

It was after one a.m. when we walked out into cold déserted Madison Avenue from radio station WMCA. Willard Uphaus had just talked to an estimated 125,000 listeners in the New York City+

area. He had told the story of Chocorua, a nearby favorite of his refusal to turn over two amateur hikers. small packages of three by five "It only makes out like it's a index cards, containing the mountain, you know," Dr. Upnames of summer camp guests, to a "subversive" hunting at-stride, "it's only 3,000 feet tall." to a "subversive" hunting at-torney general of New Hamp-thing at-torney general of New Hamp-

shire. "And you could face life im- ness representatives, Dr. Uphaus prisonment?" Barry Gray had finally stretched out on a couch asked him. 'Yes, that's about it, I guess," living room, much more con-

Dr. Uphaus had answered. "There are not many people have been in an expensive hotel who could do such a thing; I room. doubt if I could myself," Gray had concluded. "We wish you

the best of luck." Knowing Dr. Uphaus' preferences, we shunned a cab and from the shelves and over took a walk in the brisk night breakfast we thumbed through air. We commented on the receptivity at the radio show to "Slavery in Massachusetts," his his clear statement against informing which he said was his time when a Massachusetts based on the First Amendment court had sent a fugitive slave guarantees of free speech and association, on his conscience and on the Biblical injunction not to "bear false witness." The

program had been a crack in our almost total wall of silence in the commercial press, and radio-TV.

We also talked of New Hampshire and the World Fellowship mack County Court House in camp at Conway and of Mount Concord, N.H., for the unique

MD Fee Just **Down Payment**

The American people are now fifty friends and supporters of paying more for prescriptions Dr. Uphaus including his wife than for medical fees.

According to the Social Se- 1938 when she returned from curity Administration, the pub- seventeen years as a missionary lic paid \$4,362,000,000 in 1958 for to China.

pills, potions, powders, eye Rev. Lloyd C. Worley, pastor glasses, etc. In the same year of the First Methodist Church they paid doctors \$4,300,000,000. of Hartford, Conn., asked the Since the 1947-49 period, medical group to bow their heads in care has gone up 53% in cost. silent protest. Then he read No other item on the price in- aloud the First Amendment and dex has risen so much, reports sections from the Bible which the Bureau of Labor Statistics. has also been Dr. Uphaus' text Are the profits of the drug during his four-year refusal to

manufacturers so sacred that inform on innocent people. America needs to force the sick | But the camera angle was not and the aged to foot that kind quite right and a spokesman for of bill? It would seem high time half a dozen newspaper photogto turn to socialized medicine. (Continued on Page 3)

5 Congo Parties Push For Independence

Five Congolese parties, meet- | headed by a federal parliament ing in a united-front congress elected by universal suffrage.

pre-Christmas invasion of busi-Decades across from the fireplace in my Detroit, Mich. tent, he said, than he would

Editor:

On Tour

'60

Vol. XXIV - No. 1

Can Be

Readers of the Militant will

As his friends know, George

has been ill the last few years.

and was in a hospital during

my visit. He didn't want to

tion on the state of his health;

he has arthritis and associated

"I don't like to talk about

be interested in a report of a talk I had with George Breit-Thoreau's Words

man, a former editor of this In the morning a well-worn paper now living in Detroit. volume of Thoreau came down Mainly we discussed the changing political climate which is becoming apparent it to find, in Thoreau's speech. in the motor city as in every town I have visited. But in comment about an injustice of view of the circumstances of our meeting a few comments of a more personal nature also back to the South. seem in order.

"Only he is guiltless who stands in contempt of such a court," Thoreau had said in 1854.

I met Willard Uphaus again spend much of our conversafour days later when I arrived with a group of ten New York ers at the steps of the Merriills, which he assured me were not so serious as irritating be-

cause they incapacitated him purge hearing. from time to time. The Court House is a square white brick building set off from it," he said half-jokingly. Concord's main street by a "Everybody tells me I am very gently sloping lawn.

objective. But when I hear On the steps as our contingent somebody else talking about drove up was a group of about his illnesses, I feel sorry for him. Because I am objective, I have the same reaction when Ola whom he had married in

I hear myself talking about mine — that is, I begin to feel sorry for myself. Of all human emotions, I think self-pity is

the most destructive." So, mostly we talked about politics and the current problems facing revolutionary socialists. But along the way I learned a few other things.

