

## Education in the U.S. and USSR

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# THE MILITANT

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## Socialist Polls Impressive Vote In Seattle

SEATTLE, Feb. 12 — Jack Wright, socialist candidate for Seattle City Council, polled 5,554 votes in the primary election yesterday. This was 10% of the total vote cast. Wright finished 12th in a field of 21 candidates. The ten highest vote-getters will be in a run-off election in March. Wright thus came close to qualifying for the run-off.

In a post-election statement, Jack Wright's campaign committee declared: "The fact that Wright came so near to nomination is the source of great jubilation among all militants in Seattle. This demonstration of strength of the Socialist program and the principle of independent working class political action registered by the efforts of a small campaign committee with meager financial

resources appears to many as positive proof that a united socialist coalition would become a power to be reckoned with on the electoral field."

Wright, who ran on the program of the Socialist Workers Party, received impressive backing from all working-class and progressive circles. Thus he won the endorsement of his own union, Local 158 of the International Molders and Foundry Workers. In addition he was endorsed by such prominent individuals as Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party candidate for president; Terry Pettus, Northwest editor of People's World; C. H. Fisher, President of the Washington Pension Union; Jay Sykes, prominent civil liberties attorney; Dr. Jay Friedman, and others.

### PEOPLE'S WORLD COMMENTS FAVORABLY

LOS ANGELES — The question of united political action of all socialists in the 1958 elections which is now in the forefront of consideration by American radicals, will be discussed by two nationally prominent political leaders in Los Angeles on Saturday, March 1. The speakers are Vincent R. Hallinan, Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952, and James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

Hallinan will give his views on how to present the ideas of socialism to the American people as a practical answer to the major problems of preserving peace, defending civil liberties, and combating the threat of depression.

Cannon will elaborate on the proposal made by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee in the Feb. 3 National Guardian for joint election activity in 1958 by the various socialist tendencies to challenge the two Big Business parties.

Their talks will be preceded by a dinner at 7 P.M. and are scheduled to begin at 8 P.M. The dinner-meeting will be held at Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th Street, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party. For reservations, call Webster 5-9238.



JACK WRIGHT, Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidate for Seattle City Council, polled 10% of the vote in the Feb. 11 elections. He ran 12th in a field of 21.

## Breadlines Reported As Layoffs Mount

"I thought I would find something else to do, but I haven't found anything yet. I've been around quite a lot. I went out to La Grange where they have the big automobile plant. They told me they weren't hiring any new men until they had taken back the men they laid off. That's about 1,000 men. Seems like there aren't many jobs right now. They don't call it a depression, but it sure is an awful long recession." That's the picture of the present economic situation that a Chicago correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor got from a young factory worker standing in a long line at the unemployment insurance office.

Many areas report situations far more difficult, with reports of breadlines beginning to appear in the news. One such report has come from the steel town of Lorain, Ohio. On Feb. 5, Senator Gore of Tennessee reported that 10% of the people in Memphis and surrounding Shelby County were "standing in line for distress distribution of food."

Many other areas may soon reach similar conditions. A staggering jump in unemployment was recorded for the month of January by the U. S. Commerce and Labor departments. According to their always conservative figures, 1,200,000 lost their jobs during the month — possibly the greatest

The Memphis, Tenn., AFL-CIO Council has gone on record against a proposed city ordinance to harass the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

## 'U.S. Gave Airplanes, Bombs That Murdered 68 in Tunisia'

### Michigan SWP Files for Ballot Place

By Sarah Lovell

DETROIT, Feb. 9 — The Socialist Workers Party filed 21,000 petitions in Lansing last Wednesday for place on the Michigan ballot this year. But the SWP petition campaign is not completed. The 21,000 filed were only the first installment. State officials were informed that another installment of at least 9,000 additional petitions would be filed in the next few weeks, to bring the total to 30,000, or twice the number legally required. This is because we are determined that no pretext shall be used to keep a socialist ticket off the ballot, as was done in 1956.

Participating in the petition work are those with lots of experience in previous campaigns and those who are doing it for the first time. But for all of us, the first-timers and the old hands, this is something new — the nature of the response from the people we talk to, their readiness to sign petitions to help put an independent workers' party on the ballot.

### TALK TO THOUSANDS

Despite the cold and the wind, despite occasional rebuffs, this is proving to be a wonderfully enjoyable and educational experience. It's not only the fact that people will sign readily and that we get the satisfaction of accomplishing what we set out to do. It has also given us the opportunity to talk to thousands of people — to hear what they are thinking — and the chance to explain some of our ideas.

The most general reaction we find is either doubt or disgust with both the Democratic and Republican parties. One might have thought the Democrats would be benefiting by default, since unemployment this time comes under the Eisenhower administration. There is some blaming of the Republicans in particular, but surprisingly little of it. And what there is comes from Democrats who are either taken in by, or trying to sell, the idea that the Democrats are for the workers. In the main, people feel the Democrats are really no different, and they say so, and are getting wise to the game of voting one party in, then the other, with their conditions of life remaining the same.

The idea of a labor party is

(Continued on Page 3)

### Algerian Freedom Fighters



Recruits to the Algerian Liberation Army training in the woods. The Algerian war for national liberation began Nov. 1, 1954. French imperialism has used all the methods of Nazism in its attempt to hold on to the colony. The bombing of a Tunisian village by the French was in retaliation for Tunisian aid to the Algerian revolution.

## Not One Public School Is Integrated this Term

By George Lavan

Six months ago Congress passed the compromise Civil Rights bill. The first half of the school year has elapsed since nine Negro children in Little Rock succeeded in entering Central High School. What progress has desegregation and civil rights made in this time?

A candid answer must be: no progress. In fact, a setback has been registered and some past gains have been undermined.

Both in 1956 and 1957 there was an alarming slowdown in school desegregation. The number of Negro children integrated last September had dwindled to a mere trickle, though the excitement over Little Rock tended to obscure this fact.

### NONE AT MIDYEAR

But now that trickle has stopped. Every midyear since the Supreme Court decision has seen some schools integrating for the second semester. This midyear not a single school desegregated. Not only is this a setback in itself but it augurs ill for next September.

In the case of Dallas, Texas, where a federal district court had ordered school desegregation to begin with the second semester in January, the order was overruled by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. This decision calls into question whether the long-delayed desegregation in that city's schools will even be scheduled for next year. An ominous note in the Circuit Court's decision was its blast against the district court's injunction restraining the Dallas school authorities "from requiring or permitting segregation of the races." The appeals court emphatically declared that while the lower court might forbid Texas authorities from "requiring" segregation if it had no right to forbid their "permitting" it.

### NO INDICTMENTS

The anti-integration tide has been flowing ever since the federal government demonstrated that it did not intend to follow up the sending of troops to Little Rock with prosecutions of Gov. Faubus or the ring-leaders of the anti-

Negro mob. Washington let it be known that it would not ask for any indictments in connection with the racist violence in Little Rock. Moreover there have been no moves, or even talk of moves, to punish Faubus or any of the racist mob leaders for contempt of court though they were clearly in violation of both federal court injunctions issued during the Little Rock school crisis.

The federal government's action in Little Rock has been confined solely to reducing the number of troops it was originally forced to send there. All federal troops have long since been withdrawn. There remain on duty only a few Arkansas national guardsmen in temporary federal service.

The letting of Faubus and the racist mob leaders off scot-free and the hasty withdrawal of troops gave a tremendous boost to the shaken morale of the white supremacists. They now hope to undo their defeat at Central High School. In this they have been bolstered by a

(Continued on Page 4)

## There's Money for Grand Jury Smear but Not for Schools

By Joyce Cowley

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 — Last Friday nearly 700 "troublesome" pupils were suspended from New York City schools. This get-tough policy was announced two

days after Mayor Wagner and the Board of Education held an emergency conference on the school crisis.

