

Washington Resists Nuclear Test Ban

Significance of the Supreme Court Turn on Civil Liberties

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The June 17 decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court have been rightly hailed by all devoted fighters for civil liberties as an important victory. On the other hand, the hysterical advocates of thought-control have launched frenzied attacks against the high court's decisions and have even proposed to impeach the entire bench.

The basic, conservative section of American capitalism, however, has clearly approved the decisions and, as a matter of fact, played a decisive role in shaping them.

What now requires explanation is why, after helping the

forward march of post-World War II reaction in the sphere of civil liberties, the high court has during the last two years made a significant turn in the field of civil liberties. What also requires explanation is how the new, more liberal trend in civil liberties rulings is related to a parallel trend of recent Supreme Court decisions in the field of civil rights.

The New York Times, which gave its authoritative editorial endorsement to the decisions, attempts an explanation in its Sunday, June 23, News Of the Week in Review section. The Times editors infer that the

change in the trends of the Supreme Court's opinions on civil rights and civil liberties arises from the change in the composition of the court. "The decisions [of the court] seemed to confirm the emergence in the court of a new majority sensitive to questions of the infringement of the Bill of Rights," says the Times.

This only poses the question anew: Why does a changed majority with such a special sensitivity arise precisely at this time?

The Times' editors say: "Many observers trace the beginning of the change to October, 1953, when President Eisenhower appointed Mr. Warren to succeed Mr. Vinson as Chief Justice. Seven months later the court issued its unanimous decision against racial segregation in the public schools — the most sweeping of a series of decisions broadening individual freedoms. The court has since outlawed segregation in public transportation, restricted the Government's security-risk program to employees in 'sensitive' jobs, barred the states from prosecuting persons who advocate violent overthrow of the Government, limited the secrecy of Federal Bureau of Investigation records in criminal trials and curbed military jurisdiction over servicemen's dependents in criminal cases."

The recitation of the trend in the high court's decisions is accurate enough, but the reference to Warren's appointment still begs the question: why the new trend?

WORLD TURNING POINT

Actually, the date of the appointment of Chief Justice Warren (October, 1953) coincides with an important turning point in the world situation. The Korean War had just been concluded, registering what was in effect a major defeat for American imperialism and its plans for World War III. In Korea, the bloc of world capitalist powers headed by the U.S., met the forces of the colonial revolution for national independence and social change. It was clearly demonstrated in this contest that the forces unleashed by the Chinese revolution could not be suppressed without a far greater war effort and that a successful attack on the Soviet bloc was even more difficult of achievement.

The Wall Street and Pentagon strategists were forced to alter their time-table for World War

Win Civil Liberties Victory



Four of the five California Smith Act victims ordered acquitted by Supreme Court read news of victory over thought-control frame-up. From left to right, they are Philip Connelly, Frank Spector, Rose Kusnitz and Henry Steinberg.

Tuskegee Negroes to Wield Buying Power in Vote Fight

JUNE 26 — An aroused Negro population met last night in Tuskegee, Ala., in protest against an attempt of the state legislature to gerrymander Negro residential

areas and the famous educational institute of Tuskegee out of the city limits in order to disfranchise the Negro population. According to the June 26 New York Post, 2,500 angry people heard a report from the Negro Tuskegee Civic Association on its efforts to kill the gerrymander bill, which passed the legislature and now awaits the signature of Governor Folsom.

The meeting resolved to continue the boycott of Tuskegee businesses that was begun spontaneously after city officials and local merchants failed to protest against the bill. As C. G. Gomillion, TCA president said to the audience, "We will buy goods and services from only those who will recognize us as first class citizens and who will help rather than oppress us." He also cautioned: "Refrain from boasting, begging and accepting bribes. Soon the time will come when they [the white citizens of Tuskegee] will have to respect us. They may hate

Japan Wins U. S. Troop Withdrawal

By Fred Halstead

The Eisenhower Administration has made a major concession to the Japanese working people by announcing, June 21, that it would withdraw all U.S. ground combat forces from Japan. The announcement was timed to coincide with the visit to the White House of Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi. The U.S. Big-Business politicians thus hope to make the most of a concession which was forced upon them by giving credit for it to Kishi, a capitalist politician friendly to U.S. imperialism.

The concession was forced by the tremendous wave of mass indignation and demonstrations against the presence of U.S. troops which swept Japan in recent weeks. It follows closely the May 24 mass demonstrations on Taiwan (Formosa), which wrecked the U.S. Embassy in Chiang Kai-shek's police-state stronghold and gave a big black eye to U.S. policy in Asia. It has become obvious to the U.S. government that the Japanese working class will not accept with docility the occupation of their country by foreign troops.

"The large [U.S.] military community in Japan," says the June 22 N.Y. Times, "is an inevitable point of friction increasingly apt to touch off trouble such as the recent Taiwan (Formosa) riots and the dispute surrounding the Girard case."

LIMITED PULLOUT

Of the roughly 100,000 U.S. Army, Air Force and naval personnel stationed in Japan, the order affects only the 30,000 to 35,000 ground combat troops. "The basic decision, however," says the Times report from Washington, "is being interpreted here tonight as the start of a general United States military pullout phased to the build-up of Japanese military forces." Just how fast this general pullout will proceed depends upon the further actions of the Japanese working class.

In these events, the only real road to lasting world peace can clearly be distinguished. The mass actions of the working people of Japan and Taiwan have done more in a few weeks to thwart the war plans of Wall Street than all diplomatic conferences during the last eleven years.

Tries to Use Propaganda Promise Of a "Virtually Clean" Bomb as Pretext for Continued Explosions

By Herman Chauka

JUNE 25 — Washington politicians and brass hats are using a full measure of diplomatic and propaganda fraud to escape the pressure of a world-wide demand that

the U.S. accept the present Soviet offer to halt nuclear tests immediately. The latest phony propaganda stunt aimed at justifying continuance of the poisonous tests came in the announcement, June 20, that four atomic scientists, headed by Dr. Edward Teller ("Father of the H-bomb") have "high hope of obtaining a virtually clean bomb" but that continued testing is necessary to obtain such a bomb.

Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), chairman of the military application subcommittee of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, informed the world that Teller and his associates would deem it "a crime against humanity" if they are prevented from further explosions of the bombs. They claim that the tests are needed to realize their "hope" for a "virtually clean bomb, that is, one with a minimum of radioactive fallout."

UNINTENDED ADMISSION

"A continuation of testing," Jackson asserted, "will make it possible to overcome the very thing that people are objecting to — radioactive fallout."

Unwittingly, this new attempt to justify the tests is tacit admission that the present rate of fallout constitutes a real menace. It also exposes the claim made by Eisenhower in the 1956 campaign that the fallout has already been substantially reduced. Instead, we are now informed that such a reduction is merely at the stage of "high hope."

And even this alleged hope has already been ripped to shreds by William L. Lawrence, the authoritative science editor of the New York Times. On June 23, Lawrence wrote: "To produce a 'virtually clean bomb' it becomes necessary to eliminate together, or at least greatly to reduce the content of the heavy uranium in the bomb. But since this element is also responsible for nearly nine-tenths of the explosive force of the bomb, the problem becomes analogous to the making of an omelet without eggs, or an apple pie without apples."

Such damning facts about the bombs as those presented by Lawrence are of little concern to Washington policy-makers. Their sole interest right now is how to get themselves off the hot spot on which the Soviet proposal to the London disarmament conference put them. This proposal calls for halting all tests for a two or three-year period with international control posts to enforce the ban.

WASHINGTON'S DILEMMA

This proposition poses a difficult dilemma for the Washington cold-war architects. Its nature is revealed in two separate dispatches in the June 23 N.Y. Times.

Pointing to the powerful Asian and European opposition to the tests, the Times' London correspondent writes: "The Soviet Union's demand for immediate suspension, without waiting for agreement on other phases of the disarmament problem, threatens the four Western members of the subcommittee with a major propaganda defeat if they refuse to go along."

In a Washington dispatch, the dim view taken on Capitol Hill of the Soviet offer is explained this way: "If the United States settles initially for an easy, marginal first step the public may be satisfied (and may, prematurely, demand a relaxation of armaments burdens.)"

In other words, rejection of the Soviet offer would mean a new major setback to Wall Street's drive toward global domination. On the other hand, accepting a ban of the tests would encourage the American people to further opposition to the ominous stock-piling of weapons of annihilation.

In weighing the pros and cons of the Soviet proposal, there is

one factor which the Big-Business spokesmen do not even deign to consider. That is the simple fact that there is now an opportunity to halt the cancer and leukemia-breeding tests. Clearly, then, the decision on nuclear tests cannot be left in their hands. The American people must make themselves heard on this life and death issue.

