

## WHAT IS NASSERISM?

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### Await Little Rock Decision



Thelma Mothershed, one of the heroic Little Rock student fighters for integration, and her mother study a photograph of Eisenhower and Arkansas Gov. Faubus. The Little Rock students are now awaiting a Supreme Court decision on their future.

## Faubus Set to Defy Court on Integration

By George Lavan

With Gov. Faubus of Arkansas openly preparing defiance, and Southern Democratic officials and press issuing threats, the U.S. Supreme Court on Sept. 11 will resume its hearing of the Little Rock School Board's appeal for a two-and-a-half year suspension of integration. The Court is expected to give its verdict within a day or two, for Central High opens Sept. 15.

### PRESSURE

The fulminations of Faubus and the Southern governors are having an obvious effect on Big Business political and editorial circles in the North. The aim is to pressure the Court into a retreat which, for all practical purposes, would nullify its school desegregation decision of 1954. Failing this, Faubus and company intend to defy the ruling. They well realize the Court has no enforcement power and that the Eisenhower administration has no liking for integration and will do the least possible to enforce a pro-integration court ruling.

On the basis of immunity last year from federal prosecution, Faubus is now making

such boasts as this: "I will resist any federal force interfering with the affairs of any school in my state."

Great pressure is being exerted on the high court. The racists have made a united front with northern reactionaries and witch hunters in pressing for legislation to curb the Court. Attacks on it come regularly from such bodies as the national association of state judges and state attorneys general. Many Big Business newspapers, magazines and columnists in the North have succumbed and are now urging abandonment of integration or a "cooling-off period." Other papers, still giving lip-service to desegregation, display a marked drop in ardor for it. Between their lines can be read the dread of another Little Rock struggle and their yearning for "relief" from the violence that

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## Rev. King Wins Place on Ballot Despite Challenge by Democrats

CHICAGO, Aug. 30 — The United Socialist Campaign to elect Rev. Joseph P. King to Congress from the Second District won a resounding victory yesterday when the Board of Election Commissioners upheld his right to a place on the ballot.

In a desperate attempt to keep King off the ballot, the machine of incumbent Democratic Congressman Barratt O'Hara had earlier instigated two challenges of King's nominating petition as being permeated with "fraud." Unable to substantiate this crude charge at the official hearings, the challengers tried to whip up a red-baiting atmosphere. But Rev. King's case was so strong that, despite its two-to-one domination by Democrats, the election board had no choice but to rule in favor of the socialist candidate. His campaign committee had filed some 3,500 more signatures than legally required.

### FIRST HINT

The tipoff on the move to deprive King of a ballot place came Aug. 20 when the Chicago Tribune reported: "The Rev. King filed about 12,000 signatures instead of the minimum 8,413, but supporters of Rep. Barratt O'Hara... said examination convinced them that penmen had tricked the Rev. Mr. King by forging numerous signatures."

Agents of liberal Democrat O'Hara immediately began the



REV. JOSEPH P. KING

process by which the validity of Rev. King's petitions was challenged before the Board of Election Commissioners. For years, independent opponents of O'Hara have been ruled off the ballot on technicalities.

At the hearings, Rev. King was represented by F. Raymond Marks, Jr., and Frederick Houghteling of the American Civil Liberties Union. An attorney named Dowd represented the forces trying to throw King off the ballot. Dowd brought in a handwriting expert, who under cross examination admitted he had had only four or five hours in which

to look at King's nominating petitions, and that, as a matter of fact, he had examined only 150 sheets out of the total 508. He asserted that in his opinion "200 to 225 names" were "couplets" or, in a few cases, "triplets," where apparently the names of a husband and wife, or the names of three persons in the same household, had been entered by one person.

No effort was made by the O'Hara forces to bring to the hearing, voluntarily or by subpoena, those voters whose signatures they were contesting. Even if these charges of the hired expert could be proved to be true in the small number of cases alleged — at most it was claimed that 100 husbands or wives signed for one another — it would in no way justify the wild charge of "forgery and fraud" which the O'Hara machine spread in the press.

### KING ON STAND

Early in the hearing Dowd called Rev. King to the stand and put to him questions implying that he was or had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party. King replied that he belonged to no party. The ACLU attorneys, Marks and Houghteling, objected to Dowd's line of questioning and were upheld by the Board of Election Commissioners.

Again, at the very end of the hearing, Dowd, seeking to bolster his case with some

witch-hunting, demanded that Howard Mayhew, Chicago Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, who was in the audience, be put on the stand. Mayhew was sworn, gave his name and address. Dowd then asked if he was a sponsor and backer of King's candidacy. Mayhew responded with an emphatic yes. In rapid succession, Dowd then demanded if he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a communist. The attorneys for Rev. King objected to this line of questioning as immaterial and irrelevant. The objection was upheld and the SWP organizer was excused from further interrogation.

### DIDN'T SPECIFY

Illinois election law requires that any objection brought against a candidate's petitions "shall state fully the nature of the objections to the nomination papers." The objectors to King's petitions, however, did not make a specific objection to a single signature in their original challenge.

The ACLU attorneys therefore presented a motion on King's behalf to dismiss the challenge because it did not comply with the Illinois Election Code. The Board took this motion under advisement and eight days later dismissed the challenge.

Elated by their victory, the supporters of Rev. King are now ready to conduct a whirlwind campaign.

## Pleas for Jim Wilson Voiced in 100 Lands

By Gordon Bailey

Protests are pouring in from all over the world to Montgomery, Alabama, demanding that the execution of Negro handyman, Jimmy Wilson, for an alleged theft of \$1.95, be prevented. Telegrams and letters from over 100 countries have been received by Governor Folsom of Alabama. Of over 1,000 letters and 109 telegrams received up to Sept. 2, only five — from the U.S. — did not denounce the savage sentence.

Wilson's execution was scheduled for Sept. 5, but Alabama spokesmen publicly state that a brief stay of execution is virtually automatic. This is because the State Supreme Court must first hear an appeal from Wilson which is still pending. Should the court, which has a session on Sept. 4, rule against Wilson on that day, it has promised a delay of execution long enough to permit Wilson to appeal to the Governor for clemency. Gov. Folsom has declared he will not act on any appeal for executive clemency before the State Supreme Court has acted.

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### JIM CROW JUSTICE

A wave of indignation and horror at the sentence is surging around the globe. Executing a man for theft impresses Europeans as a throwback to earlier centuries when people were hanged for sheep-stealing and similar petty crimes. That Alabama has electrocuted only Negroes for theft has exposed to the whole world the Jim Crow nature of American justice.

In the Hague, Holland, the Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists, cabled Gov. Folsom to grant clemency, pointing to "world legal concern regarding the Wilson case." The Federal Government of the British West Indies has asked the British Ambassador in Washington to protest Wilson's sentence. The Daily Gleaner of Jamaica describes the Wilson sentence as a "macabre anachronism."

In Brazil, 1,800 signed petitions for Wilson's life. In Brit-

ain, Mrs. Bessie Braddock, a Labor Party Member of Parliament, wired U.S. Ambassador Whitney that Wilson's execution would "outrage the civilized world and weaken NATO alliances." President Eisenhower was asked to "intervene to prevent this injustice" by a British group headed by Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

In London, West Indian students demonstrated before the U.S. Embassy with placards reading, "America, the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave, Is to Execute a Negro for Stealing 14 Shillings," and "Why Worry About Lebanon? Why Not Put Alabama Right?"

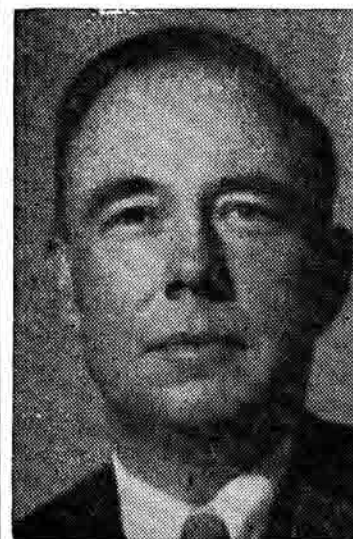
In West Germany the newspaper Der Mittag of Dueseldorf told its readers: "The situation in the Southern states is such that a colored farm worker, who cannot read or write, can be sentenced to death because of \$2.00. This case shows how bad the equality of the races fares in the Southern states."

### BUFFALO PETITIONS

In the U.S. great pressure is being generated by groups and individuals. Outstanding is the "Save Jimmy Wilson Committee" in Buffalo which has collected clemency petitions from 5,000 people in that city and persuaded city and state officials to wire Folsom.

In Detroit, Socialist Workers Party candidates, Evelyn Sell, Frank Lovell and Larry Dolinsky, sent appeals to Folsom and urged their opponents in the Michigan elections to do likewise.

Meanwhile further doubt about Wilson's guilt is raised by a N.Y. Post story from Alabama revealing that the 82-year old white woman who accused Wilson of stealing \$1.95, had been unable to recognize him in the courtroom although he was but a few feet away.



Dr. Corliss Lamont (top), United Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator from New York, and John T. McManus, candidate for Governor of New York.

## N. Y. Ticket Nears Goal On Petitions

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Sept. 3 — Organized labor "once again received a rude kick in the teeth" at the Democratic state convention, declared John T. McManus, United Independent-Socialist candidate for Governor, as he formally accepted nomination tonight at a rally of campaign workers. "The De Sapo machine," he said, "scarcely deigned to conceal its utter contempt for labor's demands and proposals."