As every parent in the city knows, this crisis has existed for years, but it took the suicide of a school principal, which in turn precipitated a struggle for authority between the Board of Education and a Brooklyn Grand Jury investigating delinquency, to get the Mayor worried.

The first concrete proposal Wagner made was to let "difficult" students leave school at fourteen or fifteen to find part-time employment, which would deny them the right to a further education and remove them from any supervision or possibility of help that now exists. The immediate suspensions which followed the conference are further evidence of the hysteria of city and school authorities.

### NO ONE ASKED HIM

George Goldfarb, whose death touched off the present turmoil,

"In our Bronx High School of Science," said Mrs. Ethel Dancis of Bronx PS 106, one of more than a hundred speakers who appeared at the hearing, "the students are using physics textbooks printed in 1934."

### '34 TEXTS IN USE

This year, in view of overcrowding, teacher shortages, lack of counseling and other special facilities, the Board of Education proposed an increased budget. This increase would seem imperative to make even the first steps toward solving school problems. But Mayor Wagner and his administration didn't want to spend so much money on schools, so they exerted a little pressure (apparently not much was required) and a hastily-mutilated budget was presented — \$50 million short of the one originally proposed — actually smaller, although the New York school population has increased, then the previous year's budget.

On Jan. 27, the day before George Goldfarb's suicide, a public hearing was held on the 1958-59 school budget, which revealed far more about the real cause of the crisis in our schools than the questioning and harassment of individual teachers and officials.

Angry parents, teachers, civic workers and supervisors spoke at the public hearing to protest these budget cuts, which particularly affected teachers' salaries as well as a number of measures which would have implemented the school inte-

"They're a gift," Mrs. Spisa replied. "Try teaching children with these."

### SNEAK OUT

Members of the Board of

Education did not listen very

attentively as speaker after

speaker accused them of irre-

sponsible surrender to pressure

from City Hall, or as parents

told about leaking roofs, fire

violations and inadequately

heated buildings. In fact, they

didn't even stay around to hear

most of it. By later afternoon,

then Mrs. Cecilia Ruth Sands of

Brooklyn remained to repre-

sent the Board.

At 7:05 Mrs. Elizabeth Spisa of the Queen's Bryant HS Parents Association, carrying a

big shopping bag, began to

speak. Mrs. Sands asked her to

come to the point.

"All right I will," said Mrs.

Spisa as she threw a torn and

dirty book in front of Mrs.

Sands. She proceeded to take

another half dozen books, even

dirtier than the first, out of her

shopping bag. These were the

texts her daughter received last

September.

"All these things are ten to

twenty years old!"

"I don't want them," Mrs.

Sands protested.

special schools. More and more helpless in the face of a steadily mounting crisis, the City administration resorts to repression and terror.

The major proposals made as a result of the Mayor's emergency conference include lowering the age at which delinquents can leave school, more correctional institutions, more truant officers, but nothing was said about the most obvious first step — restoring to the school budget the \$50 million Wagner decided New York City couldn't afford.

The basic reason for the reactionary and inadequate character of this emergency program is that the city administration and school authorities have not consulted the people most directly concerned, the ones who have an intimate day-to-day knowledge of school problems. The parents, the teachers and the students themselves are the only ones who really want to work out and enforce a program in the interests of New York City schools and the children who attend them.

### TERROR IS CHEAPER

There is money to keep the grand jury investigation going for an indefinite number of months. There is money to put policemen in the schools. There is money — it will take an estimated quarter of a million — to try to send fifteen year old children to the electric chair in the killing of Michael Farmer. But there is no money to pay teachers an adequate salary or build new schools, and there is no money to provide the facilities needed to handle seriously disturbed children in

# New Move to Expel Dissidents from L.A. Communist Party

Two members of the Communist Party in Southern California, reinstated last December, because unconstitutionally expelled, now face new, unspecified charges. The two are part of a group of five members in Orange County expelled from the party for allegedly engaging in a "Trotskyist conspiracy" against the party.

The five who formed part of a Leninist group in the party, denied all "conspiracy" charges but freely admitted to association with leading members of the Socialist Workers Party in California and to reading SWP literature. In a letter sent to the socialist and labor press last September and printed in the Sept. 23 *Militant*, the five wrote:

"This heresy [of proclaiming the right to freely associate with other socialists] proved more than the L. A. leadership could tolerate. Having failed to make us recant, they took measures to excommunicate us in defiance of the newly adopted party constitution." All five appealed their expulsion.

We print below a letter to all CP members by the five dealing with the most recent development in their case. This letter, too, was sent for publication to the socialist and labor press. — Editor.

Dear Friend:

We wish to inform you of important new developments in the case of the five CP members unconstitutionally suspended in Los Angeles which has aroused nationwide interest within the party.

In December, following our publicized protest, the subcommittee of the District Council in Southern California asked the Orange County club to lift the suspensions of three of us. The other two, they contended, had forfeited membership status. In doing this, the subcommittee sustained our original declarations that we had been suspended in obvious violation of the constitution adopted at the last party convention since no formal charges had been filed against us, no trial committee was elected, and no trial held.

This subcommittee further rebuked the representatives of the District Council who advised the Club to act in disregard of constitutional safeguards in our case.

This was a gratifying correction. It was prompted at least in part by the many protests made to the L.A. leadership both locally and nationally after this injustice was brought to the attention of the members.

#### UNSPECIFIED CHARGES

But it proved short-lived. In January the Orange County Club, instead of dropping all charges, informed W.P. that, even though they had accepted his dues, he was not a party member. B.D. and B.D. were told that they were being brought up on new unspecified charges. Our joint reply to the District Council and the Club regarding these petty maneuvers is enclosed.

We were falsely accused and wrongfully deprived of our rights only because we proposed policies opposed by leaders who no longer command the confidence of the members and because we vigorously de-

fended the right to talk with non-Party Marxists.

The District Council subcommittee letter rightfully pointed out that "It is obvious that for the right of dissent to be meaningful, it must also include the right to explore other points of view, meet and discuss with other people whose viewpoint may not agree with ours." And yet, when we attempted to exercise that right, we were accused of "factional activity" and "party-wrecking."

In our opinion, the responsibility for weakening and "wrecking" the party primarily rests upon those, especially in the leadership, who have stubbornly refused to break with the old ideas and methods of Stalinism continued in modified forms by Khrushchev and to review these in the light of a return to Leninism.

At the present time the members who remain are looking for the kind of program that can help them overcome the admitted weaknesses and errors and steer the party onto a correct course along socialist lines. We have both a right and a duty to participate in this work of reconstruction without bureaucratic interference, whether or not the ideas we have to contribute are acceptable at this point to a majority.

#### OPPOSE ELECTION POLICY

After the experience of Little Rock, we are even more firmly opposed to the policy of political class collaboration which gives support to Democratic Party candidates who are political agents of the ruling capitalist class and enemies of the struggle for Negro equality.

At the same time party leaders refuse to support Socialist candidates and even, as in the Flynn campaign in New York City, reject the aid offered. The failure to take a positive attitude toward the indicated regroupment of Left forces in this country only adds to the discredit and isolation of our party from other socialist forces.

Despite the latest maneuvers against us, we are continuing our efforts to become reintegrated with full rights. We know that many comrades in Los Angeles and elsewhere who do not necessarily agree with our views have expressed willingness to support these efforts.

Our case has more than a personal or local significance. It stands forth as a test of the guarantee of internal democracy written into the revised party constitution, of the possibilities of changing the harmful practices of the past, and permitting the advocacy of a Leninist program of militant class struggle.

C. H. J. H.  
B. D. B. D.  
W. P.

Copies to the Socialist and labor press.