How A-Test Referendum Would Work

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

Last week I received a letter from a reader of the Militant in Brooklyn. He apparently has a scientific background and is very much concerned with the issue of halting the nuclear tests which he agrees are a serious menace to our health and safety. His letter was prompted by my statement in the June 10 Militant, where I called for a national referendum in which the American people would decide if the tests should continue or stop.

While the proposal sounded at-



JOYCE COWLEY

tractive to the reader, he said he was puzzled as to just how such a referendum would work. Who would organize it? Just how would the people get the scientific information necessary for making such a decision? Could a majority vote of the people decide such a big international issue?

I think the reader's questions are very much to the point. In answer, let me first say that the idea of settling such a crucial question by the vote of the people is not a new one. Back in the 1830's Rep. Ludlow (R-N.D.) introduced a resolution in Congress calling for a constitutional amendment requiring that the issue of war or peace be decided by a referendum vote of the people. Prior to Ludlow's proposal and since, the Socialist Workers Party consistently put forward the demand, "Let the people vote on war."

The issue of nuclear tests, according to the overwhelming weight of scientific evidence, is as grave a problem as war itself. Millions of people are threatened with disease or death from radioactive fallout even before a war begins! Why shouldn't the people decide something of such vital concern to themselves and their children?

On what basis would the people determine how to vote on the issue? By the oldest and best-tested method in the world — by making up their minds after a free and full debate of the question. A referendum such as I

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House Committee Stages San Francisco Inquisition

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, June 22 — The House Un-American Activities subcommittee ended a four-day hearing here yesterday and added 30 more names to its string of victims. One man was dead and two others had lost their jobs as a direct result of the probes' inquisition into the personal beliefs and political affiliations of the witnesses called. At least one other person is subject to disciplinary action by the School Board and others may lose their jobs by delayed action.

William K. Sherwood, a 41-year-old Stanford research scientist, committed suicide rather than face the degradation of appearing on television and the near certainty that he would lose his job. The young biochemist had been working on a project pointing toward a possible physical link between cancer, some of the heart diseases and schizophrenia.

On June 20, Barbara Sherwood, widow of the dead scientist, filed a \$500,000 damage suit against the subcommittee and its staff. She accused them of engaging in a "conspiracy to commit a wrongful death," and charged that the committee's conduct was "malicious, oppressive and punitive."

Representative Gordon H. Scherer (R-Ohio) told reporters that he would ignore the subpoena to appear as a defendant in Mrs. Sherwood's suit. He said that Congressmen are immune to civil suits arising out of actions while on official business.

SOME CONCESSIONS

The committee had to make some significant concessions at these hearings as a result of the

Michigan Smith Act Case Wins Review

The conviction of six Michigan Smith Act defendants was reversed by the Supreme Court, June 24, and remanded to the Court of Appeals for further review, according to the June 25 Daily Worker. The Court of Appeals apparently has the option of either ordering a new trial for the six or ordering acquittal for some or all of them. Based on its recent California Smith Act decision, the high court's present ruling offers new hope for William Allan, Thomas Dennis, Nat Ganley, Saul Wellman and Mrs. Helen Winters.

Mao Tse-tung on Socialism and 'Contradictions'

By C. R. Hubbard

The full text of Mao Tse-tung's Feb. 27 speech to the Supreme State Conference on the "Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" has finally been published in the New York Times, June 19, from the translation of the New China News Agency, made available over three months after the speech was delivered.

The capitalist press, interested primarily in any symptoms of conflict between China and the Soviet Union, sees in Mao's speech a "revision of Marxism." Actually, Mao's views are an adaptation of Stalinist, not Marxist, theories to the peculiar problems of the Chinese Communist Party. As with all Stalinist theory, it flows from the need of the bureaucracy of a workers' state to maintain its rule against both the capitalists and the workers by balancing itself between these class forces. This aspect of CCP policy is more pronounced than in the CPSU because the bureaucracy is not as stable.

SIGNIFICANT ADMISSION

The most significant fact contained in Mao's speech is the admission of the bureaucratic de-

formation of the Chinese workers' state. The unrest in China today, as in the rest of the Soviet orbit, forces the CCP into a little more honest statement of the real situation.

Mao began his speech by correctly pointing out how China had been unified by the revolutionary victory over Chiang Kai-shek. Then he said, "It would be naive to imagine that there are no more contradictions. To do so would be to fly in the face of objective reality. We are confronted by two types of social contradictions: contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people."

According to Mao, the first type of contradiction exists between the imperialist and Chiang Kai-shek forces on the one hand and the "people" on the other. It is antagonistic in nature. The second type consists of two sub-contradictions: that between the capitalists in China and the workers and that "among the working people"—i.e., between the bureaucrats and the workers. Now, in Mao's schema, the contradiction between workers and bureaucrats is "nonantagonistic." The contradiction between capitalists in China and workers has a dual character.

Its antagonistic feature lies in the exploitation of the workers. "But in the concrete conditions existing in China," says Mao, "such an antagonistic contradiction, if properly handled, can be transformed into a nonantagonistic one and resolved in a peaceful way."

PUT UP WITH CAPITALISTS

This long and confused treatment of contradictions which proceeds mainly from the criterion of for or against CCP rule, rather than with the Marxist criterion of economic relations, is designed primarily to explain to the Chinese working class why it must tolerate the remnants of the capitalist class which still exist in China.

The CCP was compelled to move toward the expropriation of the capitalists in a transitional way last year—through joint state-private industry—for two reasons. First, private industry came into conflict with the ever-growing state-owned segment of industry organized on a planned basis. And second, the enrichment of the capitalists at the expense of the workers—who were both inspired and compelled to sacrifice with only the hope of eventual benefit—cre-

ated bitterness and anger among the workers.

While promising a transitional and "peaceful" transformation of this private property, the CCP bribed the capitalists with a state guarantee of at least a 5% interest rate on shares held in the industries. The problem of how many years this profit in the form of "interest rates" will be guaranteed is not yet resolved.

IMPACT OF HUNGARY

The contradiction "among the working people" is reduced by Mao to the abstraction of "right and wrong." Nevertheless, some of the problems are revealed in Mao's speech. For example, Mao reveals that the revolutionary events in Hungary had a profound effect in China as well as throughout the Soviet orbit. He said: "Certain people in our country were delighted when the Hungarian events took place. They hoped that something similar would happen in China, that thousands upon thousands of people would demonstrate in the streets against the People's Government. . . . There were other people in our country who took a wavering attitude toward the Hungarian events because they

were ignorant about the actual world situation. They felt that there was too little freedom under our people's democracy. . . ."

As in the rest of the Soviet orbit, Mao is compelled to admit that, "As regards the suppression of counter-revolution, the thing is that we have achieved successes, but mistakes have also been made. . . ." And Mao concluded, "We promise that a comprehensive review of the work of suppressing counter-revolution will be made this year or next to sum up experience and foster a spirit of righteousness and combat unhealthy tendencies."

Even more significantly, one entire section of Mao's speech is devoted to "disturbances" caused by "small numbers of people." "In 1956, small numbers of workers and students," Mao said, "in certain places went on strike. The immediate cause of these disturbances was the failure to satisfy certain of their demands for material benefits, of which some should and could be met, while others were out of place or excessive and therefore could not be met for the time being."

Needless to say, Mao pointed out that, "We do not approve of disturbances." But he also

warned against an attempt at resolving these problems through bureaucratic abuse. "Handling any disturbances, we should work painstakingly, and should not use over-satisfied methods, nor declare the matter closed before it is thoroughly settled. The guiding spirits in disturbances should not be removed from their jobs or expelled without good reason. . . ."

ALL-AROUND WARNING

In effect Mao's speech constitutes a warning to the members of the ruling bureaucratic caste: keep your privilege-seeking and abuse of power within bounds, or a new "Hungary" will confront us. And to the workers: criticize, express your grievances—you can go so far, but no further. The CCP has in fact granted the right of the workers to a voice in factory management. But all decisions are reserved to the "higher authorities."

(First of a series. The full text of Mao's speech in English has been published as a supplement to the June 24 issue of People's China. It is available at all bookstores that handle imported political literature.—Ed.)



This cartoon appeared in the Militant March 21, 1955 when government use of professional informers in its witch-hunt cases was creating a powerful stench in the nostrils of the American people. The recent Supreme Court decision freeing union organizer Clinton Jencks, who had been convicted on the perjured testimony of one such paid stool pigeon, has now dealt a heavy blow to the informer system.

Govt 'Security' Report Aimed at Civil Liberties

By George Lavan

The highly-touted report of the Commission on Government Security constitutes a dangerous attempt to set the clock back on American civil liberties. The report of the bipartisan committee was made public on June 22 in an obvious attempt to counterbalance the effect of recent Supreme Court decisions limiting the witch hunt.

While paying lip service to the constitutional rights of individuals, the report calls for a butressing of the witch hunt, its extension into fields as yet untouched and the passage of unconstitutional legislation legitimizing wiretapping and making

journalists and others, not employed by the federal government, subject to prison sentences for conveying to the public classified government information.