The rally also heard acceptance speeches by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lt. Governor, and Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller, and messages of acceptance from Dr. Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator, and Scott K. Gray, candidate for Attorney General.

The campaign workers listened intently to a report on the status of the nominating petition drive, now in its last week, from Muriel McAvoy, chairman of the petition campaign committee.

### 200 PER CENT

"I'm proud and happy to say we have doubly fulfilled the requirements to get on the ballot," she reported. With 12,000 signatures required, including a minimum of 50 from each county, a total of 23,564 had been gathered before the meeting opened. Calling on the campaigners to continue collecting signatures right up to the Sept. 9 filing deadline, Mrs. McAvoy said, "We already have a safe total except that we cannot expect the full cooperation of state officials in recognizing the fine job we've done."

"Let's go to Albany with more than twice the number of signatures needed," urged Henry Abrams, chairman of the rally, "and then we can do battle politically with DeSapo, and that's where we have him!" In his message of acceptance, Corliss Lamont challenged Ho-

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## Dictator Told that U.S. Forces Will 'Intervene'

By the Editor

Chiang Kai-shek has succeeded in dragging America to the brink of a war that can touch off an atomic conflict. This is the meaning of President Eisenhower's promise to "intervene" in the Quemoy dispute as Truman did in the Korean civil war. Chiang's purpose is to get the United States into a war, which if won would restore his totalitarian rule over the 625,000,000 people of China.

In 1955 Congress abdicated its right to determine whether America should be plunged into such a war. The Washington representatives of America's monopolies and Chiang's China Lobby left it up to Eisenhower to make the fateful decision. They even left it up to him whether or not to use nuclear weapons.

At the time, Eisenhower indicated that he was little concerned about Chiang's retaining either Quemoy or Matsu, the tiny, militarily useless islands sitting at the entrance of two of China's most important harbors. But he committed his administration to holding Chiang's position on Formosa (Taiwan) where the Generalissimo holed up after fleeing from China.

Boosted by some \$2 billion tapped from the U.S. Treasury since 1951, and protected by the U.S. Seventh Fleet, Chiang has been plotting ever since on how to get America involved in a shooting war with the People's Republic of China.

After Eisenhower's rash 1955 commitment, Chiang began transferring his aging armed forces to Quemoy and Matsu, until at present one-third of his entire force is sitting like cheese in a mouse trap on the two islands. Meanwhile he has persistently raided the mainland, blockaded Chinese shipping in the Straits of Formosa and done everything he could generally to annoy the new Chinese government into action.

He finally succeeded. The Chinese government began shelling Quemoy and calling on Chiang's forces there to surrender.

Chiang parlayed this response to his provocation into a promise by Washington to save the garrison which the cunning Nationalist dictator had calculatedly stationed on Quemoy off the mud flats of Amoy harbor.

The British government considers Eisenhower's stand to be "madness"; but they are giving it "diplomatic" and "political" support. The rest of the world is withholding even this token approval of Eisenhower's madness. The general opinion was expressed by Egypt's President Nasser Sept. 3 when he denounced "American intervention in the quarrel over Taiwan" in the strongest language he has used since the Suez crisis.

The fact is, as the Nation points out, that Chiang is "blockading a stretch of the China coast which if it were on the eastern shore of the United States, would be bounded by Delaware Bay on the north and Cape Hatteras on the south." The Chinese people "look on this deprivation much as Americans would look on a blockade of Norfolk and Philadelphia and points between."

Let this lesson be enough. Let's dump Chiang before he dumps us into an atomic war. Let's recognize the legally constituted government of China and get American troops out of Taiwan and the Seventh Fleet out of Chinese waters!

### Our New

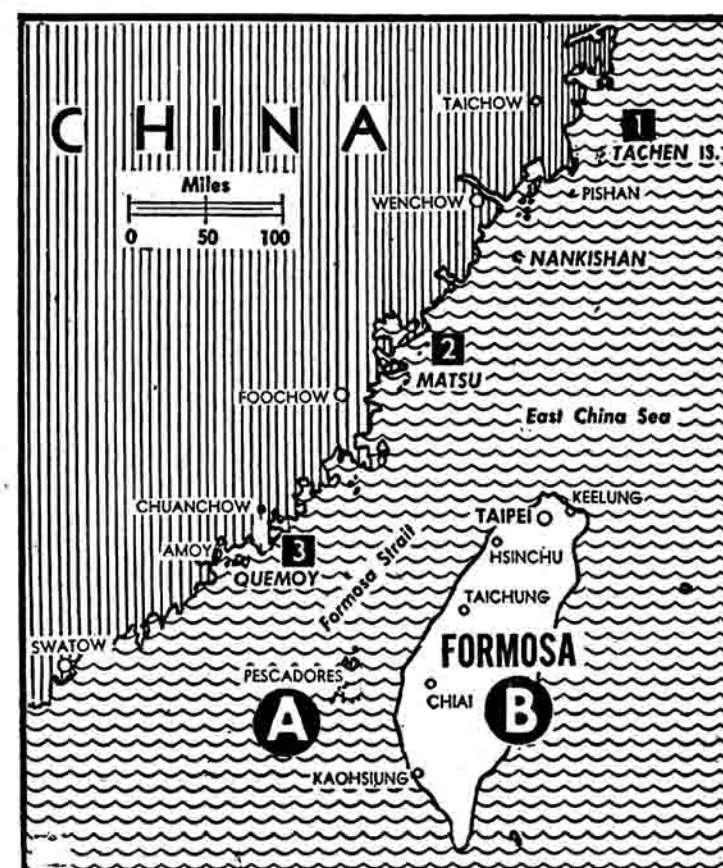
#### Phone Number

The new telephone number of the Militant editorial and business offices is: CHelsea 3-2140.

The new telephone number of Pioneer Publishers is: CHelsea 3-2977.

The number of the Socialist Workers Party, National Office, is ALgonquin 5-7460.

### China War Crisis Area



This map shows the area along China's coast where the U.S. Seventh Fleet is backing up Chiang Kai-shek. Matsu island (2), a few miles off the Chinese mainland and over 100 miles from Formosa, is garrisoned by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. The island of Quemoy (3), also occupied by Chiang's U.S.-equipped forces, blockades the important Chinese port of Amoy. Chinese moves to occupy these parts of its territory bring threats of war from Dulles.

## Buffalo Indep.-Socialists Fight to Save Wilson

BUFFALO, Sept. 1 — The movement to save Jimmy Wilson initiated by the Western New York State Campaign Committee of the Independent-Socialist Party has mushroomed into sizable proportions in the Buffalo area and has spread to surrounding regions.

With the first news that the party had launched an effort to win support for the case, volunteers came by the dozen to aid the Committee in its work. Headquarters of the "Save Jimmy Wilson Committee" is the Independent-Socialist campaign headquarters at 1371 Jefferson Avenue.

So far over 5,000 signatures have been gathered on petitions to Governor Folsom of Alabama, demanding a stay of execution and a new and fair trial. The first 4,000 of these have already been forwarded to Alabama.

A constant stream of volunteers pass in and out of the office, some of them bringing hundreds of signatures. The petitions have been taken to unions, churches, into the neighborhoods and places of employment. Since the local press has given the matter wide and repeated coverage, the telephone is ringing with offers of help.

Petitions have been taken to plant gates, too. In one case, a coke-oven worker and an unemployed auto worker took them to the 6:30 A.M. shift change at Bethlehem Steel, and were able to sign up over two hundred of the tired but willing steel workers at one gate.

### HOUSEWIVES LEAD

A highlight of the campaign has been the spearheading efforts of a core of housewives. They have led the delegations that have enlisted support for Jimmy Wilson and have spoken on his behalf before local organizations. Yesterday, Mrs.

Ruth Stone, accompanied by another member of the committee, Mrs. Rita Johnson, presented the facts of the case to the congregation of the Antioch Baptist Church. After Mrs. Stone spoke, a woman in the congregation rose and made an impassioned appeal to those present to "go down to 1371 Jefferson Avenue, where they are working to save Jimmy Wilson." Everyone present, including the Rev. Mr. J. M. Robinson, signed the petitions.

Delegations have visited Gov. Harriman at the Democratic State Convention and Buffalo's mayor, Frank A. Sedita. The visit to the Democratic Convention resulted in a wire to Gov. Folsom from Harriman.

An interracial delegation of 16 men and women saw the mayor at City Hall, Friday, August 29. The forty-five minute session with him before reporters, television cameras

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## Montgomery Cops Assault Rev. King

Sept. 4 — The Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the historic Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, was arrested by Montgomery cops yesterday on a charge of "loitering." He later reported the two cops who grabbed him, "tried to break my arm, they grabbed my collar and tried to choke me, and when they got me to the cell, they kicked me in." King was later released on bond. Police Commissioner Sellers, a member of the White Citizens Council, denied the brutality charge despite photographic evidence and said his cops treated King like they treat anyone else they arrest.



## N. Y. Meeting Will Hear Davies, Lamont, Nathan

Harold Davies, Labour Member of the British Parliament, will be the featured speaker at a large public meeting in New York, Friday evening, Sept. 19, at the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker. Sharing the platform with the British socialist leader will be Dr. Corliss Lamont, Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator, and the noted economist, Dr. Otto Nathan. The subject of the evening is: "Next Steps to Peace."