For further information or additional copies of these letters write: Edward Davis, Box 132, Buena Park, Calif.

... defects which have been observed in children irradiated before birth include coordination defects, mongolism, skull malformations, cleft palate, club feet, genital deformities, and general mental and physical subnormality." ("Radiation — What It Is and How It Affects You," by Shubert and Lapp.)

## Calendar of Events

**CHICAGO**  
Eugene Feldman, editor, Southern Newsletter, formerly of Montgomery, Ala., and Winston-Salem. "A Southerner Speaks for Civil Rights." Friday, Feb. 28, at 8:15 P.M. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams.

**CLEVELAND**  
Saturday, Feb. 22, 8 P.M. Bert Deck, editorial board member Young Socialist, will speak on "Perspectives for Socialist Youth." Ausp.: Militant Forum, 10609 Superior.

**DETROIT**  
A. J. Muste, chairman, American Forum — For Socialist Education, will speak on "Sputniks, Missiles and World Peace." Thursday, Feb. 20, 8 P.M., Central Methodist Church, 23 E. Adams at Woodward.

**NEW YORK**  
Conrad Lynn, prominent Civil Liberties Attorney and fighter for Civil Rights, will speak on "The Political Future of the Negro People." Friday, Feb. 21, at 8 P.M. Ausp.: Militant Labor

# New Signs of Anti-War Sentiment

By Harry Ring

In Western Europe there has been for many years apparent popular pressure for an end to the cold war. In this country, however, most of the people have appeared, even if reluctantly, to accept the need for war preparations. But there are now significant symptoms of change of thinking among the American people.

Basing himself on Congressional reactions to President Eisenhower's State-of-the-Union message last month, the columnist Roscoe Drummond ventured a guess in the Jan. 12 N. Y. Herald Tribune that "the American people are far more eager to press negotiations with the Soviets than Secretary Dulles and some others in the Administration have believed."

Signs that Drummond was guessing right can be found in the labor press of the country. Thus Labor's Daily reprints an editorial from the Des Moines Register, which condemns as "dangerous" the "standing U. S. strategic objective" of the past decade — capability to destroy Russia."

Such expressions in Labor's Daily are significant considering that the top labor officialdom, whose wrath the paper must constantly look out for, has been howling over the years for giant arms expenditures and vigorous prosecution of the cold war. Only last month, we had the spectacle of United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther proclaiming the need to forego the shorter work week on the spurious ground of meeting a Sputnik "menace."

However, within the secondary leadership of Reuther's own union, voices are now being raised against the cold war. In the Jan. 24 issue of Searchlight, printed by Flint Chevrolet Local 659, Carl Johnson writes: "It is now becoming more and more obvious that

## A Growing Menace



the people of this country as well as the world want to see a world settlement that outlaws war. A world of peaceful coexistence and disarmament. It is no longer just the sentiment of labor which stands to gain most, but a section of the press that usually speaks for capital."

In the January issue of the paper of the Detroit Chrysler Local 212, an unsigned article hits sharply at the concept of a war economy as the means of avoiding depression and goes on to declare: ". . . the time has come when thoughtful and informed Americans would add their voices and support to rising world demands for an end to cold war and for an all-out campaign to utilize resources and know-how for

peace-time needs and improved living standards for people everywhere."

Among capitalist politicians, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), known to have a sensitive feel of the public pulse, is speaking out against the Dulles — in reality the bi-partisan — policy.

In a Feb. 4 speech in the Senate Humphrey proposed that negotiations for a halt to nuclear tests be separated from general disarmament negotiations — a stand opposed by the State Department because it wants to keep the tests going. Humphrey also criticized Washington's nine-point "first-step" disarmament package and said that progress could be made toward disarmament only if the nine points were negotiated one at a time.

What Humphrey had to say, however, can by no means be viewed as the expression of a "movement" in the Senate. According to the Feb. 10 I. F. Stone's Weekly, there was but one Republican and no more than a dozen Democrats in the chamber throughout his speech. Indeed, Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the N. Y. Times writes, Feb. 4, that "the old talk of preventive war — made sweet by another name, 'preventive retaliation' — has been heard again, though in muted tones, in Washington since the launching of the Soviet satellite."

Yet Humphrey is not totally isolated in his present stand. In the Feb. 8 Labor's Daily, Washington correspondent Al Toffler gives an extensive account of the stand taken by Rep. Stewart Udall (D-Ariz.) in opposition to the demand of top Democrats for an acceleration of the arms race. Udall declares: "The great advocates of the arms race are presenting a face of the Democratic party, which, if regarded as the face

of the party, would be very harmful to it."

Toftler reports that Udall is among a group of Democratic liberals in both houses . . . who favor a thorough reevaluation of United States foreign policy . . . . They are urging renewed emphasis on disarmament, foreign aid and technical assistance to underdeveloped nations, and a clearing away of cold war sloganry." At the same time he points out that this group "has no formal structure or fully articulated and accepted program." He lists five members in each house as associated with this loose, heterogeneous grouping.

These symptomatic expressions of crystallizing anti-war sentiment in the labor press, and its reflection in the stand of some politicians, must be closely observed by the socialist movement. They indicate a growing opportunity to win a wider hearing for a socialist peace program, one that offers concrete, meaningful alternatives to Wall Street's war drive.

213,000 pounds of fish was found to be dangerously radioactive by the Japanese government during six weeks of inspection after a U. S. test explosion of an H-bomb in the Pacific in 1954.

## 'Not by Bread Alone' — Socialist Novel

NOT BY BREAD ALONE. By Vladimir Dudintsev. 1957, 512 pages. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$4.95.

The press in the capitalist world got very excited about the Russian novel by Dudintsev. The pro-capitalist reviewers saw in this book a weapon in their propaganda war against the Soviet Union.

The owner of a great fortune fears only objective historic laws operating behind his back, creating depressions, wars, and for him, alas, revolutions. He feels above the laws of man for he makes those laws.

#### NO FEAR OF DEPRESSION

Again a vast difference exists in the popular attitude toward technical progress in the U. S. and the Soviet Union. In Dudintsev's novel there is no note of fear that this new and highly productive technique will bring economic disaster upon the workers or the economy.

#### ARDENT PROTESTS

Why? It is true that Dudintsev's book is an ardent protest against the bureaucrats who dominate Soviet life. His hero is Lopatkin, the lonely inventor, whose gift to the people of Russia, a revolutionary device for the production of pipes, is rejected by scheming officials who fear the new in their overriding preoccupation with self-advancement.

In the long run, will prove a good neutralizer of the hostile, anti-Soviet feeling the U. S. State Department hopes to create.

And why should it? Soviet economy is planned. Technical progress provides the material basis for future improved living standards and greater leisure. The American workers on the other hand, fear automation because of the destruction of jobs that it entails.

A good life cannot be led on "bread alone." But no life can exist without it. The American workers still find themselves occupied with the elementary question of the right to earn their bread, the right to a job instead of handouts.

What stands out most in *Not by Bread Alone* is the revolutionary heroism of the inventor Lopatkin. The American reader will be inspired by Lopatkin and the allies he finds among the Soviet workers and even within the officialdom. If Lopatkin dares to hurl defiance in the face of the rich and powerful, dare we do less?

#### WHAT WILL LOPATKIN'S VICTORY MEAN?

The American reader will ask himself the inevitable question: If this struggle for freedom is victorious, if the Lopatkins overcome their tormentors, if the genuine communists defeat the pretenders, if the "politicians," as Dudintsev calls them, throw out the bureaucrats, won't the Soviet workers have reached a far higher form of democracy than we know? The right to bread combined with the right to a free life, not for individual aggrandizement against society, but for social progress and a better life for all — isn't this what mankind is seeking?