"RED-HUNTERS" ON BOARD

The 12-man board was appointed a year and a half ago by Eisenhower. Nixon and Speaker of the House Rayburn. The political flavor of this commission may be appreciated by remarking the presence on it of the following: Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee and chief contender with Senator Eastland for the late Senator McCarthy's crown as King of the Smearers; James P. McGranery, Truman's last Attorney General, whose principal claim to fame was his exiling of Charlie Chaplin for "dangerous thoughts" by ordering him imprisoned on Ellis Island should he return from England; another luminary is Gov. Edwin L. Mechem of New Mexico, an FBI agent turned politician.

The purpose of the commission was to make a study of the maze of security regulations, boards, etc., which had grown like weeds in the fetid atmosphere of the cold war, the Korean "police action" and McCarthyism. These boards were not only tripping over one another but were affording rich opportunities for intrigue, for playing politics and for the self-advancement of bureaucrats on the make with no regard for, and often to the detriment of, the administration itself.

UNIFORM "SCREENING"

Thus the commission's report calls for centralizing, making permanent and "streamlining" the witch hunt. Specifically it calls for creation of a new government department to be named the Central Security Office which would supervise all "loyalty" programs uniformly.

"The commission recommends retention, with fundamental revisions of the programs affecting federal civilian and military personnel, industrial security, port security, employees of international organizations, the classification of documents, passport regulations, and the control of aliens. In addition . . . an entirely new program in the vital operations of our civil air transport system," declares the report, surveying the domain of the witch hunt.

It then reaffirms the cornerstone of the current violations of political freedom in the U.S. with these two statements: 1) "The commission believes that the Attorney General's list of proscribed organizations, or something similar to it, is essential to the administration of the federal loyalty and security programs," and 2) "All loyalty cases are security cases."

The device to be used is the dishonest, and anti-democratic one of declaring that people who belong to organizations which believe that the capitalist system is outmoded are "disloyal" and hence traitors (actual or potential). This big lie then is used to justify an arbitrary blacklist,

cooked up by the Attorney General, by which hundreds of organizations such as the Communist Party, the IWW, the Socialist Workers Party, the Independent Socialist League as well as organizations formed to aid in labor, civil rights and civil liberties cases are declared "subversive" and their members dubbed "loyalty" and hence "security" cases.

SUPPOSED "SAFEGUARDS"

In view of this wholesale violation of political freedom, the sections of the report pretending to safeguard constitutional rights are almost laughable. These consist of (1) having "trained, qualified" witch-hunt administrators; (2) the right to confront and cross-examine accusers if the witch-hunters should be disposed to present them; and (3) in those security cases which arise not out of the victims' political opinions but out of a rumored predisposition to talk too much when drinking or from alleged susceptibility to

blackmail because of sexual aberrations, the accused may be transferred to non-sensitive government jobs rather than being fired.

The Commission's report is a reactionary that it immediately came under editorial attack from the June 24 New York Times two days after its release. The Times said: "It is because the tone and some of the recommendations of the commission report tend to revert toward the old stress on ultra-security that we say it is disappointing. . . . It would formalize the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, which has been notoriously misused and misinterpreted. . . . In some respects the commission would tighten present passport procedures. Its general approach to the immigration laws partially reflects the security-mania of Representative Walter, one of its twelve members. . . . Our confidence in the objectivity of the report has not been heightened by the 'concluding statement' issued last week by the commission's chairman. . . . a sharply critical and ill-considered comment on the Supreme Court's ruling in one of the important recent civil liberties cases."

ADA STAND

Even more outspoken was Americans for Democratic Action, the principal political organization of the liberals. Charging that the commission's recommendations would "run roughshod" over constitutional rights and "make a mockery" of recent Supreme Court rulings, the ADA said: "By futile screening of many millions of persons, by wholesale and furtive wire-tapping and by sanctioning other invasions of individual rights, the commission's recommendations would only result in undermining the very foundations of individual dignity and freedom."

Another attack came from Congressman Celler (D-N.Y.), who said that the recommendations of prison sentences for newsmen who printed classified "leaks" appeared on its face to be unconstitutional.

EXCERPTS FROM WATKINS v. U.S.

(In this ruling, the Supreme Court hit at Congressional "investigating" committees and gave support in certain cases to refusal to answer their questions on the grounds of the First Amendment.)

No inquiry is an end in itself; it must be related to and in furtherance of a legitimate task of the Congress. Investigations conducted solely for the personal aggrandizement of the investigators or to "punish" those investigated are indefensible. . . .

The Bill of Rights is applicable to investigations as to all forms of Governmental action. Witnesses cannot be compelled to give evidence against themselves. They cannot be subjected to unreasonable search and seizure. Nor can the First Amendment freedoms of speech, press, religion, or political belief and association be abridged.

Clearly, an investigation is subject to the command that the Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or press or assembly. While it is true that . . . an investigation is not a law, nevertheless an investigation is part of lawmaking. It is justified solely as an adjunct to the legislative process. The First Amendment may be invoked against infringement of the protected freedoms by law or by lawmaking.

GLARE OF PUBLICITY

Abuses of the investigative process may imperceptibly lead to abridgment of protected freedoms. The mere summoning of a witness and compelling him to testify against his will, about his beliefs, expressions or associations is a measure of Governmental interference. And when those forced revelations concern matters that are unorthodox, unpopular, or even hateful to the general public, the reaction in the life of the witness may be disastrous. . . . Those who are identified by witnesses and thereby placed in the same glare of publicity are equally subject to public stigma, scorn and obloquy. . . .

We have no doubt that there is no Congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure. The public is, of course, entitled to be informed concerning the workings of its government. That cannot be inflated into a general power to expose where the predominant result can only be an invasion of the private rights of individuals. . . . The authorizing resolution of the Un-American Activities Committee was adopted in 1938 when

a select committee, under the chairmanship of Representative Dies, was created. Several years later, the committee was made a standing organ of the House with the same mandate. It defines the committee's authority as follows:

"The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (I) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (II) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (III) all other questions, in relation thereto to that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

WHAT IS 'UN-AMERICAN'?

It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of "un-American"? What is the single, solitary "principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution"? There is no need to dwell upon the language, however. At one time, perhaps, the resolution might have been read narrowly to confine the committee to the subject of propaganda. The events that have transpired in the fifteen years before the interrogation of petitioners makes such a construction impossible at this date. . . . No one could reasonably deduce from the charter the kind of investigation that the committee was directed to make.

The Government contends that the public interest at the core of the investigations of the Un-American Activities Committee is the need by the Congress to be informed of efforts to overthrow the Government by force and violence so that adequate legislative safeguards can be erected. From this core, however, the committee can radiate outwards infinitely to any topic thought to be related in some way to armed insurrection. The outer reaches of the domain are known only by the content of "Un-American activities." Remoteness of subject can be aggravated by a probe for a depth of detail even further removed from any basis of legislative action. A third dimension is added when the investigators turn their attention to the past to collect minutiae or remote topics, on the hypothesis that the past may reflect upon the present.

Protected freedoms should not be placed in danger in the absence of a clear determination by the House of the Senate that a particular inquiry is justified by a specific legislative need. . . .

EXCERPTS FROM SWEETZ v. NEW HAMPSHIRE

(In this ruling, the court upheld Prof. Paul Sweetz's right to refuse answers to the New Hampshire Attorney General who questioned him about his political beliefs.)

From Chief Justice Warren's opinion:

No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any strait-jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our nation.

From the concurring opinion of Justices Frankfurter and Harlan:

Progress in the natural sciences is not remotely confined to findings made in the laboratory. Insights into the mysteries of nature are born of hypothesis and speculation.

The more so is this true in the pursuit of understanding in the groping endeavors of what are called the social sciences, the concern of which is man and society. . . .

For society's good — if understanding be an essential need of society — inquiries into these problems, speculations about them, stimulation in others of reflection upon them, must be left as unfettered as possible.

Political power must abstain from intrusion into this activity of freedom, pursued in the interest of wise government and the people's well-being, except for reasons that are exigent and obviously compelling.

In a university, knowledge is its own end, not merely a means to an end. A university ceases to be true to its own nature if it becomes the tool of church or state or any sectional interest.

A university is characterized by the spirit of free inquiry, its ideal being the ideal of Socrates — "to follow the argument where it leads." This implies the right to examine, question, modify or reject traditional ideas and beliefs.

EXCERPTS FROM CALIFORNIA SMITH ACT CASE

(In this ruling, the court ordered acquittal for five Smith

Put the High Court Decisions to Work

An Editorial

We publish herewith some of the key extracts from the Supreme Court decisions in the Watkins, Sweetz and California Smith Act cases. We do so because we believe these decisions are of the utmost importance to every defender of the Bill of Rights and as such should be carefully studied.