### SPONSORS

A partial list of sponsors of the meeting include Carey McWilliams, editor of the Nation; Russ Nixon of the United Electrical Workers; Mrs. Helen Alfred, editor of "Toward a Socialist America;" Leo Huberman, co-editor of Monthly Review; Sidney J. Gluck of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee; Rev. A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Bert Cochran, co-editor of American Socialist and Mrs. Elinor Ferry, who, along with Vincent Hallinan, is sponsoring Mr. Davies' tour of the U.S.

Before coming to New York, Davies will be heard in Buffalo and Boston. In Buffalo, he will

address a rally Saturday evening, Sept. 13, at Hadji Temple, 118 East Utica St. The rally will also hear Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Independent-Socialist candidate for Lt. Governor, and Dr. Lonnie Cross, Negro educator from Atlanta University.

The British Laborite will speak in Boston Wed., Sept. 17, 8 P.M., at Community Church, 565 Boylston St. His subject will be, "For Peace — Against Nuclear Explosions."

### TOURED WEST

Mr. Davies' tour has evoked a good deal of interest in radical, labor and peace circles. In Los Angeles, 800 turned out for a rally that climaxed several days of extensive TV and radio coverage of his visit to the city. Previously, in Denver, he spoke to a meeting of 200. In Vancouver, B.C., there were over 500 in attendance. More than 300 persons heard him at a meeting of the San Francisco Independent Socialist Forum.

## Tammany Hall Victory Puts Liberals on Spot

By Harold Wilson

The New York state convention of the Democratic Party was an utter rout for the liberal and labor forces. Carmine DeSapio, head of the NYC Democratic organization, came to Buffalo with all but 21 of the big city's delegates in his hip pocket. Since only 572 votes were needed to nominate, DeSapio had complete control of the convention.

He used this control to ram through the nomination of Frank Hogan, a machine choice, for U.S. Senator over the opposition of Gov. Harriman and Mayor Wagner. This rough treatment was DeSapio's way of teaching the liberal-labor elements in the party their place.

### "EGGHEADS"

The Aug. 28 N. Y. Times describes DeSapio's action as a deliberate decision by Tammany Hall to check the pretensions of the "egghead" or intellectual elements in the Democratic Party. The Tammany leaders were of the opinion that the New Deal and liberal elements had been acting too big for their britches within the party.

As for the Negro leaders, the Amsterdam News, leading NYC Negro newspaper, reports (Aug. 30) that their plan to urge a Negro state-wide candidate at the convention was immediately squelched when DeSapio told them the move "would seriously embarrass me and Gov. Harriman."

The steamrolling of Hogan's nomination for Senator clearly and publicly establishes the true power relationship within the N. Y. Democratic Party. At the same time it puts the leaders of the Liberal

Party in a difficult spot. This party ordinarily endorses the Democratic candidates, but it tries to influence the Democrats to run people who can be passed off as liberals.

### HEAT ON LIBERALS

In an attempt to influence the Democrats to nominate Thomas K. Finletter, the Liberal Party Convention nominated him first, labelling his rival, Hogan, a poor alternative. But Tammany gave Finletter the brush-off and nominated Hogan. This left the Liberal leaders holding the bag and Finletter. He resigned the Liberal Party nomination in a few days and now the Liberal Party leaders must accept Hogan or find a sacrificial candidate to run independently.

Heavy pressure is being put on the Liberal Party to accept Hogan. Harriman, DeSapio and Hogan, himself, have been closeted with Alex Rose and other Liberal bosses. Hogan went on the air to ask for the Liberal Party endorsement, pointing out that he had had it when he ran for his present post of District Attorney.

AFL-CIO leaders are putting the heat on the Liberal leaders not only to take Hogan but to go the whole hog and even endorse Tammany's choice for Attorney General, Peter J. Crotty. At their convention the Liberals swore to oppose Crotty, whom they denounced as a machine hack, and nominated Richard Lipsitz to run against him.

# He Was a Bum All the Time

By Joseph Hansen

**HISTORY AND CONSCIENCE.** The Case of Howard Fast, by Hershel D. Meyer. New York: Anvil-Atlas Publishers, New York, 1958. 63 pp. \$1. (May be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.)



HOWARD FAST

This is the Stalinist answer to Howard Fast's book, *The Naked God*. I am not using the word "Stalinist" as an epithet. The characterization, drastic as it is, can be established, I think, as accurate.

In *The Naked God* Fast tells how and why he came to believe, as a result of his experiences in the depression, that the American Communist Party was a genuine socialist organization representing the future of mankind; and then how and why, in the years after joining, he came to doubt this; and finally how and why Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Congress about Stalin's crimes punctured his mistaken belief.

To Communist Party critics of his book, Fast made the following challenge:

"The secret report of Khrushchev is central. For years Trotsky was the devil's own name, and no Communist was permitted to read him, much less quote him. But a few weeks before writing this, I opened Leon Trotsky's book, *The Revolution Betrayed*. I had not looked at it for almost twenty years, but its words rang with the terrible timeliness of a commentary on the Khrushchev report written today. Yet the book was published in 1937."

"I care little at this point about denunciations by Communists, but I feel impelled to suggest that the right to challenge me be earned. I defy Communists to read the secret report again, fully, carefully, and then to balance against it Trotsky's *'Revolution Betrayed'* — and having done so, to refute me. As for those who will not read the evidence, their minds are locked and the Party has had its way with them."

### WHAT CHALLENGE?

First of all, he does not mention the challenge. Instead, he takes his stand on the unassailable fact that all great revolutions have had their renegades. The October Revolution was great — therefore it is to be expected that it too should have its renegades.

Next he assumes something which he keeps hidden from the reader; namely, that the Stalinist bureaucracy is the same as the October Revolution. This false assumption serves a highly practical purpose, for it follows that whoever opposes the Stalinist bureaucracy and its dictatorial practices automatically opposes the October Revolution. Howard Fast opposes the Stalinist bureaucracy and its dictatorial practices; therefore, according to Meyer's hidden assumption, Fast opposes the October Revolution. Obviously Fast is a renegade.

As an auxiliary argument, if this deft logic does not satisfy you, Meyer stands on the bedrock position that every great

revolution makes its mistakes. The October Revolution made its mistakes, particularly some twenty years later in the last part of the Stalin era. In previous revolutions people of weak mind and ill will have magnified the mistakes and lost sight of the essentials. Howard Fast, hampered by a weak mind and ill will, has fallen into this error. He has committed the monstrous and insufferable crime of magnifying Stalin's crimes. That automatically makes him anti-Soviet.

The sophistry at the bottom of these arguments is not peculiar to Stalinism. In fact it is quite widespread in our times. Anyone who differed with McCarthy, for instance, could expect to be labelled "un-American." And the same still goes for any government employee and many others inclined to socialist opposition to the Democratic and Republican machines. What is peculiar to Stalinism is the use of such sophistry to defend the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union from socialist criticism.

### BOOK IS PSYCHOPATHIC!

Following up consistently on his basic points, Meyer paints a picture of Fast's book that has little connection with the actual work: It is "an incoherent, highly subjective document" filled with "hysterical accusations," "emotion-charged irrationalities," "rejection of the coherent Marxist philosophy," "a flood of untamed images, rambling conjectures and false analogies, rumors, gossip and invective," "trades, expletives, abuse, accusations, distortions and self-justifications."

As for Fast's gripping story of his disillusioning experiences — it's all just "bits of information and a few rambling observations about life inside the Communist Party," "wild charges" and an attempt to "assassinate the character of his former comrades."

In regard to the Soviet Union, which Fast supports in his book, Meyer notes "wildest vituperations," "unbridled anti-Sovietism," "railing at the



KHRUSHCHEV



STALIN

Soviet Union," "cursing a large sector of humanity" and the "hymning of imperialism's virtues."

If this reply to Howard Fast's public challenge to read and compare Khrushchev's revelations and Leon Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* has not made you cautious about accepting the exposure of Stalinist practices in *The Naked God*, Meyer offers you an inside view of the character of the author that should make further discussion unnecessary. And he invokes Freud — without mentioning that Freud, as Fast points out, is considered in the Stalinist creed to be reactionary.

### SO IS THE AUTHOR!

"Overwrought and hysterical," Fast's "thirst for flattery, for reward, for canonization became insatiable," and he began to suffer "persecution delusions." "He daubs every incident with sinister and diabolical allusions." This was due, according to our Stalinist in psychoanalyst's clothing, to an "admittedly unbalanced personality" suffering from the "long-smouldering personal hatreds and inner emotional tensions of a mind torn by psycho-neurotic conflicts."

Fast, Meyer tells us, is "incapable of reasoning in terms of causal relations." Which does not mean, of course, that Meyer is capable of meeting what it attacks.

Fast's public challenge and telling us about the reactionary social forces expressed in Stalin's "monstrous" crimes. (Meyer uses the word "monstrous.")

"Whitaker Chambers . . . Budenz, and now Howard Fast." "Publicly deserting and denouncing friends," "betraying one's group," "indecent and a scoundrel." "Fast plunges headlong into the demology of the late Joseph Goebbels and Joseph R. McCarthy." "His curse is on the October Revolution."