Dudintsev's book shows a world in struggle. His heroes may not know the scientific, Marxist terms for that struggle and the relation between their fight and ours in the capitalist world. But they know the goal and they know it is worth fighting for. The book therefore, can only inspire its readers in the West to show their capacity to fight for freedom and the common good.

—Myra Tanner Weiss

In the latest Soviet version of the battle of Stalingrad during World War II, previous accounts crediting Stalin for the victory are specifically branded false. Credit is now given to Khrushchev. The commanding generals at Stalingrad, Marshals Vasilevsky and recently deposed Zhukov, are not even mentioned.

"The world has suddenly become a small sphere — too restricted in surface area for the 'safe' testing of super-bombs . . ." ("*What It Is and How It Affects You*," by Shubert and Lapp.)

## N. Thomas Kremlin Hurls Abuse, Anti-Semitism at Fast

The Soviet press on Jan. 31 achieved something of a record for vituperation, unmatched since the days of Stalin, in an attack on Howard Fast, the American author who recently resigned from the Communist Party.

The attack, unusual for its length, took up more than one full page in the normally four-page Literaturnaya Gazeta (Literary Gazette) of Moscow, and was replete with personal insults and anti-Semitic overtones.

Thomas writes that ". . . it would be disastrous for the United States, officially or unofficially, to seem to oppose approaches to Arab unity. We should be accused even more vehemently than we are today of practicing the old Roman maxim 'divide and govern.'

Thomas is confused with the "swindler," "opportunist," "savage," "deserter," "indecent," "immoral," "dishonest," "cheap," "cowardly," "dishonest" and "wall-eyed."

Though Fast attributes his

disillusionment with the Kremlin regime to the Khrushchev revelations and the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution, the Soviet article claims that the Jewish-born author's love of Israel was the real reason. Fast, it says, confused religion with Marxism and consequently "had never been a member of the party" in the true sense. He is said to be such a patriot for Israel that he resented the USSR's strong diplomatic opposition to Israel's invasion of Egypt in 1956. "Fast got indignant at the sharpness of the destruction of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, the slaughter of the Yiddish writers and the continuing refusal of the present Soviet regime either to rehabilitate the honor of the murdered writers or to permit cultural autonomy to Russian Jews."

The length and scurrility of the attack on Fast is explained by the fact that for over a decade he has been presented to the Soviet and East European peoples as America's leading writer. His books have tremendous popularity there and his defection from the CP undoubtedly stirred people there more than it did Americans. For seven months the Soviet press was silent on Fast's resignation. Delegates to the World Youth Conference in Moscow last summer, however, made the news known and the Soviet press was forced to mention it — in a restrained manner compared with this current blast.

For good measure the Soviet article accused Fast of selling out for capitalist gold and writing a "sour, eclectic hodgepodge" for profit.

The day after the article's appearance, Fast made a statement, which was broadcast to the Soviet Union by Radio Liberation, the U. S.-supported propaganda station. He branded the accusations as "lies" and suggested the vituperation reflected Kremlin concern with criticisms inside the Soviet Union similar to his.

While the capitalist press hailed Fast's resignation from the CP, as it hails any public defection from that party, some of the more reflective journals criticize Fast for not having attacked the Soviet Union or Marxism.

For example, the Christian Science Monitor's book review of *The Naked God* (Dec. 12, 1957) complained: ". . . Mr. Fast sees the enemy not in the system but in the party. He demands that the Communist Party in the form we know should cease to exist, which not only is an unrealistic proposal, as he himself admits, but strengthens the impression that he still believes in Marxism as a desirable end."

Reviewers in the capitalist press likened Dudintsev's hero, Lopatkin, to the "individualist" who spurns the "collective." Lopatkin combats the bureaucrat, but his objective is not the capitalist one of recognition and wealth as the reward of achievement. Lopatkin is ready to sacrifice his own material well-being for the dream of future well-being for the Russian workers.

Lopatkin's social consciousness is higher than the capitalist concept of human relations. He is motivated by the same selflessness as the revolutionary socialists in the capitalist world.

The American reader of Dudintsev's book will note another difference between Soviet and capitalist society. The Soviet bureaucrat is compelled to make a show of concern for the common good. The rich, in America and their retinue of servile corporation officials — who are bureaucrats too — don't have to pretend. They openly worship at the altar of the "individual" good (their own) while grinding masses of individuals into the dust.

Unlike the American capitalist, the Soviet bureaucrat is not secure in his privileges and wealth. He is not a private owner of productive enterprises, protected in his private property by the law. At any moment the ruthless scramble for position in a world where life is still hard can topple him off his throne and leave him empty-handed. He lives in loneliness and fear.

To hit the Tory Government where it hurts, the Labor movement will have to make sure that a London bus strike would be extended to other forms of public transport. This prospect no doubt terrifies Mr. Cousins and his colleagues; but if they want to win something more positive historical and emotional reasons for their members, they will have to fight to win, or else forfeit the confidence of their members.

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Monday, February 17, 1958

## Let the Government Do It?

By announcing his support to Eisenhower's proposal for a special federal agency to investigate unions, David Dubinsky has added momentum to the dangerous drive toward government regulation of the labor movement. The legislative proposal which Dubinsky said "satisfies me," would establish a Commissioner of Labor Reports and require unions to file reports on virtually every aspect of their activity and finances.

The proposed Commissioner would have the power to investigate these reports, to subpoena witnesses and records and to seek injunctions against violators of the report requirements. Criminal penalties and the loss of National Labor Relations Board status and tax-exemption rights are also to be used against unions or union officials who do not file reports acceptable to the proposed agency.

Under this sort of set up, unions would find it difficult if not impossible to keep organizational or strike plans out of the hands of the employers. An appointee of the president would be in a position to start a campaign of harassment against any union at any time.

When he first announced these proposals last December, Secretary of Labor

Mitchell said they were designed purely for the "protection of individual workers" against abuses by corrupt union officials. Dubinsky explained his support by saying that the unions do not have the facilities to investigate corruption adequately, and that the government must take on the job.

But the government, under both the Republicans and the Democrats is controlled by Big Business, and can be expected to utilize these powers to harass and intimidate unionists who undertake a fight against the corporations.

The rank-and-file union members already know from bitter daily experience where corruption exists in their unions. They know if they have to pay off or kick back to get a job. They know when the union officials listen to the boss rather than to the workers. They know how much dues they pay and what benefits they receive. Thus, all members are investigators of their own union. The encouragement of rank-and-file participation, criticism, freedom to organize opposition—this is the road to cleaning out corruption and bureaucracy from the unions. No outside agency—certainly not one controlled by the political agents of the employers—can accomplish this.

vestigation which would discover nothing and disturb nothing. It became hostile to Schwartz, set spies on him and "classified" some subcommittee files so that he could not see them. The stubborn professor in turn tried to force a bona-fide investigation by taking his case to the public. A secret subcommittee session was hurriedly called and he was fired.

In his parting blast the professor said: "I accuse the majority of this subcommittee . . . of joining an unholy alliance between Big Business and the White House to obtain a whitewash." The White House figures whose dealings with these agencies looked fishy to Schwartz include Sherman Adams (Assistant to the President), Sinclair Weeks (Sec'y of Commerce), Col. George Moore (Eisenhower's brother-in-law) and Thomas Dewey (GOP elder statesman).

The Democrats were equally anti-Schwartz. Possible clues are that Lyndon Johnson, Senate Majority leader holds big TV interests in Texas, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn's nephew is a FCC commissioner, Warren Magnuson (Wash.), chairman of the Senate committee with jurisdiction over the FCC, has TV holdings, as do at least eight other Democratic Senators and many representatives.

The capitalist politicians and Big Businessmen at first regarded the professor as a harmless egghead, then as a troublesome polecat, and now as a rattlesnake in cap and gown.

