

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 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 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.

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.

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.

The whites outvote the Negroes three to one in Macon county, where Tuskegee is located. In order to maintain the rule of a minority the whites have resorted to every type of trickery.

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 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

UNINTENDED ADMISSION

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

How A-Test Referendum Would Work

By Joyce Cowley

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.

And even this alleged hope has already been ripped to shreds by William L. Lawrence, the authoritative science editor of the New York Times.



JOYCE COWLEY

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.

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.

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

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

Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case. Thus, committee counsel, Frank Tavenner, had to explain the reasons for his questions whenever a witness challenged the legislative relevancy of specific questions.

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.

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."

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.

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.

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.

"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.)

What the High Court Said

Excerpts from Supreme Court Decisions, June 17

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, Sweezy 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," "Tro-

tskyism" 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.

EXCERPTS FROM SWEEZY v. NEW HAMPSHIRE

(In this ruling, the court upheld Prof. Paul Sweezy'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

act defendants. . . . 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 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 outward 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 farther 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.

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

Supreme Court Turn

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 witch 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 inquisitions, 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.

Supreme Court Turn

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III. The cold war entered a new phase in which the capitalist powers drew back from an immediate plunge. It was impossible for them to go to war against the elemental upsurge of hundreds of millions of colonial peoples fighting for a new life and it was impossible for them to plunge into a nuclear holocaust once the Soviet Union had acquired the A-Bomb and H-Bomb. The unfavorable turn of the world situation for capitalism, imposed a slower tempo on the war drive. A period opened up in which U.S. capitalism hoped to stabilize the world capitalist sector and slowly turn back the revolutionary tide.

This change in foreign policy for American imperialism had its profound effects on capitalist domestic policy. The cold war had been "heating up" from 1946 to 1953. And the curve of witch-hunt reaction had been on the rise in the same period. The witch hunt reached its peak in the spy-hunting hysteria during the Korean war when the Supreme Court approved the atrocity of executing Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

A combination of factors began to operate on the basis of the new world situation and the shift in U.S. foreign policy. An early manifestation of this was the shelving of Sen. McCarthy, who had emerged in the double role of witch-hunter in chief and would-be fascist demagogue during the Korean War.

The slowed-down preparations for war implied a greater sensitivity of American domestic politics to world trends — and world trends were basically revolutionary, democratic, antagonistic to the imperialist overlords, and above all hostile to the capitalist colossus in the U.S. with its Jim Crow and its witch hunt. The combination of a let-up in the intensity of the cold war and the pressure of world public opinion found its channels of expression in a per-

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 recommendation of prison sentences for newsmen who printed classified "leaks" appeared on its face to be unconstitutional.

I DON'T SMELL A THING— DO YOU?



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 buttressing 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, employes 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,

House Committee

(Continued from page 1)

lunge to the Supreme Court after acknowledging a "setback of the moment." "We have accepted the challenge," he said, "and the communists are going to be disappointed. We are going to pass the type of legislation that even the Supreme Court will understand."

The two witnesses that lost their jobs as a direct result of the hearings were Louis Hartman, a radio broadcaster for station KCPS, and Jack Fishman, a reporter for the San Francisco Examiner.

Hartman challenged the entire investigating procedure as unconstitutional and a violation of personal rights. He made it clear that he was relying on Monday's Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case to free him from a contempt indictment. "I am relying in no way upon the privileges of the Fifth Amendment regarding self-incrimination," he declared.

PSYCHIATRIC CASE

Two "friendly" witnesses, Dr. Jack Patten and Dorothy Jeffers, fingered a total of 96 persons, ten of whom were witnesses at the hearings. Dr. Patten's last contact with the Communist Party was in 1948. Further doubt was cast on the reliability of his testimony when he explained that he had undergone psychiatric treatment at the time he left the Communist Party. He was obviously unsure of many of the names he so lightly dropped into the glaring light of publicity. In many instances he found it necessary to preface names with "I believe."

Sympathetic smiles and occasional outbursts of laughter accompanied the appearance on the stand of defiant witness George Hitchcock, chairman of the Independent Socialist Forum.

Highlighting the committee's indifference to the rights of witnesses was its utter disregard of long-standing House rules banning radio and TV broadcasts of committee hearings. In reply to a public rebuke for this from House Speaker Rayburn, subcommittee chairman Walker contemptuously replied that he had no control over the building (City Hall) where the hearings were being held.