If that does not put a cross on the spot where the author was last seen, consider this possibility: Fast is money hungry. "Facing bankruptcy, Fast began entreating loans and subsidies from wealthy people." Some "millionaire brokers and insurance men with Wall Street connections" approached Fast. "On his part, was it a case of exchanging harsh and 'discredited' Communist moral values for a bit of cold cash?" Well, was it? Meyer bids us use our imagination — and, if we are Party members, an imagination that has been colored by his lurid description of the book and its author.

I hope that this is sufficient to establish the validity of characterizing Meyer's reply to Fast as Stalinist, foul as the word is; but I recommend that everyone read the reply for himself — after first reading what it attacks.

### HE WAS OUR HORSE

Let me create a wrong impression, let me add that Meyer's pamphlet is not wholly without sincerity. Genuine indignation, I believe, is observable in at least one part of Meyer's handling of what he calls the "relatively minor political event" involving the world-famous novelist's resignation from the Communist Party.

Fast, he tells us, was unappreciated by the bourgeois world as a writer both before and after he joined the Communist Party. The Party, however, together with the Stalinist governments, particularly the Kremlin, converted the unknown scribbler into the most widely read author in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Fast became relatively wealthy, according to Meyer.

However, instead of docilely remaining in his stable and continuing to express appreciation to the bureaucracy for the bounteous supply of oats, Fast chose to kick down his stall and run away from Stalinism. Thus, when Meyer, left with the bridle, spurs and riding crop, speaks of the "enormity of this treason," his emotion, clearly enough, is not without understandable cause. That horse, temperamental or not, was the last feature attraction in the American CP barn.

### NOT YET

A reply like Meyer's seems aimed primarily at members of the Communist Party. The political objective is to prejudice them against reading Fast's book. If the "anti-Soviet" epithet can be made to stick, the book can be killed.

I would be among the last to say that this attempt cannot succeed. Fast himself may as-

sist it by actually becoming anti-Soviet. In the long record of Stalinism, many fine artists and writers have become so repelled by its practices as to mistakenly reject the socialist movement as a whole. But this is not yet the case with Howard Fast — no matter how repulsive those who formerly lauded him now find his personality to have been all the time.

In fact, in *"The Naked God"* Fast affirms his faith in socialism, in planned economy, and in the capacity of the Soviet people to rid themselves of the parasitic bureaucracy without destroying the great achievements made possible in the Soviet Union by the October Revolution.

There is one item of some interest in Meyer's attack. Not once does he use the epithet "Trotskyite." It may be that Meyer inadvertently skipped the "Ts" as he thumbed through his thesaurus of invective. However, one would imagine that his editor would surely catch such an oversight.

A more likely explanation is that Meyer has in mind the growing understanding among members of the Communist Party that if the Moscow Trials were frame-ups, as Khrushchev admits, then Trotsky, the principal victim in those frame-ups, must have been innocent.

### STALIN — JUST GULLIBLE?

That this may be the correct explanation is indicated by Meyer's new version of who was guilty in the frame-ups. He says nothing about the old lie that Trotsky "plotted" Stalin's death in a secret pact with Hitler. Instead, Nazi agents "penetrated the Soviet security apparatus, and with their accomplices within the U.S.S.R. exploited the fears of the people to create disruption and confusion." How did the Nazi agents do this? "They took advantage of Stalin's pathological suspiciousness and succeeded in framing a number of loyal Communists and party leaders."

Two curious conclusions follow from this: (1) "Thus it was not the Socialist system, nor the Communist Party, but its mortal enemy, fascism, which initiated the frame-ups and excesses within the USSR." This is an effort to still cover up Stalin, the real initiator of the frame-ups and — how euphemistic can you get? — "excesses." But it comes remarkably close to calling Stalin a Nazi agent — a 180° reversal of the charges the dictator leveled against his victims in the Moscow Trials.

(2) "The dividends reaped by enemies of Socialism were the 1937 and 1948-1950 frame-up trials." This is what the Trotskyists have contended from the beginning. If this is true — and it is — then the genuine defenders of the Soviet Union were those who opposed Stalin at the time and exposed the frame-ups when they were perpetrated by the paranoid dictator.

### MEYER'S ASSIGNMENT

But Meyer can't say this. His assignment is to do a job on anyone like Fast who dares to expose the anti-Soviet practices of the Stalinist apparatus today; and, by smearing such a critic as "anti-Soviet," try to push him into the camp of the real enemies of socialism and the Soviet Union.

Meyer's real basic thesis is that you can't be a socialist unless you are a loyal follower of the cult of Stalin, or Khrushchev, or whoever happens to head the Soviet bureaucracy. And if you aren't a socialist according to that definition then you have no choice but to be anti-Soviet. That's how the Stalinists hacks see it and you'd better take their word for it unless you're ready to take the kind of treatment Meyer dished out to *The Naked God* and its author.

## ...N.Y. Ticket Near Petition Goal

(Continued from Page 1)

gan and Keating, his Democratic and Republican opponents, to join him "in opposing American military intervention in the Far East where the U.S. Government seeks to prevent the Chinese People's Republic from asserting its rightful domain over Quemoy and other offshore islands occupied by the Nationalists."

Discussing the setback suffered by the Liberal Party leaders when the Democrats refused to nominate their choice, Thomas K. Finletter, for the Senate, John T. McManus told the campaign workers they now had an important opportunity to win support from members of the Liberal party. "It now seems pretty clear,"

he said, "that the fix is in for the Liberal leaders to accept Hogan. . . . So the rank and file of the Liberal party is left in a strange and stranded position by their leaders. We have a golden opportunity to provide them with a chance to get out of the box their leaders have put them in. Like us, the rank and file wants peace, civil rights and an end to machine politics. Many share our socialist objectives."

Dr. Rubinstein told the meeting that the Independent-Socialist candidates would personally present their nominating petitions in Albany. "We're going to have a pilgrimage," she said. "We'll all be carrying valises full of petitions and we'll deliver them in person

to the Secretary of State, Carmine DeSapio, who, I'm sure will appreciate them greatly."

The meeting hall rang with applause as the candidate for Lt. Governor reported that Rev. Joseph P. King, united socialist candidate for Congress from Chicago, had won a place on the ballot despite efforts by the Democratic machine to keep him off.

Assailing the record of the major parties and their candidates, Dr. Rubinstein said, "Both Harriman and Rockefeller have expressed support of their parties' inhuman, cold-war policy and of the crushing arms budget and use of suicidal nuclear weapons. . . . Keating, already notorious for his fawning adulation of J. Edgar Hoover,

has declared that if elected he will do his best to cooperate with Dulles' insane policy of 'brinkmanship.'

"The Democratic candidate, Hogan . . . finds no fault with Dulles' avowed intention to keep our country teetering on the brink of war. In fact, he promises, if elected, to help move our nation more efficiently in the same catastrophic direction."

Referring to the large number of youth present, Dr. Rubinstein concluded, "I'm glad to see so many young people who realize that the issues of peace, civil rights and a socialist America concern them above all."

### 'PARTY OF FAUBUS'

Hitting at the civil-rights record of the Republicans and Democrats, Captain Mulzac said, "Rockefeller and the Republican state platform declare support for Eisenhower's civil-rights policy. Is this a threat or a promise? Eisenhower has capitulated to the Dixiecrat racist offensive time and again. . . . As for Harriman and his ticket — he belongs to the same party as the Dixiecrats — to the party of Faubus who is carrying on a war against the colored children of Little Rock, to the party of Folsom of Alabama who has thus far turned a deaf ear to the world-wide demand to stop the execution of Jimmy Wilson."

The acceptance message from Scott Gray declared, "The Democratic Party administration of New York State and the Republican Party which controls the legislature have virtually served notice that they intend to continue such anti-civil liberties statutes as the Feinberg Law and the so-called State Security Risk Law, as well as the anti-union Conlon-Wadlin Law, which deprives employees of the state and city governments of their democratic right to strike. . . . There is only one means by which New York State voters can manifest the growing revulsion against the witch hunt — and that is by rolling up a powerful protest vote for the candidates of the Independent-Socialist ticket."

The rally approved sending a telegram to Eisenhower demanding removal of U.S. forces from the area of the Quemoy and Matsu islands and urging recognition of the Chinese government and support to its bid for admission to the UN. A telegram to Gov. Folsom reiterated the Independent-Socialist demand to reprieve Jimmy Wilson.

## People's World Fires Pettus For Opposing Goon Attacks

Terry Pettus has been fired as the editor of the Northwest bureau of the People's World, according to an article in the Aug. 25 Seattle Times. Pettus was fired for publicly rebuking those members of the Communist Party who organized a goon squad to beat up members of the Socialist Workers Party at a People's World picnic on July 4.

(Clara Kaye, Richard Fraser and Jack Wright, leading members of the SWP in Seattle, were beaten and pummeled by a squad of well-known figures

in the Seattle CP. The SWP members had been invited to attend the picnic by officials of the People's World.)

According to the Seattle Times, Pettus tried to head off the prearranged attack.

Afterwards he apologized in the People's World (July 12) for the outbreak of "rowdiness" and "the strong-arm tactics of self-appointed bouncers, who acted without authorization from any responsible representative of this paper."

### RESIGNATION DEMANDED

Pettus said his dismissal was subsequently demanded by "officers of a group" who considered his statement of July 12 "a slanderous attack on some of the best supporters of the paper."