George noted that while the hospital has Negro employees, it has no Negro patients - in

ng people.

a city where more than a quarter of the population is Negro. So he made inquiry and learned that it is the hospital's policy not to admit them. Then he asked to see the head of the hospital and lodged a protest. His next step will be an appeal to the hospital board of direc-

His room showed signs of other activity typical of a socialist organizer and educator: a pile of newspapers and magazines many hooks some notebooks. Five of the books were by or about Frederick Douglass, three about Samuel Adams. I learned that he was preparing a series of three talks for the local Friday Night Socialist Forum (where I had spoken). To be given in February, they will deal with the Frightened by the swift growth of the national-independence general theme: The American Revolutionist - Methods, Tra-Belgians in the Congo "approach ditions and Personal Qualities, together with an evaluation the new year with dread," says of the three American revo-Homer Bigart in the Dec. 24 New lutions. The opening talk will York Times. They "have stopped be on Samuel Adams and the buying cars, refrigerators and First; then on Frederick Dougluxury items, lest 1960 bring inlass and the Second; then on James P. Cannon and the next new African Government find American revolution. If his enthusiasm about the project The Belgian authorities hope is a good indication. Detroit that a recent outbreak of interforum-goers are in for sometribal war in the interior of the thing worthwhile in February. Congo and of the revival of tri-I won't attempt in this report to cover all the political as pretexts for denying the Congolese demands for national inquestions we discussed. But I (Continued on Page 4)

WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

THE MALLITANT.

222

PUBLISHED

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1960

Outrage Shocks West Germans

Unidentified woman enters synagogue in Cologne, West Germany, Dec. 26. On its walls are swasiikas caubed the night before along with the words, "Juden Raus" - "Jews Get Out." West Germans were deeply shocked by the anti-Semitic outrage, says Sydney Gruson in the Dec. 27 New York Times. Cologne police arrested two members of the German Reichs party, one of whom they say, confessed to the desecration. The Reichs party is an anti-Semitic outfit, but under public pressure, it expelled the two and dissolved the Cologne district headquarters, The federal government is now weighing whether to ban the organization.

Labor Party Is Still **Kerosene** Fire In New York Main Political Need

By Tom Kerry

Variations of the policy of "re- comprising, on the one hand, warding friends and punishing "loyal" Democrats of "liberal" enemies," has dominated the persuasion, and on the other, politics of American union lead- conservative Demo-Dixiecrats held without bail on a homicide is a neat one. The company ers since the time of Samuel and Republicans.

proclaimed as the policy best and polished — as Reuther's overturned. In the resulting of the National Guard. The govsuited to the needs of the work- brainstorms usually are. But what makes Reuther imagine ished.

With the expansion of Ameri- | that the Dixiecrats are at all concan industry, the growth of the cerned about accommodating been used in the slums of Amerunions, the increasing interven- him? In domestic politics they tion of the government in labor- have made the South a haven for but in 1957, they were finally tutional law" which provides fornanagement disputes—especial- the run-away shop, have stymied banned. A law was also passed ly with the advent of Roosevelt's union organization and exert a requiring all buildings housing holies private property. Only New Deal — the policy under- downward pull on the national more than 10 families to have the strikers get hurt, but then went a subtle transformation. wage level. In national politics central heating by Nov. 1, 1958. that was the object. Organized labor became part of they play a balance-of-power Buildings housing three to 10 Spearheading a crackdowna coalition within the Democra- role to the benefit of the capital- units were given a deadline of on-labor drive involving the entic party. To reward "friends" ist ruling class. In Congress, by Nov. 1, 1959.