## A Stubborn Professor

The Washington politicians have been sadly disillusioned. The stereotyped idea of the college professor as an ineffectual visionary, whom practical politicians can use or abuse, and always outwit, has blown up in their faces.

Dr. Bernard Schwartz, a 34-year-old professor at New York University Law School, was retained by a Congressional subcommittee to make a routine investigation of independent government agencies. These agencies regulate, supposedly in the public interest, certain activities of free enterprise. That Big-Business interests have long ago made servants of them is old news. Yet their decisions involve tremendous profits for the corporations, so there is competition for their favors, which come at the public's expense in the form of higher gas and electric rates, railroad, bus and plane fares, etc., etc., ad infinitum.

After six months of looking into the federal agencies' activities Schwartz wanted to blow the lid off the situation. In horror a majority of the subcommittee—Republicans and Democrats united—said no. Schwartz persisted. He already had evidence, he pointed out, of steady bribery of members of the Federal Communications Commission by television and other corporations. (The FCC grants franchises for TV stations—many of them multi-million dollar plums.)

The subcommittee steadfastly refused to investigate what Schwartz had dug up, preferring rather an abstract general in-

vestigation which would discover nothing and disturb nothing. It became hostile to Schwartz, set spies on him and "classified" some subcommittee files so that he could not see them. The stubborn professor in turn tried to force a bona-fide investigation by taking his case to the public. A secret subcommittee session was hurriedly called and he was fired.

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## The New York School Crisis

Hysteria in the school system of New York City has aroused the deep concern of all who are genuinely concerned with public education. The officials in charge, the Board of Education, the Mayor, etc., threw up their hands in despair and decided to suspend from school 644 children who have been charged with delinquency.

Unable to cope with the unrest in the schools on the basis of reason, they decided to use force. They did not pretend to know the answer to the question how these suspended children should be taught, or where they should go or anything else. All they had to say was "get out."

Those who are much closer to the real problems of the City's school children protested in shock and dismay against the stand of the Board of Education. The American Civil Liberties Union pointed out that the elementary democratic rights of the children had been violated, that a presumption of guilt was based on a "mere charge," and that the sentences were "excessively harsh."

The New York Teachers Guild called suspensions "shocking evidence that the city has not provided schools which can meet the needs of our time." And the Teachers Union denounced the suspensions, saying, "the board has been stampeded into a step that is regressive, illegal and probably ineffectual."

The protests of the children involved and of many parents and teachers, of course, are justified. The children have been suspended—found guilty—without trial or hearing. They are punished and told the burden of proof of innocence rests with them. No adult American would take this denial of democratic rights in silence.

Yet the children have been subjected to this unjust treatment—and by those in charge of educating the youth in the "ways of democratic life." Lesson number one from the Board of Education is the instruction to submit to orders—never mind justice.

On top of this is the fact that the Board of Education has collapsed in the face of the difficult problems of the youth. They acted without advancing any solution to these problems. Lesson number two: If a problem is difficult, just drop it.

The children involved are charged with violence or "insubordination." But what has the Board of Education done? Has it not committed violence? All the power of enforcing school rules is in their hands. They use that power to force the accused youth out of school.

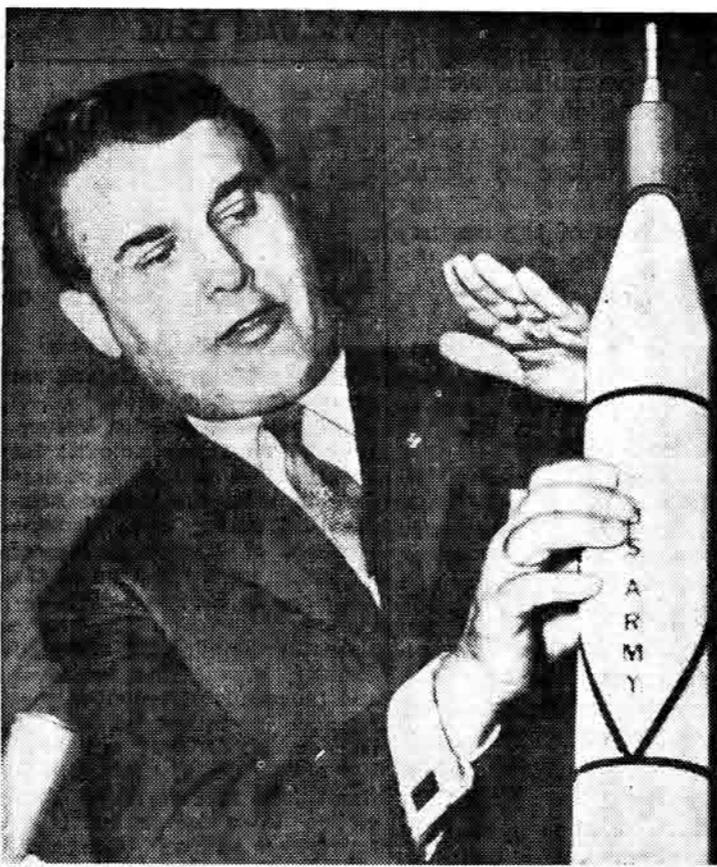
But the violence of the Board of Education undoubtedly will not surprise the 644 students who have been kicked out of their classes. Violence in the adult world is not a novelty. Since these high and junior-high-school students have come into the world there has not been a single year of peace.

Most of them were born in the Second World War. Eight years ago they saw the older boys go off to die in Korea. They saw the U.S. pile up atom bombs, and other instruments of death while schools deteriorated and teachers were denied decent pay. They looked into the future and had to anticipate two years in the Army, a concentrated training in violence.

Under these circumstances, people should be surprised, not at the extent of unruliness in the schools, but that it has affected so few.

# U.S. and Soviet Education — A Comparison

## Why They Worry About Education



Dr. Wernher Von Braun, former German rocket expert who designed the U.S. earth satellite Explorer. It was the successful launching of an earth satellite by the Soviets ahead of the U.S. that focused world-wide attention on a comparison of scientific development in the respective countries and on the respective educational systems.

where such a program of secondary education has been the rule for many decades. The Prussian gymnasium, where students prepared for the university, was noted for its intensive academic standards and Spartan-like discipline. Czarist schools were copied from the German system, and laid the basis for present Soviet secondary education — with one major difference. In the Soviet Union this system has been applied on a mass scale rather than being restricted to a thin upper stratum of the population.

Approximately 80,000 engineers per year are graduated in the USSR compared with 30,000 in the United States. The difference in quality of education is perhaps more striking than the difference in numbers of students. The Soviet secondary school graduate has studied physics and biology for five years, chemistry for four, and mathematics for ten years. Algebra and geometry are started in the sixth grade going on to trigonometry and calculus in the ninth and tenth. Although trigonometry is offered in U.S. high schools, only one graduate in seven has taken it; one in four takes a single course in physics, and one in three studies chemistry.

Forty percent of Soviet secondary pupils and 65% of students in advanced schools study English. It is doubtful if Russian is offered in any high school in the U.S., and few university students study Russian. The entire school system in the U.S. is noted for its poor training in all foreign languages.

### ROUNDED EDUCATION

It would be a mistake to assume that the Soviet system of education is geared to produce only scientific automatons. Mrs. Lowman says: "Actually, Russian students are given just as good a foundation in history and literature, for example, as in science and mathematics."

On the other hand, it would be a greater mistake to conclude that socialism has been established in the Soviet schools. For instance, the history which is so carefully studied has been just as carefully written to fit the needs of the ruling bureaucratic caste.

The breadth and intensity of secondary education in the USSR may seem surprising in the U.S., but it would not appear so in Germany or France.