"I have no disagreement with the policy of the People's World," Pettus told the Seattle paper, "I still agree with the statement published July 12. I refused to accept that truthful statement as a slanderous attack on the best supporters of the paper. I also refused to agree to a fabrication that I was consulted in advance about the policy that led to the disruption of the picnic."

The Seattle paper comments that "In previous interviews in the past decade, Pettus has expressed pride in belonging to the Communist Party." It then quotes him in the present interview as stating: "I belong to no political group. I was a Republican, a Democrat and a Communist. Now I'm a political independent."

Northwest editor of the People's World in 1948. In 1954, along with four other leaders of the Communist Party in Washington, he was convicted under the witch-hunting Smith Act. This conviction was reversed earlier this year by the Supreme Court.

Pettus' discharge from the People's World is effective as of Sept. 1. His successor, it is announced, will be Paul Emerson of Tacoma.

## Calendar Of Events

### LOS ANGELES

School of International Socialism — Fall Session. Six sessions, beginning Sept. 14, 10:30 A.M., on "The History of American Trotskyism." Instructor: Milton Wolfe. Six sessions, beginning Sunday, Sept. 4, 12 noon, on "Man's Worldly Goods," an economic interpretation of history. Instructor: Oscar G. Coover. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, 33. Phone: An. 9-4953.

### BOSTON

Hear Harold Davies, British Labour MP, speak on "For Peace — Against Nuclear Explosions," Wed., Sept. 17, 8 P.M., Community Church, 565 Boylston St. Contribution, 90 cents. Auspices, Boston Labor Forum.

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Monday, September 8, 1958

### Can a Colonel Kick Off A-War?

The danger of touching off an atomic holocaust lies not only in the fleets of U.S. strategic aircraft flying over the Arctic towards the Soviet Union with their loads of H-bombs. Atomic warfare can also be started by detachments of U.S. ground forces stationed abroad, for example, in Korea, or West Germany.

These troops are equipped with "tactical" atomic weapons. "For use on the battlefield," these weapons still have the destructive potential of the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Firing but a few rounds of such "tactical" atomic ammunition could destroy whole cities and render vast areas uninhabitable.

Who controls these terrible instruments of destruction? This question is vital not only for the American people but for all humanity. Is it possible for some trigger-happy colonel to give the order? An order which might set off a chain reaction engulfing the world in atomic war.

President Eisenhower was asked this question at his Aug. 27 news conference. First he replied that only the President could give the order to fire atomic weapons.

When pressed about exceptions to this rule, Eisenhower's memory faltered. He said he thought there was something in the military directives permitting use of all weapons at a commander's discretion if he were attacked. The President concluded, "I don't believe it mentions atomic weapons . . . but I would have to make certain. My memory is not that good this morning."

While Eisenhower is refreshing his memory, U.S. warships, planes and troops — all equipped with atomic weapons — remain on the ready at bases ringing the USSR, as well as in Lebanon and around China's offshore islands. Because of proximity to Soviet-bloc and Chinese forces and because the population is hostile in most of the countries where U.S. forces are stationed, military incidents can be expected almost anywhere, anytime. Should a jittery colonel decide he was under attack — or what in military procedure is as good, about to be attacked — he might order the atomic blast which could start World War III.

The first step to rid ourselves of this nightmare is to bring all U.S. troops home from overseas.

### The U.S. Test Ban Offer

The negotiations for a ban on nuclear test explosions, scheduled to begin Oct. 31 between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, offer the prospect that for one year there will not be a further increase in the radioactive contamination of the earth's atmosphere. But the fight to compel the U.S. and British governments to agree to a permanent test ban remains to be won.

The current proposal of the two Western powers offers only a one-year test halt beginning with the Oct. 31 negotiating date and a year-to-year renewal of the suspension provided that "the agreed inspection system is installed and working effectively" and "satisfactory progress is being made in [other] arms control."

Both stipulations are designed to escape commitment to a permanent test ban. Washington's original and long-standing refusal even to consider an agreement to halt tests was motivated by a callous disregard for the health of this and future generations of mankind. Its claim that underground explosions could not be detected were shown to be based on falsified data. Scientists now agree on the feasibility of detecting atomic explosions. What then lies behind the Pentagon's pretended suspicion about an adequate monitoring system? It appears that this is a cover for demanding a system that will give a military intelligence advantage to the U.S. and also lay a possible basis for not extending the ban at the end of one year.

The demand that the continuation of the test ban be contingent on "progress" in nuclear disarmament is even more

hypocritical. Both the U.S. and Britain have long demonstrated their unwillingness to yield an atom of their fearsome stockpiles. And even if there is no "progress" toward disarmament why then should testing be resumed?

It was world pressure which forced the Pentagon-State Department power elite into making their reluctant and conditional offer of a temporary cessation of nuclear tests. Continuing — and increased — world pressure, especially pressure in this country, can make it very difficult for them to resume the deadly explosions at the end of a year.

It would certainly be naive to rely on anything less than mass pressure. Their zeal for continuing the tests is evidenced by the very date they set for the temporary cessation, Oct. 31 — the U.S. proposed cut-off date — not only gives the British time for another giant hydrogen blast in the Pacific, but before then the U.S. will explode ten more atomic bombs at the Nevada proving grounds.

An Aug. 29 announcement said that "several" would be underground and the balance from balloons and towers — with a consequent further pollution of the atmosphere. Almost half will be above the kiloton range. A kiloton is the equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT. At least one will be in the 20 kiloton range — the size of the bomb that reduced Hiroshima to rubble.

As a result of the fallout from that "small" bomb, the rate of leukemia fatalities in Hiroshima today is double that of the rest of Japan.

Can the American people afford the continuation of such explosions in this country?

# Nasserism — Its Role in Arab Revolution

(We believe the following letter raises extremely important issues and therefore we are offering an extended reply by Daniel Roberts.)

Editor:

Trotsky must be turning over in his grave. He is most noted for his theory of "The Permanent Revolution" which says that in modern times in backward countries the national democratic revolution cannot be carried out by any other class than the working class.

He refused to support the peasantry or even the so-called progressive and national bourgeoisie. Yet you support Nasser. You support him not only against the foreign imperialists (which is correct) but as leader of the national revolution and national unification movement.

Yet Nasser represents which class? The workers, whose trade unions and parties he illegalizes? The peasantry to whom he has not distributed any land? The bourgeoisie for whom he has no policy of industrial expansion? He represents a military dictatorship pure and simple. If it is wrong to support the progressive role of real social classes, it is doubly wrong to support a military Bonapartism.

Or is it possible that you have given up the "Permanent Revolution." If so where and when?

Fred M.

#### IN REPLY

Dear Fred M.:

Your letter criticizing the Militant's appraisal of Nasser and Nasserism is extremely welcome. For it raises all the fundamental questions which must be answered for a correct understanding of the struggle in the Mideast. Nasserism is frequently condemned as another form of Hitlerism. It is this characterization which the State Department spreads to prepare American opinion for military ventures against the Arab national independence movement. I believe it is precisely Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution which best exposes such a misrepresentation. First, however, I must disagree with the main contentions of your letter.

We are not partisans of Nasser, as you state. We support the objectives he proclaims — namely, Arab national independence and national unification. And we support concrete steps taken by his regime which help realize these objectives. (For example we supported the 1955 ouster of British troops from Egypt, nationalization of the Suez Canal, resistance to the British-French-Israel invasion of 1956, acceptance of aid from the Soviet Union, support to the liberation struggle in other Arab countries, union with Syria, etc.). But we have no confidence that Nasser will carry the national liberation struggle through to a victorious conclusion. The Egyptian capitalist class, whose interests his military dictatorship represents, is capable only of partial opposition to imperialism.

You, yourself say that it is



President Nasser, surrounded by crowds of cheering Egyptians in Cairo, on the occasion of the nationalization of the Suez Canal. The French-British-Israeli attack that followed ended in disaster and British influence in the Middle East was shattered. The Eisenhower Doctrine — an attempt to take over the position in the Mideast formerly held by British imperialism — is meeting strong Arab resistance.

correct to support the Nasser regime against the imperialists. I assume you would also support measures taken by Nasser against such outright stooges of imperialism as the kings, pashas and sheikhs, as well as the Lebanese merchant class. We have gone no further than that in the Militant and I refer you to articles by George Lavan, Myra Tanner Weiss and Joseph Hansen in the Aug. 4, 11 and 25 issues for our appraisal of the Nasser regime.

Thus in the Aug. 4 Militant, Lavan wrote: "I'm for a democratic and socialist state in Egypt and everywhere else. But bringing that about is the job of the people there . . . At this stage of things the mass of the Arab people are behind Nasser because he stands up to the imperialists and opposes the feudal landowners and rulers. . . . But I think a stage of the present Arab movement will come when the mass of peasants and workers will want to go further than Nasser, who is a middle-class nationalist. Then they will demand an end to his kind of political rule."