These decisions confirm, in some cases partially and in some cases completely, the arguments advanced by civil liberties defenders against the American political police. Thus a number of important principles they upheld have again become part of the law of the land as a result of the present decisions. (Other principles — such as those set forth by Justices Black and Douglas in their concurring-dissenting opinion in the Smith Act decisions — remain to be validated by the high court.)

Let us remember that when on May 17, 1954, the Negro people won a historic victory in the Supreme Court decision declaring public-school segregation unconstitutional, this opened a new and more vigorous stage in their struggle for equality.

Champions of civil liberties must take similar advantage of the recent high-court decisions to open a new and far more vigorous stage in the struggle against the promoters of a police state in America.

Act defendants and a retrial for nine others. However, it upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act.)

The distinction between advocacy of abstract doctrine and advocacy directed at promoting unlawful action is one that has been consistently recognized in the opinions of this court.

In failing to distinguish between advocacy of forcible overthrow as an abstract doctrine and advocacy of action to that end, the District Court appears to have been led astray by the holding in Dennis that advocacy of violent action to be taken at some future time was enough.

EXCERPTS FROM BLACK'S DISSENT ON SMITH ACT

(Justices Black and Douglas favored outright acquittal for all 14 California Smith Act defendants. Their opinion is listed as concurring in part and dissenting in part.)

The kind of trials conducted here are wholly dissimilar to normal criminal trials. The testimony of witnesses is comparatively insignificant. Guilt or innocence may turn on what Marx and Engels or someone else wrote or advocated as much as 100 or more years ago. Elaborate, refined distinctions are drawn between "Communism," "Marxism," "Leninism," "Trot-

skyism," and "Stalinism." When the propriety of obnoxious or unorthodox views about government is in reality made the crucial issue, as it must be in cases of this kind, prejudice makes conviction inevitable except in the rarest circumstances. . . .

The court [majority] says that persons can be punished for advocating action to overthrow the Government by force and violence, where those to whom the advocacy is addressed are urged "to do something, now or in the future rather than merely to believe in something." Under the court's approach, defendants could still be convicted simply for agreeing to talk as distinguished from agreeing to act. I believe that the First Amendment forbids Congress to punish people for talking about public affairs, whether or not such discussion incites to action, legal or illegal. . . .

I fear that the present type of prosecutions are more in line with the philosophy of authoritarian government than with that expressed by our First Amendment. . . .

Unless there is complete freedom for expression of all ideas, whether we like them or not, concerning the way government should be run and who shall run it, I doubt if any views in the long run can be secured against the censor.

... Supreme Court Turn

(Continued from page 1)

ceptible turn in the attitude of the American people as far as the witch hunt and the maintenance of Jim Crow were concerned. Also, it is impossible to maintain the high tension of an all-out, frenzied hunt without the factor of an immediate danger to "national security." With the rise of revolutionary struggles for workers' democracy in the Soviet orbit an additional prop was pulled from under the argument of a "red menace" to the U.S.

When the shift in the world situation began to register its pressures on the internal American scene we witnessed a new trend in Supreme Court decisions. The scope of the new trend as well as its limitations must be kept in mind. Like the high-court ruling on segregation, the new decisions on civil liberties don't end the struggle. Favorable legal decisions can provide powerful new weapons for the struggle — but the struggle itself must go on.

The recent court decisions struck blows at the fundamental pillars of the witch hunt — the Congressional inquiries, the Smith Act and the government "security" blacklisting program. But none were knock-out blows. The government is fighting back to salvage the main structure of the witch hunt and the high court hasn't, as yet, deprived it of any part of this structure. New witch-hunt victims are still being created; Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the Rosenbergs, is still entombed in Alcatraz for 30 years; Smith Act trials are still scheduled; the basic witch hunt laws are still on the books; the key-stone of the government's administrative witch hunt, the "subversive" blacklist, is still intact.

Obviously the struggle for civil liberties must continue with renewed force. And the victories recorded in the Supreme Court decisions can and must be utilized to press forward and broaden the struggle.

Interview With a Seattle Deportation Act Target

By Ann Dorsey

SEATTLE, June 22 — Hazel Anna Wolfe was born just two weeks and 17 miles from American citizenship because her parents, George and Nellie Anderson, left their Tacoma, Washington home. However, her mother, an American citizen, thought fit to drape the Stars and Stripes over a Canadian hotel bedstead just a few hours before Hazel was born. The fact that Leo (she won that nickname "Leo" in childhood) was born literally under the American flag cuts no ice with the Justice Department.

Immigration officials care nothing for Mrs. Wolfe's 38 years, useful, active years, in the U.S., or for the fact that her family, children and grandchildren, friends, interests and much in this country make it as much her homeland as if she had been born here.

EIGHT-YEAR FIGHT

For eight years Immigration officials have been trying to banish Leo Wolfe, and for eight years Leo and her attorney, John Caughlin, with the support of the Washington Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, have been fighting back. At one point the courts branded the immigration hearings unfair.

Then in 1952, anti-labor Congressmen hatched the Walter-McCarran Act which reinstated degraded hearings. New hearings were held and the purchased testimony of informers was accepted as fact. Immigration agents sat as prosecutors, judge and jury. The deportation order against Leo was automatic.

When asked what she thought about the treatment of the foreign born, Leo Wolfe replied: "That a person could be sentenced to such an inhumane penalty as exile for life because

of a conviction on a charge of advocating socialist political ideas smacks of the dark ages, rather than 20th century America. Yet, that is what my order of deportation amounts to in plain, everyday language."

WHY IS SHE HOUNDED?

"I am not an important person," Mrs. Wolfe continued, "but an insignificant secretary, and one of the most frequent questions asked of me by people everywhere is: 'Why is the Department of Justice doing this to you, who has never done, nor even been charged with doing, an illegal act?' It has always been my opinion that the persecution of the foreign born on political grounds is part of the general pattern of political persecution that has been prevalent in our country for the past ten years. I am sure that timid, fearful and bigoted men in high places are the plotters of this conspiracy against the traditions of democracy in America — a democracy that made America the 'Promised Land' of the millions of impoverished and persecuted immigrants from the old world who built this country."

Asked what she thinks of the U.S. now that it appears quite possible she will be deported, Mrs. Wolfe answered: "If all efforts fail and I am deported, I shall carry with me the conviction that people in the U.S. have the strong will and the know-how to struggle for their democratic rights on all fronts, and that among other victories will be the repeal of the Walter-McCarran Act and the enactment of a humane and just law in its place. America has been my home for 35 years. If I am deported, I should like to take this occasion to make the same statement as was once made by General McArthur when he was

in what at the time looked like a pretty bad spot: 'I shall return!'

CREDITABLE RECORD

It is Mrs. Wolfe's long and creditable record in struggles for labor and civil liberties that explains the witch hunters' desire to deport her. While employed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930's she led drives that built unions for teachers, office workers and WPA workers, and for Negro and white integration. She helped raise funds to smash an attempted perjury frame-up of attorney Caughlin. She organized a local of the Washington Pension Union and devoted time needed to help build the Washington Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

She won recognition from the White House in a citation declaring: "On behalf of the grateful people of the U.S., I thank you for your selfless service in your country's need as a volunteer worker for the Price Administration . . . patriotic citizen . . . loyalty . . . devotion . . . your community and your country will not forget . . . [and will] look to you now for leadership. . . . Signed, Harry S. Truman."

One of the highlights of her recent work was the mammoth job of typing a Smith Act trial transcript making an appeal possible. All the work was carried out under her direction saving the defendants many thousands of dollars.

Leo Wolfe needs the support of everyone, right now. Help her by writing to Attorney General Brownell condemning her deportation and send your contributions to: Defense of Leo Wolfe, Washington Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, 2nd and Cherry Bldg., Seattle, Washington.

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A Shameful Labor Precedent

The trade union movement in this country has been traditionally regarded as a bulwark in defense of civil liberties. But ever since the witch hunt started, the top officials of the labor movement have appeared determined to undo labor's great accomplishments in defense of the Bill of Rights.

A shocking example of this is the recent firing of Sterling Neal, a staff member of the International Association of Machinists, because he invoked the Fifth Amendment in an appearance before Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee.

According to an Associated Negro Press dispatch, Neal and two other IAM officials were fired for refusing to discuss alleged past Communist Party connections with the Eastland committee. Al J. Hayes, president of the IAM and head of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, congratulated himself for the shameful fact that this is the first such action since the AFL-CIO council voted to fire union officials for using the Fifth Amendment before Congressional bodies.

A union victimizing its officers for exercising their constitutional rights would be bad enough at any time. It is even more indefensible coming after the

unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, June 3, castigating those who "too readily assume that those who invoke it (the Fifth Amendment) are either guilty of crime or commit perjury in claiming it."

The action of the IAM council not only flies in the face of the Supreme Court's reaffirmation that "the privilege serves to protect the innocent." The action is particularly reprehensible as it applies to Neal. According to the IAM bureaucrats, Neal, a Negro labor leader, should have placed himself at the tender mercy of racist Senator Eastland without relying on any constitutional protection.