This has by no means always been the case in the USSR. In fact, during the war years and afterwards, the Soviet bureaucracy instituted a reactionary educational policy banning co-education and charging tuition fees in advanced institutions.

In this way, only students from

the families of the privileged strata of the population could afford advanced education. This tended to increase the caste-like character of the government, party and military bureaucracy. The ban on co-education was designed to facilitate military training. The process results in widening the

TEACHER'S PAY

Compared to U.S. teachers, those in advanced Soviet institutions are relatively well paid and have a far higher degree of social prestige. In addition, an advanced teacher's or researcher's salary is three times that of a factory worker. The system thus uses the drive of self-interest and personal advancement to produce an intensive competition among the youth to enter intellectual fields and reap the economic and prestige rewards. This process results in widening the

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yet recuperated from the 1954 recession now find themselves out of work again.

Often people are not inclined to sign merely because we tell them who the Socialist Workers Party is, and technical information about signatures to get on the ballot. They want to know what the party stands for — its program for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, for a big public works program, for peace, and so on. Only after hearing specific objectives of socialists to meet the problems we face, does the signature come.

### NEW THINKING

There's a general feeling that something must be done, especially about unemployment. And nobody likes Eisenhower's position that things will improve in the spring — or summer — maybe. I have a very definite impression that people are thinking and questioning in a new way today: Why can't we have a system where employment is assured? What's wrong with a system where you have joblessness and inflation at the same time? What's the

The recital of the predictable effects of fall-out must sound like a never-ending chamber of horrors." ("Radiation — What It Is and How It Affects You," by Shubert and Lapp.)

From February to March 10 the Sudan will hold the first elections since that African country obtained its independence two years ago.

Leukemia rates ten or more times the normal rate have been observed in the Japanese survivors of atomic bombing . . ." ("Radiation — What It Is and How It Affects You," by Shubert and Lapp.)

social gap between manual and intellectual work.

The higher salaries are not merely designed as incentive, but also to tie the teacher to the bureaucracy. This is coupled with a police and spy system to further insure the loyalty of both teacher and student. The curricula in the social sciences are rigidly controlled and texts carefully selected and edited.

In the report issued by the U.S. government, the major criticism of the Soviet school system is the lack of freedom of inquiry by student and teacher in matters affecting the Kremlin rulers. In view of the system of wholesale witch hunts and loyalty oaths in American schools, it is something of an accomplishment for U.S. officials to have kept a straight face while making this criticism.

Fundamentally, the great achievements of Soviet education have been possible because a nationalized economy permits such development on the basis of an over-all planning. This is true despite the distortions and mishandling of scientific work introduced by the bureaucracy. For instance, genetics only now is being permitted to re-emerge as a science in the USSR after its disastrous experience under Stalin's favorite, Lysenko. The social sciences remain stultified because truthful teaching and investigation in this field would endanger

### PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

Even a poorly conceived and executed plan is infinitely superior to the pitiful anarchy in higher education in the United States. Eighteen months ago, President Eisenhower appointed a Committee on Education Beyond High School. After spending \$350,000 investigating the situation, the committee issued a final report shortly before the report on Soviet education. Comparing the two reports is indeed a study in contrasts.

The teacher's salary situation in the U.S. was found to be so critical, that the report recommended an immediate blanket increase of 50% for all college professors and instruc-

tors. In shocked tones, the report found that college teachers in many cases earn no more than factory workers.

(The recommendation to grant college teachers incomes sufficient to live on is certainly commendable. A similar recommendation for factory workers would not be out of line either — to say nothing of increases for grade school teachers, who in most cases make less than factory workers.)

In seeking ways to increase college teachers' salaries, the committee ran into the problem of private financing common to most universities and colleges. The proposed increase would cost \$800 million a year, which is more than all donations from individual and corporations to all colleges.

### WANTS HIGHER TUITION

In an interview, committee chairman Devereux Joseph proposed to solve the problem by tremendous increases in tuition charges. He declared that tuition fees of \$1,500 per year do not seem out of line. Parents should finance this cost on a long-term basis, borrowing the funds if necessary. He further proposed fewer scholarships and more loans to students to be repaid after graduation.

The report and interview demonstrate the double dilemma of education under capitalism. Private financing provides insufficient funds — even for adequate teachers' salaries, let alone expansion of facilities to keep up with new technology or the educational needs of the youth. On the other hand, while the vast majority of American youth are excluded from higher education because of high costs, the only proposal is to make costs to students even higher. It is little wonder that such a system has been outstripped by a planned economy, which can not only provide education but utilize it in production. In a N.Y. Times review of Alexander Korol's new book, Soviet Education for Science and Technology, the open admission is made that if as many engineers were graduated in the U.S. as in the USSR, half of them would remain unemployed.

### ... Jack Wright Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

Seattle is unfavorable to effective political action by the people it is not hopeless," said People's World in referring to the five. "From the large field of council candidates there are those, who under different circumstances could be the candidates of a coalition powerful enough to challenge the Big Business ticket."

The climax on Jack Wright's campaign came on Feb. 8, when he reopened Seattle's famous free-speech corner at Washington and Occidental Streets with an open-air election rally. About 150 workers stood in Seattle's famous drizzling rain for over an hour to listen to the message of Socialism.

The rally opened with a group of working class songs in vivid contrast to the routine of Salvation Army music which has been the only entertainment on Seattle streets for many years.

Both the audience and the speakers reflected the growing feeling of solidarity among radical workers here which has been greatly stimulated by the election campaign. Several members and supporters of the Communist Party who have never made any bones about their disagreement with the Socialist Workers Party demonstrated their solidarity with the campaign and the rally not only by their attendance but by their invaluable assistance in the afternoon preparations for the meeting. One well-known CP member was a speaker at the rally.

Earlier in the week Wright addressed the regular meeting of Local 19 of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. The hall was packed with about 500 longshoremen. He spoke on the unanimous recommendation of the local's executive board.

During the course of the campaign, Wright spoke to more than 30 organizations, including 25 union locals.

### ADDRESSES UNION

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### LOS ANGELES DINNER MEETING

Speakers:

Vincent R. Hallinan

1952 Progressive Party Presidential Candidate

James P. Cannon

National Chairman, Socialist Workers Party

Topic:

&lt;p

## The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

Negro History, celebrated this week, is an expanding, not a static subject. Just from recent events consider the new chapters that will have to be written into the books. The chapters of brutality and horror of the Emmett Till case and the mighty roar of protest that went up from the Negro people and their allies. The Autherine Lucy story and the Montgomery and Tallahassee bus boycotts. The havoc that the pressure of the Negro people brought to the plans of Democrats and Republicans to keep the civil rights question out of national politics and off the floor of Congress. And finally the heroic chapter that is still being acted out by the Negro children in Little Rock's Central High School.

The quintessence of history is struggle—man's struggle upward against the limiting and hostile forces of nature and against outgrown, limiting and reactionary social systems. This is especially striking as one studies Negro history. From the days when early capitalism, seeking labor for plantations in the New World, began the wholesale kidnaping of Africans the record was primarily that of struggle—on the slave ships and on the plantations. The means were whatever circumstances made possible—shipboard mutiny, sabotage, escape and open revolt. The Negro people in the U.S. added to these forms of struggle the underground railway, abolitionist agitation, the Negro

soldiers, spies, couriers and nurses in the Union Army. Then came the political and physical struggle for democracy in the South during Reconstruction. Next a long bitter rearguard action to preserve some of the gains of emancipation after the betrayal of Reconstruction by Northern capitalism.

Shortly after the turn of the century this finally gave way to the phase of the struggle in which we live—the mounting of the offensive for full political, economic and social equality.