#### FOUR CLASSES

Again, I believe your presentation of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution theory is incorrect. The theory, as it applies to economically backward countries, analyzes the role of the various classes in the struggle to eliminate imperialist domination, abolish feudalism and modernize the economy (industrialization, farm mechanization, etc.). These are the tasks comprised under the heading of the national democratic revolution. Four classes participate in the national liberation struggle at its outset but with different and, in the case of some, irreconcilable interests. (1) A small capitalist class,

competing at a disadvantage in its own country with foreign capitalists, opposes the latter to win more elbow room for its own profit-making. It wants to wrest control of its nation from imperialism and create a government which will promote native capitalist enterprises. The native capitalists also desire to curb the power of the feudal landowners who constitute imperialism's most reliable props within the country. What this small native bourgeoisie seeks is to reform the relationship with imperialism to its own advantage and to obtain greater bargaining power in its dealings with the foreign concerns.

The theory of the Permanent Revolution does not exclude support of demands that a native capitalist class, like the Egyptian, places on an imperialist power or powers. On the contrary, it calls on revolutionary socialists to back these demands. For even the limited struggle of the native capitalist class weakens imperialism. It also provides opportunities for the popular masses to organize their own forces by participating in the struggle.

(2) The urban middle classes are too heterogeneous to have a consistent program of their own. The upper reaches of the civil and military services, the industrial, banking and commercial employees, and even the trade union bureaucracy seeks advancement through the progress of the native capitalist class. The petty shopkeepers and artisans overwhelmingly gravitate toward the working class once it steps forward as an active participant in the national struggle.

(3) The peasants participate in the national independence movement not only out of hatred of the imperialists but to win allies in the city who will help them carry through the division of the huge semi-feudal estates. They are the largest numerical force in most economically backward countries. But because of their dispersion, provincial outlook and distance from the cities, where the state power resides, they are unable to steer toward the seizure of power in their own name. They look to the national independence struggle to bring forth a state power which will protect them in the division of landed estates.

Revolutionary socialists fully support the peasantry's aim of land expropriation, since this is a key to the modernization of a colonial country's economy. In its realization lies the firmest way of carrying through the national, democratic revolution.

#### WHICH CLASS?

The question thus posed is which of the city classes will help the peasants carry through the agrarian revolution. The urban middle classes have no independent role to play in the struggle and are dependent on the capitalists or the working class. Although they favor curbs on the landowning class and a modest land-reform program, the native capitalists are too much tied by bonds of property and often blood relationship to the feudalists to promote expropriations. Furthermore they fear lest any thoroughgoing assault on the rights of private property — be it that of the feudalists or the foreign imperialists — set a precedent to be invoked later against themselves. Finally, the limited character of the native bourgeoisie's opposition to imperialism, born of its weakness as a class and of its ultimate dependence on foreign capital,

makes it all too prone to desert to the other side when ever any section of the masses pushes its aspirations aggressively.

(4) Under these conditions the peasantry can find firm support only in the working class. Though but a small proportion of the total population, the working class in the economically backward countries is highly concentrated in those modern industries introduced by foreign capital or copied by native capitalists. This gives it a cohesiveness and striking power in the anti-imperialist struggle far beyond that of any other classes in the country. The workers subscribe to the national-independence objectives even when they are put forth by the native capitalist class. For they sense that a national government in struggle with their principal exploiter — imperialism — will necessarily have to rely on the workers' strength. It will thus be far more subject to their pressure than would a regime dominated from abroad.

#### WILL DO IT

The super-exploitation of the workers in colonial countries impels them toward a revolutionary socialist program. A propertyless class, having nothing to lose but its chains, the working class is prepared to carry the national independence struggle through by expropriation of foreign-owned industry and by supporting the peasants in dividing the semi-feudal estates.

If a native capitalist class recoils from peasant land seizures, it is thrown into virtual panic when it perceives the revolutionary drive of the working class, whose demands moreover, confront it in its own factories. Although at times it may utilize working-class aid, such as general strikes, to force concessions from imperialism, it does its utmost to keep these in controlled channels. In the last analysis, the native capitalist class will line up with imperialism when it faces being swept away by a workers' revolution.

For complete and lasting victory, then, the national liberation fight must come under the leadership of the working class and must prevail over the native capitalists, the feudal landowners and imperialism. If the workers fail to assume the leadership, for lack of a revolutionary party or due to betrayal by the party in which they place their confidence, they suffer an extremely bloody defeat. And the national independence struggle and peasant movement lose with them.

Thus definitive victory over imperialism comes about through the fighting alliance of workers and peasants in which the working class plays the guiding role. It results in the creation of a workers' state guaranteeing the peasantry division of the land. It is consolidated through the introduction of nationalized industry and planning. The victorious national revolution culminates in a socialist revolution.

Such are the dynamics of the national independence struggle as analyzed in Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution, presented above in outline. It best explains, I believe, the specific role which the Nasser regime plays in the national independence and unification movement of the Arab people.

(First of two articles)

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BY LEON TROTSKY

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### Candidate in N.Y.'s 19th District

Editor:

The Socialist Party in the 19th Congressional District in lower Manhattan has designated David McReynolds as candidate for Congress. I do not write this merely as a matter of news. I hope you will think it is your business, whether or not you live in the 19th District. Mr. McReynolds has long been known as a Socialist who is very deeply concerned about Disarmament, Peace, and a Sane Nuclear Policy, some of the matters which have aroused very deep interest in New York in the past few months.

If you have this interest, here is your chance to prove it in an active way. It will be necessary to get over 5,000 signatures in the district to make sure of Mr. McReynolds's nomination. The job can be done if enough people care. Can you give any time at all between now and September 5th to canvass the neighborhood? People like you meet every evening at the home of Al Scott, 235 West 11th Street, at 6:30 p.m. to get lists of people on whom to call. Can you come? You do not have to live in the district to be a canvasser.

If for any reason you cannot get up and down stairs you can do what I am going to do.

Send a check. Make it payable to Albert Scott, campaign treasurer.

I speak from long experience when I say that nothing you can do for the cause of peace will be as important as helping to get many signatures for Mr. McReynolds\* in the 19th District on the basis of the kind of campaign he expects to run. A large vote is the best way to impress Congress.

Norman Thomas  
New York City

### Our Smug Labor Bureaucrats

Editor:

Have been covering CIO locals with Evelyn Sell and Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. Senator and Governor respectively. While the feminine appeal of our Senatorial candidate frequently gets her on the platforms of these local unions, our male candidates seldom are granted an opportunity.

While this apathy and apparent lack of sympathy is no new thing in the American Labor movement, it is a sickening attitude on the part of the pie-card officers.

This writer can well remember, as an apprentice union member of a Knights of Labor union, the avid desire of union members and their officers to

hear socialist candidates for office talk.

Of course labor was up in arms in the late eighties and the nineties over the viciousness of the courts (a la Judge Gary) and the attitude of the politicians of that time. Nevertheless the unions of those days were far more militant than today, 70 years later. . . .

With the capitalist conspiracy of the House un-American Activities Committee, supposedly temporary; and the Senatorial labor investigating committees, supposedly temporary; and the huge appropriations sums in the millions of dollars at the disposal of the FBI and other Washington police agencies; and those professional politicians elected by labor constantly voting these committees into being; one wonders when labor unions will see the duplicity of both major parties.

Paul Dennie  
Detroit

### Count Your Many Blessings

Editor:

It may be claimed without boasting that this nation has the most efficient industrial equipment of any in the world (as yet) — That's blessing No. 1.

It has a small minority of "big, practical, brainy business

men" — That's blessing No. 2. "God in his infinite wisdom" vouchsafed to place the ownership of the country's industry in the hands of this minority — Blessing No. 3.

Back in the tragic 1930's, when upward of 15 million workers were patronizing bread lines and soup kitchens, a group of these BPPs who are always solicitous for the interests of the common man met in New York City to ponder the puzzle of unemployment. After profound study the unanimous opinion was reached that the solution lay in the production of armaments. Now it is obvious that to produce armaments is a dead waste unless there is war. So we had World War II and everybody had a job even though it did mean the killing off of many of our best young manhood — Blessing No. 4.

Every American worker enjoys the "inalienable right to work" — Blessing No. 5. But by some hitch the BPPs not only own the industrial machinery and through it control the government, they also own the jobs. "The tail goes with the hide" — Blessing No. 6.

At this writing there are upward of five million American workers logging their "inalienable right to work" about as they look for an opportunity to earn a living. But the sky is brightening.

The Middle East is on the verge of explosion — Blessing No. 7 (maybe). Soon you may be in clover.

American workers, count your many blessings.

I. S. McCrillis  
New Hampton, Ia.

### On the 'Summit'

Editor:

Just finished reading in the Aug. 4 issue of the Militant an article on the summit meeting by John Thayer. It kind of left me wondering. Do you really believe that such a meeting would settle anything? Or that the powers that have the weapons could adjust or eliminate the grievances of the Arab people by discussion? There has been so much discussion in the UN, the talk-shop of the world and glorified body of hypocrisy and deceit, on Iran, Iraq and the other parts of this particular and turbulent section of the world. What did it come to? Iraq made a big step forward in its development by getting rid of the feudal regime, no thanks to the UN or summit conferences, but in spite of it and against its wishes. How this act of the people of a small but strategic country has exposed the hypocrisy of diplomacy of all countries including the Soviet Union, if you please!

The dominating countries want the status quo, so they could use the economic squeeze on smaller and less developed countries and peoples, in the dark of night and sometimes also in broad daylight. The Soviet Union is not exempted. All you need is look at the "relations" with Yugoslavia. At least what the capitalist countries are doing is in accord with their principles and their way of life. But what the Soviet Union is doing, specifically, in its desire for status quo — is not in accord either with its principles or its future.