The IAM firings come just when the Supreme Court decision in the case of UAW organizer John Watkins provides labor with an excellent opportunity to deal a knockout blow to the anti-labor activities of the Congressional smear committees. Instead, Al J. Hayes and his associates choose to act against their own members in a manner that can only give aid and comfort to the Eastland committee.

The ranks of American labor should demand the reinstatement of the victimized IAM officers and a repudiation of the policy which inspired this indecent act.

Safeguarding Union Funds

Speaking before the Senate Labor Committee on June 21, John L. Lewis, head of the unaffiliated United Mine Workers has come out four-square against proposed legislation inviting government control of union welfare and pension funds. He correctly pointed out that such governmental interference into internal union affairs is a tendency toward the "police state." "The labor unions must remain free," he said.

"I'm completely impatient," said the Mine Workers head, "with the attitude of leaders of American labor at this time who are asking Congress: 'Please hurry up and enact a statute that will compel our leaders to be honest and stop thieving from our members.'" Lewis was referring here to the support of this dangerous legislation by the top leaders of the AFL-CIO. This support is part of the policy of the AFL bureaucrats of running in full retreat before the present anti-labor offensive sparked by the McClellan committee.

Lewis' stand is far superior to that of the AFL-CIO tops and is correct as far as it goes. The capitalist government is

the last agency which can be expected to safeguard the interests of the rank and file in union funds, properties and activities. The key to the safeguarding of the interests of the membership, however, is workers' democracy.

No one knows better than the rank-and-file worker whether his dues money or fringe deductions are used for his benefit or not. No one is in a better position to know whether a shady deal has been made between a union official and the boss. No one knows better whether the jobs are being given out fairly or not. No one knows better than the rank-and-file worker whether he benefits from union funds or union-supported health, welfare, and recreation facilities on the same basis as the bureaucrats or not.

When the rank-and-file is not afraid to say his piece or participate in an organized opposition, when his participation and his criticism is encouraged rather than witch-hunted out of existence — as is presently being done by the most pious AFL-CIO bureaucrats — then, and only then, will unions be free of racketeering and bureaucratic malpractices.

Daily Worker Toes the Line

Elsewhere in this issue our London correspondent, Peter Fryer, discusses the UN report on Hungary and the dishonest counter-barrage of propaganda laid down by the Kremlin and echoed by the London Daily Worker. As far as the Daily Worker in this country is concerned, it has responded to the UN report with the same hypocrisy and distortion.

Thus a June 25 Daily Worker editorial starts off by calling the UN report "a crafty blow at peace," and goes on to state: "the [UN] committee refused to authenticate the mass of evidence . . . which showed the belligerent exploitation of popular dissatisfaction by organized Horthyite, clerical-fascist forces within Hungary and imperialist and emigre circles abroad for the purpose of overthrowing socialism." All this is straight Kremlin apologetics.

As readers of the Militant know, we are not supporters of the UN, nor of the use that American imperialism makes of the UN for reactionary purposes, including anti-Soviet purposes. But the truth is the truth no matter who tells it. And, aside from identifying the Kremlin's horrible bureaucratic regime with Leninism, the UN report does not lie about the Hungarian rising.

The UN report describes the Hungarian revolution correctly as a genuine people's uprising for national independence and workers' democracy. It correctly states that the rising was led not by imperialist and fascist agents but by the working class and revolutionary youth. It does examine the Kremlin's contention about Horthyites and the like, and refutes it beyond a shadow of doubt.

The UN report does not have to lie, because the truth is so overwhelmingly and irrefutably damning to the Kremlin. Whatever advantages U.S. imperialism

may gain in its propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union and against Socialism as a result of the UN report will have to be charged to the account of the Soviet bureaucracy. Whitewashing the Kremlin, as the Daily Worker does, will not undo the damage. It will only make it worse. Only the truth can advance the cause of Socialism.

Actually, the facts about Hungary do not harm the Kremlin in its relations with imperialist diplomatic agencies. The latter make deals entirely out of calculated self-interest not out of moral judgment. The massacre in Hungary no more deters Dulles from shaking hands with Khrushchev than the massacres in Algeria or Kenya deterred him from shaking hands with Mollet or Eden. The prospects for continuation of the temporary truce between U.S. imperialism and Moscow will not be affected by the UN report on Hungary.

It is in its relations with the international working class that the facts about Hungary hurt the Kremlin. This is why Pravda and now the Daily Worker want Hungary erased from the news. And one way to do it is by declaring that to denounce the bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution is to strike a blow at disarmament and peace.

The ghosts of the workers and students of Budapest will not be laid that easily. They will continue to haunt Stalin's successors. They have already awakened the consciences of millions of members of the Communist Parties throughout the world. Their spirit and sacrifice will inspire the building of a new international revolutionary movement for socialism cleansed of all vestiges of Stalinism. They will yet have their victory and their revenge on the Kremlin and all its apologists.

The UN Report on Hungary

By Peter Fryer

A man charged with certain venial offenses may, under English law, choose not to attend the court which tries him.

If, however, he does not attend, and if he fails to submit a written statement, he scarcely improves his reputation when he afterwards explains away a verdict of guilty by the biased nature of the evidence given against him, or when he characterizes the court's findings as a "crude, false, disgusting job" and as "interference" in his "domestic affairs."

The Kremlin had every opportunity to explain before the court set up by the United Nations its armed action of Nov. 4, 1956, against the Hungarian people.

By failing to do so it not only showed a sovereign contempt for world public opinion; it also recognized in deeds that its reasons for this aggressive act would not stand critical examination.

FEARED EXPOSURE

It is perfectly true that this was a capitalist tribunal; but if the Soviet Government had had confidence in its arguments about "white terror" and "counter-revolution," what better than to have utilized this tribunal as a platform from which to argue this case?

The Soviet Government had another course of action open to it. If there really was white terror in Hungary last autumn, if the intervention of Nov. 4 was aimed at smashing a fascist plot, then why not appeal to the working-class movement of the world to set up its own parallel tribunal?

Peter Fryer, special London correspondent to the Militant, was an eye witness to the Hungarian Revolution. He was sent to Hungary by the London Daily Worker. He resigned from that paper while in Hungary when he learned that it was mutilating and suppressing his dispatches because he insisted on truthfully reporting what he saw — a great progressive struggle for workers, democracy and national independence. Subsequently expelled from the British Communist Party, Fryer is the author of the book, *Hungarian Tragedy*.

Even the sternest socialist critic of the second Soviet intervention would have had confidence in the findings of a commission of inquiry set up by the international labor movement, with the participation, say, of Yugoslavia and India.

But the facts and arguments the Soviet bureaucracy has to offer are so thin and wretched that Stalinism is shame-faced — and the capitalist powers take full propaganda advantage of its inability to defend its actions.

The Kadar regime, too, had the opportunity of stating its case before the UN special committee, or, as an alternative, of calling for the creation of an international working-class commission of inquiry to review its case.

By failing to do either, it, too, displayed before the whole world its lack of confidence in its contentions.

By refusing to grant the committee permission to conduct in-

vestigations on Hungarian soil, the Kadar Government made abundantly clear that it has much to hide, both about the present and about the past, and that its White Papers on "counter-revolution" and "white terror" are documents which carry so little authority that their authors fear an impartial test.

In these circumstances it is disingenuous, to say the least, for the London Daily Worker to complain that the 111 witnesses examined and cross-examined by the special committee were all emigres, or that the committee had a "bias against the present Hungarian Government."

It was up to Kadar to produce the "White Terrorists," "counter-revolutionaries" and "fascist plotters."

But he cannot do so, and therefore, in the words of the London Daily Worker, "the Hungarian Government did not recognize the committee."

The bureaucracy which rules in Budapest by the grace of Soviet tanks is arrogant enough to suppose that it need not answer for its crimes.

But there is a higher tribunal than the five gentlemen of the United Nations special committee who gazed at a political revolution through the prism of their class preconceptions and who to a great extent merely repeated what had already been said over and over again by Hungarian Communists and Socialists and by foreign friends of the Hungarian workers.

That tribunal is the Hungarian working class, which is far from having said its last word on the matters to which the spe-

How Soviet Soldiers and Students Aided Hungarian Insurgents

A dispatch in the June 24 New York Times presents a brief summary of what Hungarian exiles told the UN's special committee on Hungary about their deportation experience in the Soviet Union.

"The witnesses related that prison staff members had smuggled messages into their cells that gave them encouragement and news of what was happening in Hungary and in the Soviet Union. Some also forwarded letters to relatives and friends." Some prisoners testified that Russian guards assured them that they would not be shipped further north "because students in Kiev were demonstrating."

The UN report summarizes the testimony of these prisoners in the statement that "they had encountered both friendliness and sympathy from their fellow prisoners and their guards in Soviet jails."