When that has been completely achieved the history of the Negro people in the U.S. as a separate subject will stop expanding. Negro history will be written and studied only as a glorious page from the past. For then American history will develop as the history of mankind in America. The particular oppression and injustices to which the Negro people were subjected and which made them engage in their struggle will have vanished.

So too will that writing of "history" by white American scholars which from prejudice or ignorance maligned, distorted or ignored the role of the Negro in American life and culture. It was such "history" that impelled Negro scholars like Woodson and DuBois to develop Negro History. In that they and their successors have made a proud and potent contribution to their people's struggle and to the white workers as well.

## Notes from the News

**THE ARMY CAN DO NO WRONG.** Recently, the case of John Harmon, who is fighting to win an honorable discharge from the Army with the help of the ACLU, was heard before the Supreme Court. The court was stunned when Justice Department attorney, MacGuineas, candidly admitted that the army had no right to grant less than honorable discharges because of activities carried out before induction. "Are you confessing error?" MacGuineas was asked. "No," he answered, and explained that the department felt civil courts couldn't touch the military decisions. Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. said: "You mean you're wrong, but the courts can't do anything about it." MacGuineas answered simply, "That's right."

**HARRY S. TRUMAN vs. HARRY S. TRUMAN.** In an article dealing with the current recession in the Feb. 10 N.Y. Times, former President Truman stated: "There are those who have been saying that a little recession is a good thing for the health of our economy. They would like you to believe that a temporary curb on prosperity is the way to halt runaway inflation. This kind of thinking is like believing a little bit of war might be beneficial." Back in 1950, President Truman had a different opinion. On Feb. 15, 1950 in an interview with Arthur Krock in the N.Y. Times he made this eye-opening statement: "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a

## Briton Tells U.S. Labor 2 Parties Here Look Alike

By Susan Scott

CLEVELAND—America's two political parties, when viewed from the far side of the Atlantic, tend to acquire a certain sameness "and it is rather difficult at times to distinguish one from the other," reported James Avery Joyce of the British Labor Party speaking on what the world expects of American labor to some 600 trade unionists attending the fourth annual Joint Labor Conference at the Carter Hotel in Cleveland on Feb. 8 and 9.

"American economics needs a new, fresh approach that only labor, with its wealth of vitality and brains can provide," said Mr. Joyce, professor of economics at London University and former staff member of the International Labor Organization. "It is up to labor in the United States to provide leadership in economic and social planning. Unless the labor movement gives that leadership it is not likely to come from politics outside the labor movement," he added.

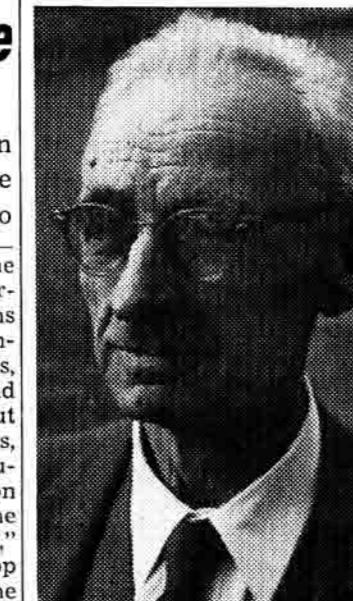
Pointing to the Russian sputnik as a great scientific development, he declared that "in Britain we didn't really care who got up the first sputnik. To Europe it meant a step toward world peace. We were amazed and shocked to discover that the United States made a military contest of the event."

The program of the two-day conference on "Challenges to Labor in 1958," sponsored by Cleveland area AFL-CIO unions,

**New York**  
CONRAD LYNN  
Noted civil liberties attorney and fighter for civil rights  
speaks on  
"The Political Future Of the Negro People"  
Friday, Feb. 21-8 P.M.  
116 University Place  
Donation \$1  
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum

When the White Citizens Council arranged to hold its meetings in Carpenters Hall in Birmingham, Ala., the labor council decided not to hold any union meetings there.

### Speaks in Mich.



### Detroit-Area Forum To Hear A. J. Muste

A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Detroit-Area Forum — For Socialist Education, will speak on "Sputniks, Missiles and World Peace" at Woodward, near Detroit, on Thursday, Feb. 20, 8 P.M. The forum will be held at Central Methodist Church, 23 E. Adams. Admission is free.

The unexpectedly large attendance and active participation, particularly of rank-and-filers, at all sessions of the Conference during the worst snow storm of the year, indicated deep concern over layoffs, repressive legislation and other issues confronting American workers. Despite the absence of action proposals, remarks from the speaker's table and the floor repeatedly pointed to the failure of American business and government to solve these problems and the responsibility of the labor movement to find the answers.

The forum will be based on the principle of non-exclusion allowing an open democratic platform to all who commit themselves to a free exchange of views in an honest spirit of inquiry.

Between 1951 and 1956 the federal government gave \$192,585,000 for construction and operation of segregated schools in the Deep South. They are twice as severe in handing out punishments to the Negro children involved in racial incidents as with the anti-Negro aggressors.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXIII

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1958

NUMBER 7

## He Fights for 1st Amendment Case of John T. Gojack Affects Freedom of All

By Myra Tanner Weiss

FEB. 8—John T. Gojack sat across the desk from me. I knew something of his history. He was an active unionist for 20 years. He was an organizer for the U.E., the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. Most of his union work has been in the Midwest, in Indiana and Michigan.

Another witch-hunt victim, I thought, among the hundreds and thousands of unionists persecuted in recent years. He faces a nine-month jail term and a \$200 fine if the Supreme Court fails to reverse his conviction in a lower court on "contempt of Congress."

But I soon learned Mr. Gojack is not a victim of the witch hunt at all. One of these days the witch hunt will be his "victim." For he is one of many American workers who decided to fight for political

freedom and consciously took the risk of prison to win it. He opened the door to the contempt charge because he believes in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and wants to fight for its preservation.

"I and many others could have taken the Fifth Amendment when the House Un-American Committee started asking questions about our political views and associations," Mr. Gojack explained.

"Many others have. And the courts have backed their legal right to protection under the Fifth. But these Congressional Committees have no right to ask such questions in the first place. That is the issue that has to be fought out. Their inquisitorial proceedings constitute an invasion of individual freedom."

To make his point clear Mr. Gojack produced a copy of the First Amendment. The language

is clear and familiar. "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances," said our forefathers, the framers of the U.S. Constitution.

"This is the cornerstone of political freedom in the United States," Mr. Gojack pointed out. "Without this amendment in the Bill of Rights there can be no talk of democracy. A union lawyer who has the job of defending the right of the workers to picket, to strike or organize must refer to the rights guaranteed us in the First Amendment."

### FREEDOM VIOLATED

"Actually," Mr. Gojack continued, "Congress is guilty of contempt for the American people. The Un-American Activities Committee, by probing into matters of conscience, violates the freedom of the individual. Congress is not free to legislate as it pleases. It is a subordinate power—subordinate to the people which is constituted as sovereign. The Bill of Rights clearly prohibits Congress from interfering with the free exercise of political liberty."

There sat Mr. Gojack, a man who spent most of his life in the trade union movement—on picket lines, grievance committees and as a negotiator. Obviously he liked working for the labor movement. He didn't choose a legal profession. Yet he has been forced to learn about matters of law as if he were preparing for an entirely new career.

What has happened in America that compels a man like this to familiarize himself with the intricacies of law? The change that was forced in the life of Mr. Gojack is a change that has taken place in the lives of many. The explanation isn't hard to find.

The labor movement in this country won its right to exist in the great struggles of the 1930's. The bosses were thoroughly defeated on the picket lines. So they opened a new offensive against the union movement. They attacked with anti-labor laws. The Smith Act, the Taft-Hartley Act and all the witch-hunting Congressional Committees forced thousands of militant trade-union fighters out of the struggle for better wages and working conditions and into the courts to defend rights long ago won and deemed secure.