Sandra B.  
New York

### A Vision in Verse

Through the tired years of stifled spheres and desperate eyes,  
we are together —  
and through the evolving times of the inhuman wars of men the ideals persevere,  
to be destroyed  
in the final Armageddon  
or to be reborn in the red flames of the Phoenix.

And then,  
in the encompassing peace of a new order  
we shall be free  
to love and to create.  
Free from the links



# Is Peace 'Subversive'?

By Tom Leonard

Both peace and civil liberties got a boost when over 100 people participated in a Walk for Peace through the streets of downtown Minneapolis on Aug. 9 to demand an end of nuclear bomb testing. The march was organized to commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of the dropping of the first atom bomb on Hiroshima. Typical placards carried by the demonstrators read "No More Hiroshimas," "Ban Nuclear Arms Now," "Produce for Peace — Not for War."

The Walk was originally scheduled for Saturday, August 2, but was called off when Mayor P. K. Peterson refused to grant a parade permit to the demonstrators until they had gone through a security check to determine that they were not "subversive." Peterson based his action on a 1934 ordinance (passed in the middle of the famous Minneapolis truck driver's strike) by which the Mayor can deny a permit for a parade he considers "subversive to the public peace." Peterson told the Minneapolis Tribune (Aug. 5), "You can say that I believe in the principle of free speech and freedom of expression and that, except for subversives, people should be allowed to have their say even though we may disagree with them."

The August 6 Minneapolis Star printed a lead editorial denouncing Peterson's action. It said in part: "Mayor Peterson has announced as an article of his faith the proposition that freedom of speech is the right only of people who are not 'subversives.' And Socrates aiming his pointed, loaded questions at Athens's status quo, was surely a subversive. As were Copernicus, Galileo, Rousseau, Luther, Milton and other like giants of history 'subversive' in the eyes of many

of their contemporaries. Nor let us forget Sam Adams, Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson from our own early history, and Eugene Debs of a later date." The editorial went on to say, "There is no philosophical or legal justification for trying to prevent communists or other heretics from preaching their particular doctrines."

This kind of publicity finally forced the mayor to grant a parade permit although at the last minute the right of the peace walkers to distribute leaflets as they marched was challenged. But this did not stop their distributing.

The Peace Walk made up of pacifists, Quakers, socialists and other opponents of nuclear testing, paraded in the center of the street through downtown Minneapolis, distributing leaflets along the way. There were no incidents and the feeling of the demonstrators was that the on-lookers were attentive and friendly. A number of university students joined the walk and at one point, several people openly applauded.

When the marchers had circled back to their starting point in front of the Minneapolis auditorium, they were asked by Arthur Sternberg, a leading pacifist, if they were willing to participate in a similar action in St. Paul. Everyone present agreed and another peace walk is being planned for that city.

Extensive coverage was given to the demonstration by the press, radio and television, which reached a wide audience with the demand that nuclear testing be halted immediately. In addition, the walkers opened up the streets of Minneapolis for opposing viewpoints for the first time in many years by challenging Mayor P. K. Peterson's use of the phony "parade permit ordinance."

## The Rickover Story

By M. Butler

Admiral Hyman Rickover, according to an expert on the national scene, is one man who "beat the system," that is, he beat the Navy — the Navy Big Brass. By this was meant, evidently, that Rickover had not only forced it to build a nuclear-powered submarine, but had also managed to get pushed forward for the plaudits for this accomplishment.

The naval officers' caste, like any such social formation, is first of all intent upon building a "good life" for itself. And, of course, it has certain canons of inclusion and exclusion. These bar not only Jews from its topmost circles but all individuals not originally sprung from "good Anglo-Saxon stock" or, at least, north-European stock. Such ill-born types are looked askance at even in the junior grades Naval Reserve and the Navy into which they penetrated due to the "deplorable" wartime lowering of social standards. Heaven forbid that they tread the hallowed foredeck precincts. Let them serve in the grease and smoke, in the galley, or at desks — but the shining admirals' uniforms and the big ceremonial occasions are not for the likes of them.

For a Jew like Rickover, as in most such social formations, there is a special place: he can serve with the grinds, the be-spectacled ones, those who are left with the problems, with the computations. There, along with other social squares, who don't "look right" in uniform or whose names don't "sound right," he had little choice but to learn what

could make the Navy tick.

The Navy Brass has an ambidextrous way toward such people. With one hand they spurn their efforts "to belong" by serving; with the other they hastily appropriate any of their achievements that pay off — then thrust forward one of their own to take the credit. Our whole social system, after all, is one of appropriation, so even here the Navy Brass is displaying no inventiveness. Indeed, it best demonstrates its fighting function in such cases where its own caste interests are involved.

What is real and enduring in the Rickover story has been the thrusting aside, the affronts he has undergone. His promotion to admiral — not by the Navy, but against the Navy, the belated sound of honors, have been grudging, trumped-up, and illusory. He and his type still may have a place in the rear corners, with the problems, the computations; the places out front are still reserved for the "officers and gentlemen" in the meticulous white uniforms.

The politicians, more sensitive to the popular mind, subscribe to the belief that an occasional bright Jew, like an Oppenheimer or Rickover, is handy to have around. But they only touch up the basic picture a little. Just as they dumped the one to give freer play to their H-bomb world outlook, now while the memory of Sputnik is still fresh, they try to reassure the public by patting the other on the back.

## ...Gov. Faubus Set to Defy Court

(Continued from Page 1)  
Faubus intends to instigate. Most effective pressure of all, however, was the President's shameful call for a slowdown of integration, made the day before the Supreme Court took up the case.

A court victory on Little Rock can only be a defensive victory for the Negro people. It will in no case mean a speeding up of integration. At most it will give a legal basis for maintaining the present pace, which has slowed almost to a halt. As Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stated over TV Aug. 31: "If we slow down any more, we will be going backward."

How desegregation has slowed can be seen from the following figures: of school districts beginning any integration

whatsoever: 1954-55-56, 450 districts; 1956-57, 260 districts; 1957-58, 67 districts; this (1958-59) school year saw only 27 districts scheduled to begin integration, but most of them have backed out under the influence of Little Rock.

Of 3,008 school districts in the South, border states, and District of Columbia, with children of both races, only 777 have done any integrating whatsoever. None in the Deep South and only a few in the Mid South. Of 2,300,000 Negro school children supposed to have been granted equality in education in 1954, only 375,000 are today in "integrated situations." That doesn't mean they are integrated. It means they are in districts where some integration exists. For example, in Nashville 11 Negro students were integrated last year, so statistically the district's other

1,300 Negro children, still in Jim Crow schools, are listed as being in an "integrated situation."

By the most generous estimates perhaps 232,000 Negro children in these 777 districts are actually in the same classrooms with white students. Those who are actually in the same classrooms is a much smaller number. Thus well over two million of the 2,300,000 Negro children, supposedly affected by the 1954 Supreme Court decision, have not yet in fact been affected by it. Probably the number is much larger.

The outcome of the struggle shaping up at Little Rock is crucial because symbolically and psychologically it has become the test case. It already is setting legal precedents. For example, a federal court order to integrate 17 Negro students in Norfolk, Va., was made contingent on the outcome of the current Little Rock case.

Even if the Supreme Court does not buckle or compromise on the Little Rock case — the decisive fight still lies ahead for the Negro people and their allies. Faubus, like Gov. Almond of Virginia, threatens to close the schools. Eisenhower has already expressed his fright of such a clearly unconstitutional move. The administration's only preparation has been to appease the racists in advance by hiring federal marshals, considered less objectionable than federal troops.

## ...Buffalo Wilson Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)  
and photographers, resulted in his sending a telegram to Gov. Folsom and issuing a statement to the 700,000 citizens of this city urging them to follow his example.

The visit to City Hall was fully reported in the two daily papers, the weekly Negro papers, and received a thorough coverage on local TV and radio stations. WGR-TV made it the second most important

news item of the day and showed films taken during the visit to the mayor. The films and the commentary, giving a detailed account of the case and the work of the Save Jimmy Wilson Committee, were repeated during the evening.

With the deadline for action by the Alabama authorities approaching ever closer, the committee is redoubling its efforts to save Jimmy Wilson.

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## Policy Fight In Chicago NAACP

CHICAGO — Rank-and-file resentment against local officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has burst into the open. An overflow membership meeting on Aug. 22 reversed a decision by the city branch's executive board to dissolve neighborhood units and elected a steering committee to carry on the fight for a democratic and effective NAACP in Chicago.

Relations between the neighborhood units and officials of the city branch have steadily deteriorated during the past year. The units felt that these officials were stymieing their efforts to carry on activity.

The branch officials demanded that every action of the neighborhood groups receive prior approval — down to such picayune matters as the wording of letters sent to the editors of the daily newspapers and contracts with printers for invitations to neighborhood affairs — to the point where the effective functioning of units was becoming impossible. In a number of instances major activities on housing and civil rights undertaken by units were ordered stopped by the branch on grounds that the units were exceeding their authority.

While the units were being reprimanded for undertaking such actions, the city-wide committee responsible for developing programs and projects never met. Thus problems and proposals submitted by units to the branch inevitably died. Requests for a meeting to clarify relations between units and the city branch officials were equally unavailing.