Side-by-side with this story in the New York Times was an item about new death sentences passed on young Hungarian revolutionaries by the Kadar regime.

We ask the supporters of the Communist Party in this country — men and women who have sacrificed for their socialist convictions: Who do you believe stands closer to genuine socialist and communist convictions — the students of Kiev, the Soviet prison guards, red-army soldiers who showed sympathy and solidarity with the insurgent Hungarians despite all risk to themselves? Or Kadar and his Kremlin overlords, engaged in savage executions that blot out the young lives of the Hungarian rebels?

cial committee devoted five months' work.

In studying and evaluating the special committee's massive report one objection must be met.

It will be said that this is a report from a capitalist source, and that therefore its assessment of events in a socialist country is suspect.

In reply to this a number of arguments suggest themselves.

First, the committee's members were an Australian, a Ceylonese, a Dane, a Tunisian and a Uruguayan. The Daily Worker studiously avoided giving its readers the full composition of the committee, and indeed it would be difficult to sustain the thesis that all the five were agents of British or American imperialism.

A FAIR INVESTIGATION

Secondly, the committee went about its work, as even the most cursory examination of the report shows, with scrupulous, not to say rigorous, fairness.

(One only wishes that a similar examination might be made by a United Nations tribunal of Britain's crimes in Cyprus and Kenya.)

Thirdly, the Daily Worker, which now rejects a United Nations report as "deceitful," has never been reluctant to utilize to the full such United Nations documents as have suited its current political line.

One recalls the speeches of an Australian delegate during the debates on Korea and reports of the Economic Commission for Europe. Marxists cannot dismiss out of hand the findings of such tribunals as this merely because they are presented by the capitalist class.

Fourthly—and most important—the two volumes of this report, as I have already indicated, contain little that is absolutely new.

The evidence merely rounds out the story whose main lines have already been sketched by the British Socialist journalist Basil Davidson and the Polish Communist journalist Wiktor Wrosczyński.

The conclusions for the most part merely repeat and elaborate what has already been put forward by those who held that the Hungarian people, arms in hand, had the will, the strength, the courage, the determination, the élan and the morale to beat back and thwart any attempt to destroy the socialist property relations on which, for a few exhilarating days, they had begun to erect socialist democracy.

Is it too much to suggest that it was this aspect of the report—its vindication of what Communist and Socialist defenders of the Hungarian Revolution have been saying for seven months—which most embarrassed the editor of the Daily Worker, to whom fell the thankless task of "refuting" it?

It was a task he performed without a spark of conviction or enthusiasm; so unconvincedly that the next day he had to have, not one, but two further bites at the cherry: a full-scale editorial and an interpretative article.

Not that the special committee is either wholly accurate in its facts or wholly balanced in its conclusions. It is not necessary that it should be for its report to have immense value.

A revolution is a highly complex and self-contradictory thing, and it is too much to expect gentlemen from Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay, for all their impartiality and humanitarian sentiments, to see the significance for the history of the world socialist revolution of those twelve turbulent days.

Nevertheless events of such dimensions cannot fail to make their impression, even at second-hand, on honest observers.

Certain fundamental aspects

—i.e., certain class aspects—of the Hungarian Revolution do shine out from these pages: for instance, the role of the workers' councils, the leading part played by Communists, right up to and including the final gallant, doomed resistance; the intention of the Hungarian people to defend to the end their socialist economic gains.

"No putsch by reactionary landlords or by dispossessed industrialists could have prevailed against the determination of these fully aroused workers and peasants to defend the reforms they had gained and to pursue their fulfillment."

The slanders and the smears with which the Stalinist leaders of the Communist Parties have sought to bespatter and obscure the Hungarian workers' resistance meet in this report, if it is properly understood and critically evaluated, a tremendous rebuff.

THE TRUTH REMAINS

Neither Moscow's inventive nor the attempts of the U.S. State Department and the British Foreign Office to use the report as a weapon in the cold war will alter the fundamental class nature of the Hungarian Revolution, nor the resolution of the Hungarian workers one day to avenge the crimes that have been committed against them, sweep away the joint tyranny of foreign occupation and native bureaucracy and its reborn AVH, and establish socialist democracy.

A page of contemporary history—a page whose importance will without doubt grow as the years go by—has been documented in abundance. Do some still stick their heads in the sand?

No matter. Their attitude proves nothing about Hungary, but it proves a good deal about these self-styled "Marxists."

East Coast Vacation School

The Marxist Labor School has reserved the facilities of beautiful Mountain Spring Camp in Washington, N. J. for the ten-day period of July 4-14.

Two classes daily July 8-13

"The Struggle for Socialism in the United States"

Instructor: FARRELL DOBBS
1956 Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party

"The Soviet Union — Method and Perspective"

Instructor: MURRY WEISS
Associate Editor, the Militant
Individual lectures will be given by MYRA TANNER WEISS, DAVID WEISS and MAX GELDMAN.

Rates: For Adults — \$45 per week, \$7 per day; for children under 12 — \$25 per week, \$4 per day. (Lower rates available for dormitory or cabins.)

For further information or reservations, write:

New York Local
Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

— Phone: AL 5-7852 —

Mount Redbaiting Drive In W. German Elections

By John Black

With no tendency to the left of the Social Democratic Party running candidates in the election, the labor movement in West Germany is closing ranks behind that organization.

In the wake of the cold war, NATO and remilitarization, the more blatant and resolute elements of reaction have raised their heads and are acting as pacemakers in the "conflict of Western Christian civilization with the dark forces of Eastern Bolshevism." Fascist and clerical reactionaries, having survived the post-war "denazification" and "democratization" farce, are back at the old stand ready to lead a new world crusade against the East, this time of course in alliance with American imperialism and under the banner of "democracy versus totalitarianism."

HIMMLER'S MEN BACK

With their bold reappearance on the scene (Himmler's black-shirted SS-men have scheduled an international reunion rally for this summer) political practices horrifyingly reminiscent of the period prior to Hitler's seizure of power, are being applied again. Their ultimate target is the growing labor movement and the political left. Their first victims are individuals and tendencies believed to be more exposed and vulnerable. The first step is a virulent campaign of political character assassination.

Picasso Protests Death Sentences By Kadar Court

The Hungarian Ministry of Justice announced June 25 that it had ordered a stay of execution for playwright Joseph Gali and journalist Gyula Oberszovsky. They were originally imprisoned for three and one years respectively on the frame-up charge of "counter-revolutionary activity" during the Kremlin assault on Hungary. On appealing the decision they were sentenced to death by a judge who declared that the "case must be considered as a political question."

The stay of execution comes after a public appeal to the Hungarian government by the world-famous French artist and Communist Party member, Pablo Picasso. Joining Picasso in the protest was the Communist writer, Louis Aragon.

The reprieve for Gali and Oberszovsky came too late to prevent another tragedy. According to a June 24 Vienna dispatch in the Daily Worker, Imre Soos, a top Hungarian film star, and his wife both committed suicide after learning of the death sentence meted out to Gali who was a close personal friend.

The press assault against the Social-Democratic spokesman Wehner (reported in last week's Militant) was partially successful. The "Agartz affair" which broke shortly thereafter must be chalked up as a victory for reaction and setback for the labor movement.

Dr. Viktor Agartz is one of the chief theoreticians of the Socialist left. His influence was felt mainly in the trade union movement. Until October 1955 he headed the Economic Research Institute of the Trade Union Federation, when he was dismissed because of disagreements with a section of the Union leadership. The present official trade-union action program, including the demand for the five-day week, meaningful co-determination rights for the workers and wage-escalator demands, is attributed to him. The 1954 Union Convention at which he was the main speaker, adopted the general line he proposed. His role, coupled with his outspoken criticism of the reactionary development in West Germany, made him a target for the big-business spokesmen.

PRIESTS IN THE UNIONS

Before Hitler the Unions were divided in rival organizations. Side by side with unions leaning to the Social Democrats, there existed a separate Catholic Trade Union Federation, semi-company (the Hirsch-Dunker) unions and for a period of time, Red Unions, led by the Communist Party. After the last war a united union movement emerged. This progressive development was bought at the cost of including in the leadership elements that tend to look outside the labor movement—namely, to the Catholic Church—for guidance and instruction. Labor specialists of the Catholic hierarchy have continuously striven to widen their influence among the workers. Men, like Jesuit Father Noll-Breuning, counterpose a philosophy of social partnership, strangely similar to the fascist corporate-state concept, to the class struggle concepts of the socialist wing in the Unions.

Since his removal from his post in the union movement, Agartz has published a monthly informational service on problems of economics and social science. Politically, he stands close to the independent socialist weekly "Andere Zeitung," a publication which has criticized the Social-Democratic leadership for its spinelessness in the face of resurgent reaction in Western Germany. Several district organizations of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) were prepared to nominate him as a parliamentary candidate for the September election.