"That's why the District Court of Appeals in Washington, Jan. 16, returned the case of Lloyd Barenblatt to the Supreme Court. The Appeals judges in a 5-4 decision pointed out that the high court had not made it clear that Congress had exceeded its power."

"Where does your case stand now?" I asked.

### NEEDS BACKING

"It is due to come before the Court of Appeals in Washington soon," he replied. "But a fight like this takes money. It needs the moral and financial support of the labor movement and all others who will help defend political freedom in this country."

Mr. Gojack spoke of the many times he had fought for



JOHN T. GOJACK

select their collective bargaining agent. Just before the elections the House Un-American Activities Committee appeared on the scene and gave me a subpoena to appear before it and answer questions. Their purpose was clear. Newspaper publicity around the hearings, it was hoped, would influence the union elections.

### REFUSED TO COOPERATE

"Naturally," Gojack continued, "they asked about my political affiliations and associations. I referred them to the non-Communist affidavits I had signed under the Taft-Hartley Act which had never been challenged. But I refused to cooperate further with the committee on the ground that it was violating my constitutional rights guaranteed under the First Amendment.

"Many people think the First Amendment has already been upheld by the Supreme Court decision last June," Gojack pointed out. "Actually the Court made a devastating attack on the activities of the Un-American Committee and its Senate counterpart. But its actual decision rested pretty much on a technicality.

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Mr. Gojack spoke of the many times he had fought for

the civil liberties of others when he was in a position to do so as a union leader. "But many failed to even reply when my fight began," he said.

"Then how are you getting the money for all your legal and publicity needs?" I asked.

"Most of the established civil liberties committees are already overburdened with demands for help in other cases," he replied. "Except for a modest contribution from the Detroit Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, all the funds so far have come from individual workers. Some of my fellow-unionists and I set up the Gojack Defense Committee. We have asked that help be sent in the name of this committee to P.O. Box 751, Fort Wayne, Indiana. I would appreciate it very much if you would let your Militant readers know about this fight. I'm sure they would want to help."

Then he added, "New Yorkers can help in an additional way. We are going to have a meeting on the test cases in the fight for the First Amendment on Feb. 28 at the Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57 Street (at Seventh Ave.) Ring Lardner, Jr., will chair the meeting. I. F. Stone, Dr. Otto Nathan and Frank J. Donner will speak. Those who turn out for this meeting—and we hope there will be many—will be contributing to the defense of the First Amendment. (See ad on this page.)

After the discussion with John Gojack concluded, I sat for awhile thinking about the labor movement and the many years he had contributed to its struggle. It is well-known that in every union and every industry there are militant workers who take the lead in the fight for better wages and working conditions. There are others who move more slowly—with caution. And still others, fortunately a minority, who are reluctant to move at all.

Nevertheless, all enjoy the benefits that are won from the struggle. It is similar with the fight for democracy. There are some who step out boldly, conscious of their rights and incapable of yielding when they are in jeopardy. John Gojack is such a man. It is he who risks his own freedom because he believes in freedom for all.

But everyone will enjoy the fruit of his victory if he wins. It is up to us to make sure he does.

A poll of the white student body at Emory University School of Theology in Atlanta, Georgia, showed over 75% favoring admission of Negro students and 60% expressing readiness to have Negro roommates.

## ... No Public Schools Integrated this Term

(Continued from Page 1)  
redoubled propaganda campaign of the Deep South politicians and newspapers.

This sequence of events undoubtedly accounts for the failure of any schools to desegregate at midyear and may also explain the reversal of the Dallas court-ordered integration in Dallas.

### EFFECT ON NINE

One thing that is certain is that it has had a disastrous effect on the position of the nine Negro children in Little Rock's Central High School. There, a small core of racist students, egged on by racist parents and encouraged by the school, have been the ones most likely to have so-called "Little Rock" legislation.

They make life miserable for the Negro students. They follow them through the corridors, shouting "nigger" and other insults at them. They trip, hit, and kick them. Those white students who at first were inclined to display friendliness to their Negro classmates have been intimidated.

The school authorities, sensing which way the wind is blowing, not only in Little Rock but in Washington, are trying to appease the racists. They are twice as severe in handing out punishments to the Negro children involved in racial incidents as with the anti-Negro aggressors.

They have told the Negro children that they must submit without back talk or retaliation to the insults and blows of their persecutors. One Negro student, Minnie Jean Brown, has become the especial target of the racists and has twice been suspended for refusing to be a passive victim.

Faubus and the WCC elements hope to drive the Negro students out of Central High. They have before them the example of Harding High School in Charlotte, N. C. One of the eleven Negro children integrated in North Carolina, Dorothy Counts, was assigned to that school. The only Negro in the school, she was subjected to cruel persecution and finally had to withdraw. In the hope of a similar result, the Arkansas racists are subjecting the Negro children in Central High to a daily Calvary while the Pontius Pilates of Washington, D. C., and the Little Rock school board wash their hands of the matter.

### NEW LAWSUITS

The only bright spots on the desegregation horizon are the filing of lawsuits by Negro parents in Atlanta, Ga., and Birmingham, Ala. How far and how fast these cases will go is still a question. There seems little likelihood, what with "all deliberate speed" added onto the usual slowness of the courts that they will be even near decision by the beginning of school next year.

In Washington both big-business parties are combining to give a definite chill to civil rights hopes. Eisenhower did not mention the subject in his speeches to Congress. Speaking for the administration, however, Attorney General Wm. P. Rogers, has declared that no new civil rights legislation was wanted now from Congress, but rather a "cooling off" period. In addition the highly-touted Civil Rights Commission set up under last year's compromise civil rights law, has not yet got off the ground.

Former Supreme Court Justice Stanley F. Reed, its chairman, resigned when it became apparent that the commission would be a target for smear attacks by Southern politicians if it reported anything displeasing to them. To bring the commission back to its legal six-man size, Eisenhower appointed an avowed segregationist, Doyle E. Carlton, a former governor of Florida. Thus the committee is evenly split—three avowed Southern segregationists and three members believed opposed, to one degree or another, to segregation.

To add an advance note of futility to the commission, the administration has not yet been able to decide upon a suitable appointee for its staff director. The prime qualification of the appointee apparently has to be that he never in his life went on record, pro or con, on the question of civil rights. Because no director has been appointed, the Southern-dominated House Appropriations Committee has generally refused to vote the commission any funds whatsoever.

Though a handful of Democratic liberals are joining in a bi-partisan move to throw some civil rights proposals into the hopper, this is intended solely as a move to "make the record" for the coming election campaign. These proposed bills will be pigeon-holed unless great pressure from the Negro people and the labor movement should develop during this session of Congress. For the Democratic Party leadership has clearly indicated that it wants no civil rights issue on the floor of Congress.

This was underlined by the action of the Democratic Party Advisory Council, the body set up by the Democratic liberals as a propaganda counterweight to the real power in the party—the Southern-dominated machine in the House and Senate. The liberal Advisory Council's recent policy statement was so lukewarm on civil rights that the Democratic New York Post

was impelled to remark editorially: "The only thing wrong with this piety is that it ducks the crucial issues: the bi-partisan agreement among the congressional leaders—blessed by the White House—to bury all discussion of civil rights. No reference to the general stall in Washington appeared anywhere in the statement."

To complete the Washington picture, it should be noted that Democratic Party National Committee Chairman Paul Butler appointed as the party's Southern representative Sam Wilhite of Mississippi, a confirmed segregationist.

Southern Democrats have the all-important chairmanships of 19 of 34 committees in Congress; eight of 15 in the Senate; 11 of 19 in the House; and Senate majority leader John Johnson and Speaker of the House Rayburn are both from Texas.

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