On Aug. 19 a majority of the city executive board — without prior notification or discussion — voted dissolution of the units, effective immediately. The newspapers were informed of this "disciplinary" action before the units were. The executive board action occurred while several of its members known to support the units were out of town. It is charged,

## Labor Day Marchers for Peace



Labor Day in Detroit saw a sizable crowd of demonstrators for peace march down Woodward Ave., the city's main thoroughfare, carrying posters and distributing leaflets calling for an end to H-bomb testing and withdrawal of American troops from abroad. The demonstrators — organized by the Detroit Peace Action Committee — chose the city's annual Labor Day parade, in which tens of thousands of organized workers participated, to bring their message to a large segment of the population. They marched right past the reviewers' stand where Gov. G. Mennen Williams, Sen. Patrick McNamara and other officials were seated. The committee, with headquarters at 13440 McDougall Ave., will hold a meeting Sept. 22, to discuss future activities.

moreover, that some of those voting at the board meeting were not entitled to vote. The board also voted to abolish the post of public relations director and fire the incumbent, Robert Birchman.

Three days later these matters were reported to the NAACP membership meeting as part of a report of the executive committee. A motion to separate out the contested issues for discussion and separate vote was arbitrarily declared out of order by local president, Theodore Jones. This ruling was challenged from the floor. But Jones refused to entertain the challenge which would have allowed the members to vote his ruling up or down.

### RULES VIOLATED

For nearly two hours the meeting seethed as a half-dozen motions were made, but all were summarily refused by the chairman. In vain did members refer him to the NAACP constitution and to Roberts Rules of Order, by which the organization is governed. Finally Jones proclaimed the meeting adjourned and left. But the

## British Racists Incite Attacks On Negroes

NOTTINGHAM, England — Overnight, this quiet and prosperous city has become Britain's Little Rock. Knives were drawn, razors flashed and bottles were thrown in last week-end's rioting, in which 1,000 colored and white people were involved.

The riot was the culmination of trouble that had been brewing for several weeks.

About 2,000 colored workers live in the St. Ann's Well Road area, a dismal district of old houses and cobbled streets. They have been received with a mixture of tolerance and prejudice by the old inhabitants. But although the colored population here has steadily increased, there has never been any outbreak of violence before. BEGAN TO BE MOLESTED

Two or three weeks ago, however, colored people began to be molested.

On one occasion three or four white youths demanded cigarettes from a young colored worker, who was forced to turn out his pockets; other colored men have been badgered in pubs about the color of their skin and otherwise insulted.

Two weeks ago a group of young colored lads were beaten up by white youths in the same area.

I asked Mr. Roy White, a prominent member of the colored community if the riot had come as a surprise.

"Not exactly," he replied, "Although there have been no previous incidents in Nottingham, I am not altogether surprised."

"It would appear to me that possibly some members of some anti-racial movement had come from outside the town to stir up race prejudice."

Mr. White did not think that unemployment or housing was a major cause of the trouble, although he recognized that both problems presented difficulties for colored workers. (About 430 colored men are unemployed out of a total Nottingham unemployment figure of about 2,000.)

AFRAID  
She is now afraid to open the door and is too nervous to allow her two children out of doors unaccompanied.

Another West African, also a miner, expressed surprise that the attack came from the youth.

"All the time we have been here," he said, "in my case over ten years, the young people have always been friendly. Someone has influenced them to do this thing."

Some of the colored people talked about speeches made by Lt.-Col. J. K. Cordeaux, Tory Member of Parliament for Nottingham Central, on the Market Square, where he is reported to have opposed the immigration of West Indians, Africans and Indians to Britain.

SPREAD HATE  
They consider that these speeches have fanned the flames of race hatred, as has one speech made recently in Parliament when he referred to "Indian parasites."

Two days after the rioting the area was still heavily patrolled by police on foot, and mounted police and police cars roamed the streets.

There was an air of tension, but one saw nevertheless colored and white workers walking and chatting together and colored children and white children playing on the pavements, the best of friends.

(Reprinted from the Aug. 30 Newsletter, a British socialist weekly.)

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## "The Shook-Up Generation"

By Constance Farr

Harrison Salisbury, best known as a foreign correspondent, recently wrote a remarkable series of articles on juvenile delinquency in New York City, entitled "The Shook-Up Generation." (Now available in pamphlet form for ten cents in coin from the N.Y. Times.) First, he takes up the composition of the gangs — teenagers from 11 to 20 years of age, the majority 15 to 17, who band together for defense and comradeship. "The gang is youth's last-ditch answer to adult pressures and conflicts far beyond juvenile powers of diagnosis or resolution . . . Because gangs are a product of social deterioration, they are found in more vicious form in slums and areas of deprivation. But gangs and gang conduct may also occur in better-income areas."

The author first visits a typical gang called the Cobras. He shows us that its composition is determined by geography, not race, religion or nationality background. If a housing project or neighborhood is largely of one race or nationality, so is the gang. If the neighborhood is mixed, the gang is too.

The typical gang is ruled by a clique which makes all the decisions. The leader is the one with the most "heart." Heart is courage. As one boy defined it, "Man, he has heart! He isn't afraid of anything or anybody. He will do absolutely anything. If he has to fight five against one, he'll fight five against one. He's a butcher, man. If you need someone to pull the trigger, he'll pull the trigger."

HOW THEY OPERATE  
Salisbury describes their distinctive "uniforms," weapons, including cars used for sudden raids into "enemy" territory and even to run down rivals on the sidewalk. He lists what are considered provocations to a fight, their sexual mores, use of liquor, the way they dance (not rock and roll) and the terrible danger during the summer vacation, which is the peak time of conflict.

Also sketched are the personalities of typical members. For instance, a leader, Vincent, who is from Puerto Rico. His

case shows how the need of physical and psychological security underlie the gang phenomenon. Vincent hates Manhattan and loves Brooklyn, because in Brooklyn the streets are curved and "you can always run somewhere. You can get away." He quit Aviation High School a day before graduation when he learned he couldn't get a certificate because he had a police record. "Vincent is bitter about this. He says the police charge was false." He now feels he might as well do something wrong and get a record of his own. "At last then I'll be sent up for something I did myself."

Vincent cannot imagine that there are people in New York City who travel freely from one neighborhood to another without molestation. Fighting just seems inevitable to him. As for ambition, since he can't be an airplane mechanic, "it doesn't make much difference."

Many of the gang members, feeling trapped in the desperate and dangerous life of gang wars, look forward to entering the Army at 17, as "a means of breaking out of the desperate circle in which they exist." But many are rejected because of police records or bad health.

In portraying individual gang members, the author shows that though often neat and well dressed, they are "shook-up," living in fear of violent death, and in despair of ever achieving a stable life. They watch horror movies and read Confidential magazine. Most have no home life, no regular meals, no adult who can help them. Some have families who worry about them but who are so swamped with other problems that they are ineffectual in guiding their children.

### HOUSING PROJECTS

Not only the century-old tenements of the lower East Side, the brownstone barrens of the upper West Side, and the slums of East Harlem produce the stresses which mark New York's "shook-up" generation, but even the new low-cost public housing projects. Projects, intended to alleviate the social ills of bad housing, under bureaucratic, unimaginative

administration, have often intensified old evils and created new ones. For example, the law stipulates that families whose incomes rise even slightly must be evicted from low-rent projects, thus creating a shifting population in them. More and more are becoming catch basins for that section of the working class that is either completely pauperized or whose members have in despair given up attempts for betterment. Even before the present recession, Salisbury found in one housing project, 25% of the tenants were on relief and that the community was deprived of the "normal quota of human talents needed for self-organization, self-discipline and self-improvement."

In one Brooklyn project, for example, the elevators are used as toilets by the children, while the tenants, unable to cope with this abuse, climb the stairs.

Even the most ramshackle slum will have its own social structure, leadership, group relationships. These are obliterated when neighborhoods are razed, in slum-clearance programs. In the new low-cost housing projects, the bureaucratic administration makes no provision for aiding the development of a new community pattern, which at best would be slow-growing. The gangs are an attempt to create out of the chaos a pattern of life, but are unrestrained because the adults have not been able to establish their own social structure which could influence or control the gangs. Salisbury describes the Fort Greene Houses in Brooklyn as "a \$20,000,000 slum." For "the slums have been shut up within new brick and steel. The horror and deprivation have been immured behind those cold new walls."

In some areas of the city there are no recreation facilities for the youth. In the heart of the Bedford-Stuyvesant district of Brooklyn, there are not even any churches, except the store-front variety. Yet when the police, now heavily concentrated in this area, spot six or seven adolescents on a street corner, they order them to

move on, "often with the encouragement of night sticks."

Housing projects evict families whose youngsters get into police trouble. But keeping them out of trouble is impossible for the parents. The children consider home a prison. Even if they want to stay off the streets, there is no privacy in a crowded apartment. Often they can't even go to bed — there is someone sitting on it.

Salisbury says, "The school is the most stable social institution which the children encounter." Many principals and teachers are earnestly trying to help unruly and disturbed students. But with three shifts in some schools, it is difficult merely to keep track of the pupils. When schools double or triple the shifts, delinquency always rises. "More children are free on the streets with idle hands and idle hands," as expelling unruly students, "Kicking the kids into the streets creates wolf packs."