On the morning of March 28, banner headlines in the press reported the arrest of Dr. Viktor Agartz and of his secretary. The charges on which he was held claimed that an employee of his magazine, on returning by car from East Germany, had been found to be carrying a large sum of money originating in the East sector of Berlin, that there was reason to believe that Agartz was to receive this money for the purpose of financing the activities of the outlawed Communist Party, and that in his capacity as publisher of a magazine he had been publishing a treasonable information service. Agartz's connection with "a certain weekly published in the Federal Republic is also under investigation." Before any trial was ever held, Agartz was "convicted" by editors and journalists on all the charges and a few besides.

The press service of the German Industrial Institute (equivalent of the NAM in this country) provided the motivation for the press' smear campaign: "His ideas (Agartz's) remain noticeable in the wage policy of the Unions as well as in the radicalism of many Social-Democratic and trade union attitudes on social-political questions. It is less a matter of Dr. Agartz's personal fate than of the dangerous impact of his ideas."

This is specific enough—the real target is militant trade unionism. But even more is involved. Through Agartz, the social democratically inclined trade unionists were being linked to the East German Stalinists. Keeping in mind that Adenauer's election platform is "Christianity against Communism," it is apparent that a pre-election attempt to divide the labor vote along confessional lines was being prepared. Adenauer wants to scare Catholic workers into supporting his Christian Big Business government. To "get" Agartz and at the same time to split the labor vote was the intent.

It remains to be said that Agartz was released in May, when it became impossible to substantiate the charges made against him. New charges of maintaining connections dangerous to the state are being prepared. The future of this vague charge is in doubt. The press paid little notice to the collapse of the government charges, and nothing is likely to develop until after the election.

The Social Democratic Party as a whole took a weak position on the Agartz arrest. With some honorable exceptions the SPD leaders tried to ward off attack on themselves by pointing out that Agartz had been dismissed from his union post in 1955 and that the party could not take responsibility for his actions, anyhow. When this did not appease the lynch spirit of the reactionary press, the Vorwaerts (SPD organ) finally, on April 5, hedging their statement with many reservations and qualifications said: "It seems to us excluded that a man of his self-confidence and intellectual reputation could be an undercover agent of the Communist Party."

(Second article of a series)

Southern Negroes Mobilize To Win Their Right to Vote

By Frances James

The Negro people in the South are determined to win the right to vote. They are organized and are proceeding with mass actions to insure this right. Their determination and their confidence that the fight will be won is the basic reason that civil rights has become a national issue during this session of Congress.

In Tuskegee, Alabama, the Negro citizens have organized a mass protest against a move to deprive them of the vote. The State Legislature has passed a bill reducing the city limits of Tuskegee to exclude all Negro residential areas. The Negroes responded with an economic boycott and mass protest meetings (See story, page one.)

N. C. VICTORY

In North Carolina a literacy requirement for registration to vote, designed solely to permit registrars to disqualify Negroes, no matter how educated, and accept whites, no matter how uneducated, has been declared unconstitutional this spring by a three-man federal court. In response, the Negro people immediately began to move. Seventy-five ministers met to form the North Carolina Committee for Full Citizenship. Last week they worked out concrete plans for registering 100,000 Negroes in the state.

The committee plans to work through churches and civic organizations. They have asked each of 3,500 pastors to see to it that five persons get registered; that each of 35,000 deacons and trustees register two persons; that 22,500 auxiliaries register five each; and that 25,000 teachers register two each. They also ask the cooperation of Elks, Masons, Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows and their respective sister groups. The ministers estimate that even if their plan is only 50% successful the goal of 100,000 registrations will be reached.

Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the historic Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott and principal organizer of the recent prayer-pilgrimage march on Washington, has announced that he will soon meet with Southern Negro leaders to launch a campaign to get three million Negroes to the polls in ten Southern cities in the 1958 elections. "Across the length and breadth of the South we now intend to extend voting clinics to help Negroes overcome the contrived and artificial obstacles to their registering and voting," he told the Amsterdam News.

GOP AIM

The Republicans are trying to ride this wave of mass determination and win the Negro

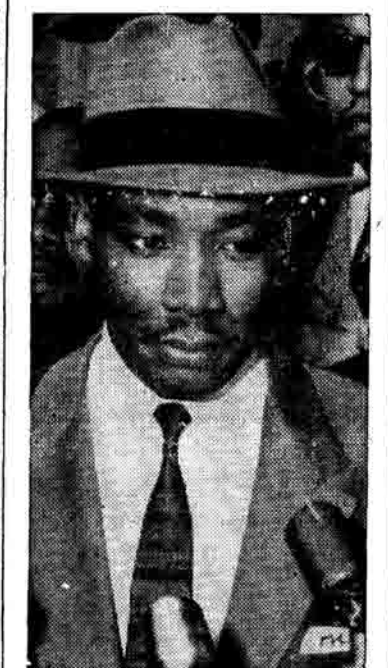
vote. To this end the top Republican politicians are pushing the administration's weak civil-rights bill now before the Senate. The bill would provide for investigation of violations of voting rights and would empower the Justice Department to obtain injunctions in federal courts against such violations. It is a limited and almost toothless bill and if passed would mark only a minor advance. But the racists object to the one tooth in the bill — the injunction — and demand a trial-by-jury provision to pull out that lonely tooth. Otherwise they promise to filibuster it to death.

What the Republicans are really after is winning the Congressional elections next year. Also they are already grooming candidates for president in 1960. Thus Nixon and Knowland, both leading prospects for the next Republican presidential nominations, are "making the record" to catch future votes as friends of civil rights.

DEMOCRATS EXPOSED

The struggle over civil rights is beginning to break up the class-collaborationist political alliance of labor and the Negroes with the Democratic Party. The dominant role of the Southern white supremacists in that party's apparatus is steadily becoming more obvious. The union bureaucrats point to the existence of Northern liberal Democratic politicians as their excuse for throwing labor's support to the Democratic Party. But these liberals have turned out to be a poor excuse indeed!

A whole contingent of liberal Democrats in the Senate voted with the Dixiecrats to keep the civil-rights bill off the floor by sending it to the Judiciary Committee headed by Sen. Eastland



REV. MARTIN L. KING

of Mississippi. Among the liberal Democrats so voting were: Wayne Morse of Oregon, James E. Murray of Montana, John F. Kennedy of Mass., Warren Magnuson of Washington and Mike Mansfield of Montana.

Evidence would show that these "friends of civil rights" made a deal with the Dixiecrats. The latter would vote for the Heil's Canyon dam bill, which the liberals favor, and in return the Northern liberals would vote to kill the civil-rights bill by turning it over to Eastland.

There is the possibility that the demagogic appeals on the civil-rights issue will temporarily shift a large section of the Negro vote to the Republicans. But the Republican Party, a prime instrument of the capitalists, who rely a great deal on racial division of the working class to divide and rule, cannot be counted on any more than the Democratic Party in a showdown fight to end Jim Crow.

There is also a marked tendency in the Negro communities of support to any politician who takes a stand for civil rights, regardless of which Big-Business party he is affiliated with. To the extent that this reflects mass disillusionment with both parties it is a step forward. However, no politician dependent on either capitalist party machine for his career is a genuine friend of labor or of the Negro people. Support of such candidates cannot bring a solution to the problem of second-class citizenship.

THIRD POLITICAL FORCE

There have been repeated indications of a mounting lack of confidence in both capitalist parties and the recognition that the Negro people must organize a third political force of their own. Representative A. d. m. Clayton Powell expressed this idea at the march on Washington gathering last month. This proposal, combined with the mass action technique already adopted, opens up the possibility of a break with the two-party system and the running of independent Negro candidates.

The Negro people are pointing the way — mass action — in which the entire labor movement can fight a successful battle against the witch hunt, union-busting legislation, government interference in Unions, etc. Combined mass political action of Negro and white workers could create a Labor Party and lead to the election of candidates responsible only to their working-class supporters. Such a movement and such candidates will prove in office to be reliable fighters for civil rights and for the full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people.

... A-Test Referendum

(Continued from page 1)

propose should be preceded by a period of national public discussion of, say, 60 or 90 days.

The combined facilities of the press, radio and TV reach virtually every home in America. Through these mediums the pros and cons of stopping the tests could be presented in direct debate. The scientists of opposing viewpoints could present the facts at their disposal, examine and rebut opposing evidence. Supporters of the various viewpoints would have the floor. After such a thoroughgoing debate the people would go to the polls and by their majority vote decide the issue.

WHO IS BEST QUALIFIED?

But, it is asked, are the people as a whole qualified to decide the merits of an issue on which the scientists themselves appear to be divided. In reply, I would ask this question: Are Eisenhower and his political cohorts any better qualified to decide?