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

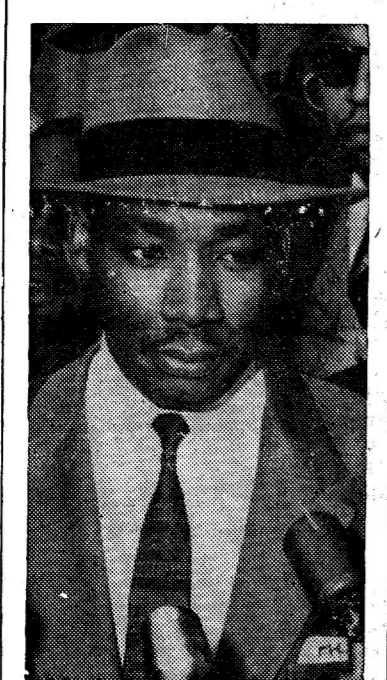
vote. To this end the top Republican politicians are pushing the administration's weak civil-rights bill now before the Senate. The bill would provide for investigation of violations of voting rights and would empower the Justice Department to obtain injunctions in federal courts against such violations. 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-Jim-Crow-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 Hell'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 Adam 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.



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. Repose.

"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 were 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.

Weekly Wages Go Down as Prices Hit Record High

Like "death and taxes," steadily-increasing living costs are demoralizing themselves to be a permanent feature of present-day American capitalism. Consumer prices reached a new record high in May as living costs spiraled for the ninth month in a row. Such increases have hit the workers pocketbooks in 14 of the past 15 months, according to the always conservative figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The current hike is particularly damaging in that it is accompanied by a decrease in wages resulting from a lower number of hours worked. According to BLS figures, the cost of living rose last month 0.3% to a high of 19.6% above 1947-49 prices. The present figure represents a jump of 3.6 percent over last year. Another price-hike is expected this month too, according to a BLS spokesman. He also expressed the opinion that the situation would be "nip and tuck" in July and would "probably" drop a bit in August.

As a result of the new increase, about a million workers will get wage increases of one to four cents an hour from "escalator" clauses in their union contracts.

McDonald Puts On 'Unity' Show Of His Machine

By Charles Seaman

BUFFALO, June 24 — The magnificent protest of steel workers that gave McDonald and Company a serious jolt during the recent United Steel Workers presidential election has forced McDonald 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 McDonald bandwagon and even talk of McDonald'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 McDonald fashion, top lieutenants and the inner guard paraded before 1,000 well-paid functionaries and pledged their unyielding devotion to McDonald in order to dispel any rumors of rifts.

As reported in the June 21 Buffalo Courier Express, McDonald 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 McDonald 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 McDonald 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, McDonald 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 Rarick, one of the leaders of the movement had requested the anti-labor McClellan Committee to investigate the Steel Union. (McDonald 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 McDonald oppose the Rarick 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.

Rarick 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, McDonald has taken advantage of this serious error.

STANDING OF RARICK

Rarick has lost some prestige among the ranks. To regain the regard of the militants, Rarick 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 McDonald and Company. McDonald has already indicated this by his need to call a "unity" meeting of his own machine. His ultimatum to the USW leadership to serve McDonald 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.

Cotton Choppers Wanted -- 50c per Hr.

"Cotton chopping is becoming general in all heavy cotton-producing areas with a strong demand for crews, groups, families and single workers, both white and colored. . . Wages generally 50 cents per hour for adult male, 40 cents for women, and children in accordance with their ability." 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.

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.

THADDEUS STEVENS. By Ralph Korngold. 460 pp. \$2.00 (originally \$6.00) plus 15 cents for mailing cost.

A magnificent biography of the leading capitalist revolutionist of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. A full-length portrait of a tremendous figure and leader. By the author of Two Friends of Man.

BLACK BOURGEOISIE. By E. Franklin Frazier. 264 pp. \$4.00

A searching examination of the economic position of the Negro middle class and its pretensions social, cultural and political — to leadership of the Negro struggle for equality. By one of America's outstanding sociologists. A "must" book for all serious students.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY VERSUS COMMUNISM. By Karl Kautsky. 142 pp. \$1.00

The essence of the writings of the most prominent social-democratic theoretician attempting to prove that Bolshevism was anti-Marxist.

THE HOLY FAMILY. By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. 299 pp. \$1.35

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.

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA. By V. I. Lenin. 751 pp. \$1.75 plus 15 cents for mailing costs.

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.

THE HISTORY OF A LITERARY RADICAL & OTHER PAPERS. By Randolph Bourne. 309 pp. \$1.65 (originally \$3.75)

Selected writings of one of America's most brilliant thinkers of the World War I period. Incisive, witty, revolutionary — an intellectual treat for the reader.

WHITE MAN BOSS. By Adamstor. 240 pp. \$1.00.

A devastating history and analysis of the politics and ideology of South Africa's "apartheid" regime. A South African political observer.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND POLICIES OF THE SOUTH. By Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford. 464 pp. \$1.00 (originally \$5.50)

All aspects of the Southern economy are examined in detail and with a wealth of information — natural resources, population, labor and wages, manufacturing, farming, banking, public finance, etc. Valuable as a reference work.

Order any of the above listed books from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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.

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

Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth

By Joyce Cowley

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