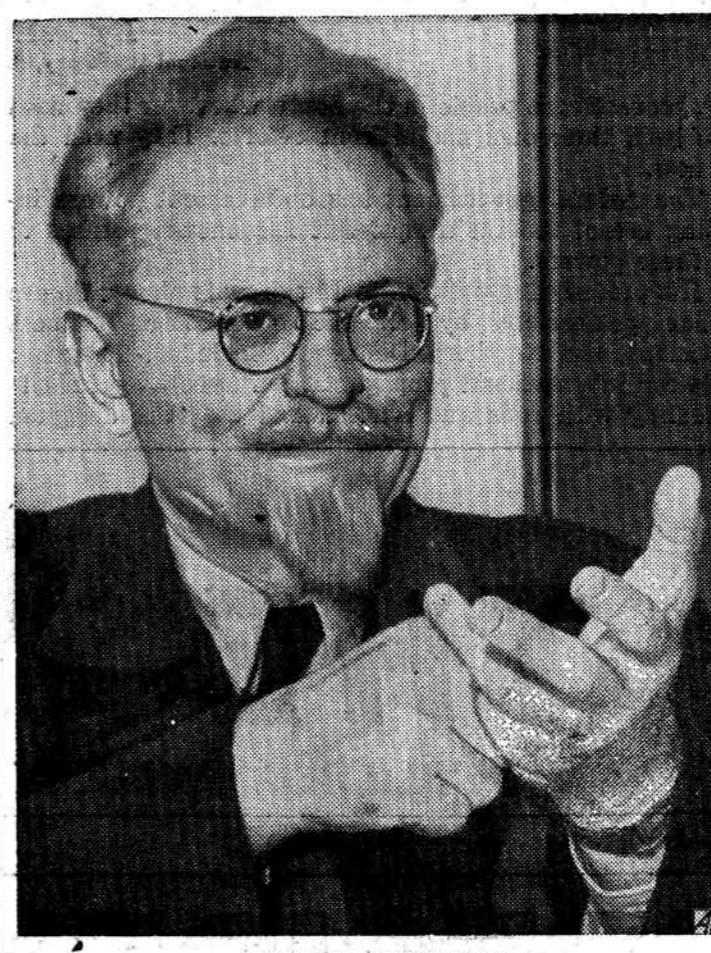
—George Lavan

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 Hungaricus. 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 CPers. (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 Poland, 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 Landau in the Aug. 22 *France Observateur*, 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 secretariat, 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 to be 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. charges that the Syrian government is becoming an outpost for "international communism."

arise primarily out of a recent aid agreement between Syria and the USSR.

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 Doc-

trine passed by Congress last

year . . . and the Soviet Union . . .

—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.

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 Admini-

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stration 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."

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."

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 oppose 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 quoted 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 last 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.

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

S.G.
Newark

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."

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7469
Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS
Business Manager: FRANCES JAMES

Vol. XXI - No. 37

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 deplored 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

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 Kiezel 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

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..."

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.

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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

Nashville -- A City of Terror

By Shirley Clark

"Entered as second class matter, March 1, 1944 at Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 2, 1937."

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

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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,

of their beds. Windows were

shattered. The next morning

mothers and teachers wept as

they viewed the debris.

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 Ne-

groes. 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 par-

ents 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 ses-

sion of school began. Several

hundred whites shouted curses

and threatened Negroes and white

mothers who took their children

to school. Despite these threats

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 vic-

tory to those who would like to

defeat the Supreme Court deci-

sion. The quicker the govern-

ment 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 sym-

bolically on the steps of Nash-

ville's War Memorial Building

— 150 of them. Every night

Kasper was seen haranguing the

crowd to stop integration by

shotgun, dynamite or the hang-

ing 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

Misery in a Migrant Camp

(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.

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 dullest—if not THE dullest—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.

PLACENT 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

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.

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