True, the Washington politicians have much scientific information at their disposal regarding the real extent of the risk involved. But from the viewpoint of deciding the issue in terms of human welfare, this means nothing. We have the sickening spectacle of candidate Eisenhower assuring the world during the last election that the present bombs produce only a "safe" amount of fallout. Now we hear from Dr. Teller of "high hopes" for building such a bomb in the future. No, the people of this country would reach far more reliable conclusions from the scientific data than do the Big-Business politicians.

Presented to them in the understandable terms that present educational techniques can provide, the people as a whole could be relied upon to approach and decide the issue from the viewpoint of human welfare and not from the viewpoint of Wall Street's profits, which is the sole criterion of the handful of politicians who now possess the authority to decide this question. I think that the future safety of the human race demands such a solution. I don't want to see a terrible blight envelop the world because a gang of reactionary politicians see advantage in it for their capitalist masters.

LOCAL VOTE, TOO

I might add, that while pushing for the idea of such a national referendum, I see no reason why the idea cannot be popularized locally and pressure thus exerted on Washington. A start can be made toward giving the people the right to express themselves on this matter in the various cities. For example, here in New York there is an unused statute providing for popular referendums on subway fares. As a daily subway strap-hanger, I consider subway fares important. But I think they're secondary to the issue of radioactive fallout. Why can't the City Council conduct a referendum of the people of New York permitting them to express their views on stopping the tests? In the course of the present mayoralty race, I intend to press vigorously for the city to conduct such a vote.

Philadelphia Cops Nearly Start a Riot

PHILADELPHIA, June 22

— The trigger-happy, club-swinging cops in the Negro section of this city got a real indication this week of how Negro citizens feel about their brutal conduct. The demonstration was touched off when four cops pursued a speeding car into the area. The driver, a Negro, hit a pole and was thrown out onto the street. As the cops descended on the prostrate figure they were surrounded in a matter of seconds by a crowd so huge and tightly packed that they didn't even have space to swing their ever-handy night sticks. Cries of "Who beat this man?" and "They beat him unconscious!" rang through the angered crowd. It took thirty-five squad cars to remove the four cops from the center of the 1,500 people assembled. As the cops forced their way to their beleaguered colleagues they encountered various flying missiles.

At last the complete work available in English. Lenin's monumental economic study, written mostly in Siberia, which established his theoretical primacy in the Russian socialist movement.

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THE MILITANT

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NEWS ITEM: "Influential forces within the Eisenhower Administration," says the June 22 New York Times, "are advocating a complete end to the Government's slum clearance program" in order to reduce Federal expenditures without cutting arms spending. The doomed slum clearance program is presently allotted less than 3 1/2 tenths of one percent of the budget while arms get over 60%.

Toledo Unions Establish Organization for Jobless

TOLEDO — Unemployment in this area has now reached such a point that the labor movement has formed the Lucas County Unemployment Council. The Council

will be established as a permanent organization. Temporary officers of the council are Harold Mouch, United Auto Workers educational director for Northwestern Ohio, Jack Thompson, CIO welfare director for Toledo, and State Representative Francis F. Reno.

"Our objective is simple; the worker who loses his job has got to have more help," said Mouch in a statement in the June 14 Toledo Union Journal.

"Many workers are being laid off," he continued, "and many who have been laid off some time ago have exhausted their unemployment benefits and are on the edge of desperation. They have got to have help and we intend to do through this Council what every union is established to do — to help organize people so they can help each other, so that they can carry their message of need to those who can help them."

"It is inhuman and indecent to make people keep body and soul together on a few dollars a week. An organization of unemployed workers, working to help each other, can do much to make the powers-that-be recognize their problems."

During the 1930's the Lucas County Unemployed League was a militant and powerful spearhead of the organized unemployed nationally. Its proud tradition undoubtedly helped inspire the present movement.

Calendar Of Events

New York

American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion on Tuesday, July 2, will be led by Rose Jackson on the topic "Is Dialectical Logic Valid Today?"

The Santana Case

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McDonald Puts On 'Unity' Show Of His Machine

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, June 24 — The magnificent protest of steel workers that gave MacDonald and Company a serious jolt during the recent United Steel Workers presidential election has forced MacDonald to reveal serious damage done to his machine by the protest vote.

Rumors among the steel bureaucrats of differences among top USW leadership, rumors of some pork-choppers jumping off the MacDonald bandwagon and even talk of MacDonald's resignation led him to call a meeting on June 20 in the grand ballroom of the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago.

PIE-CARDS ON PARADE

In typical bureaucratic MacDonald fashion, top lieutenants and the inner guard paraded before 1,000 well-paid functionaries and pledged their unyielding devotion to MacDonald in order to dispel any rumors of rifts.

As reported in the June 21 Buffalo Courier Express, MacDonald who larded over a series of three-minute presentations of deep loyalty which lasted all day said, "I'm moved by these pledges of loyalty and support." It was a touching moment until MacDonald injected a note of suspicion and mistrust when he remarked, "But it is the deeds that must follow these words that will count."

The only thing that counts with this gang of labor fakers is that MacDonald still holds the purse strings of the union treasury, built up by the hard-working steel workers' dues, from which come those big, fat pay checks that make life so pleasant for the bureaucrats. In return, MacDonald wants his orders carried out, no matter how injurious to the interests of the rank and file.

ATTACK DUES PROTESTERS

This phony display of unity was directed against the powerful rank and file Dues Protest Movement. Speaker after speaker attacked the leaders of the anti-McDonald movement and according to a United States Press dispatch, the bureaucrats "accused them of going to Senator McClellan (D-Ark.) head of the Senate Investigating Committee and urging an investigation of USW."

It is unfortunately true that Rankick, one of the leaders of the movement had requested the anti-labor McClellan Committee to investigate the Steel Union. (MacDonald himself has promised cooperation with the McClellan Committee's endeavors to "clean up" the labor movement.)

However, many in the Dues Protest Movement who fought hard to beat MacDonald oppose the Rankick call upon the McClellan Committee. They have seen this anti-labor committee of bosses and politicians concentrate their fire mainly against the unions. They have watched all types of anti-labor laws proposed including a Federal "right-

to-work" law, sponsored by McClellan.

The passage of this law would open the door for every big corporation to drive down the workers' wages and working standards to the level of states where such "right-to-work" laws are in force, particularly in the South, including Senator McClellan's home state of Arkansas.

To the active supporters of the Dues Protest Movement, McClellan is also an enemy of civil rights. Thousands of Negro steel workers know he is no friend of theirs since he is part of the pro-segregationist Southern clique who are fighting tooth and nail to block any civil rights legislation.

Rankick called on an enemy of the steel workers when he went to the McClellan Committee and as a leader of the rank-and-file steel workers, has left it open to attack. In his typical hypocritical manner, MacDonald has taken advantage of this serious error.

STANDING OF RARICK

Rankick has lost some prestige among the ranks. To regain the regard of the militants, Rankick should once again appeal to the protest movement that catapulted him into national prominence by denouncing the aims of the McClellan Committee and by calling for rank-and-file committees to be the watchdogs of the steel union.

The election in the steel workers union proved that the rank and file, if properly organized, can smash the corrupt rule of MacDonald and Company. MacDonald has already indicated this by his need to call a "unity" meeting of his own machine. His ultimatum to the USW leadership to serve MacDonald first (and the membership last we might add) and his arm-in-arm relationship with the steel bosses have angered the steel workers. The Dues Protest Movement has demonstrated what this anger can do when it is organized.

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The above is from a front page story in a daily newspaper in Arkansas, Sen. McClellan's state. The story was reprinted in full in the June 13 St. Louis Labor Tribune.

Coming

In the Summer Issue of the
International Socialist Review

A review by James P. Cannon of Theodore Draper's book "The Roots of American Communism."

Draper's study has been attacked by one of New York's biggest newspapers and by a leader of the Communist Party. How reliable is Draper's presentation of the facts concerning this crucial period in the history of American radicalism? Is the book worth adding to your library? A leader who "was there" gives his estimate.

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International Socialist Review

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

For Summer Reading

By Anne Chester

Manager, Pioneer Publishers

For those who plan to use some of their vacations for reading or study, as well as for summer reading in general, Pioneer Publishers recommends the following list.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. By C. Vann Woodward. 183 pp. \$1.50

A landmark book by a Southern disciple of Charles Beard. He shows that the pattern of segregation as it exists in the South today is not "hundreds of years old" but dates from the smashing of the Negro and white Populist movement at the beginning of this century.

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Georges Lefebvre. 191 pp. \$95 The only translated work of the greatest living historian of the French Revolution. A brilliant study of the class forces and interests that brought about the crash of the old order.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS. By Charles A. Beard. 263 pp. \$1.25 Selections from the great ma-

terialist historian's writings on the historical process, Europe, America, the economic basis of the U.S. Constitution and other subjects.

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For the first time in English. This book was the first joint work of Marx and Engels and marks an important theoretical step on their part towards the development of the theories of scientific socialism.

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