While city officials prepared son began hiring scabs in Novand punish "enemies" was trans- virtue of the seniority system. said that he did not care to enmuted into supporting Demo-crats as against Republicans for public office. Today, the policy as interpret-Today, the policy as interpret- process. cratic Mayor Wagner to exempt Nixon. time the scab work force had Their power rests on the per- from the central heating reed by Gompers is thoroughly dis-In other words, the Republican reached about 500, the strikers credited. Although, immediately petuation of the Jim Crow sys- quirement all buildings "schedbosses have already decided and from Local 6 of the UPWA beollowing the enactment of the tem. Big business, which con- uled" to be acquired for any the convention is a mere formalgan an aggressive campaign. Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, trols both major parties, is a di- kind of future housing project. Some 1,000 pickets began masssome union leaders publicly de- rect beneficiary of this. There is When guestioned about the But the decisions of the Reing at the plant gates to stone clared that the labor-Democratic only one power able to effect a tenants freezing if Wagner's publican machine are not final. scabs and company officials. coalition had proven a liability meaningful' realignment in the recommendation were accepted, They are subject to the will of Once begun, such action soon and suggested a return to the one-party South — the organized a City Hall spokesman cynically the ruling capitalist oligarchs, as extended beyond the immediate policy of supporting "friends" in labor movement. And it can be responded: "They haven't fro-Taft indicated in an analysis of area of the plant gates. Farmers either party, this was more an done only through the formation zen for the last 100 years." who were discovered to be his defeat at the 1952 Republioutburst of irritated frustration of labor's own independent po- Maybe. But according to the scabs found their corn cribs cut can convention. Since Rockefeland an implied threat than a litical party. This is the key to Fire Department 200 of them ler is a prominent member of open and corn dumped. serious proposal for a return to the most critical problem of died in the past 10 years from this ruling clique, why would he Sympathy was widespread Gompers. American labor politics. kerosene fires. concede to the lowly hacks of the for the strikers. Support came Nevertheless, it is a matter of Republican machine? from other packinghouse common knowledge that the la-Krupp Dispenses \$1,190 New York Post correspondent workers in nearby plants. bor-Democratic coalition has led Massolo indicated the answer to School children were reported to a series of defeats for the that: "Despite his own great to be gathering stones for use To His Jewish Ex-Slaves unions on the political arena. If by strikers. wealth most of the nation's inthe trend continues - and Officials of Albert Lea and dustrial leaders let Rockefeller there is no reason to think it Freeborn county appealed to the know they preferred Nixon." There may be as many as 2,000 | be judged from the fact that last won't — the prospects for the governor. They were unable, Many political commentators future look very bleak. After Jews still alive who worked as year his industrial empire grossthey said, to cope with the situ- think that Rockefeller, because more than 20 years of coalition slave laborers for Alfried Krupp, ed about \$1 billion, of which Alation and were faced with the of his winning TV personality, politics a formidable body of the German "cannon king," dur- fried Krupp pocketed some \$80 danger of "riots" and "insurrec- would have a better chance than anti-labor legislation has accu- ing World War II. These pitiful million in net profit. tion." They asked the governor Nixon to win the election. Theresurvivors have now been asmulated, with more to come. As a war criminal, Krupp was to close the plant down to re- fore, the Republicans are mak-Given a continuation of the sured of compensation for their sentenced to 12 years imprisonestablish "law and order," for it ing a mistake in not choosing policy of coalition, to which the fearful ordeal. ment in 1948. The U.S. military was their opinion that even un- Rockefeller. union leaders remain commit. Krupp announced on Christ- court that tried the Nazi backer der martial law the National These commentators leave out ed, what is the perspective for mas Eve that he will grant a also condemned him to forfeit Guard couldn't patrol the coun-(Continued on Page 3) the future? Merely to hold forth cash payment of 5,000 marks — his property. he promise of more-of-the-same \$1,190 — to each and every At the time this was consid-Edge Still Held by Democrats is not very hopeful. The ranks Jewish survivor who can prove ered a light sentence. Among are growing more dissatisfied that he or she was a forced lathe charges leveled at the "Ruhr



By Carl Feingold

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 25 — Labor circles here are discussing the new twist in strikebreaking seen in the packinghouse strike at Albert Lea against Wilson & Co. The pat-

tern encountered by the local Packinghouse Workers ran like tryside and prevent strikers gan against the strikebreakers, step two was taken. Democratic Gov. Freeman called out the

and order.

verge of spoiling.

this: First, the company hired from seeking to persuade scabs scabs. When militant action be- that it is unsafe to cross a picket line.

Price 10c

It was in response to this request that Gov. Orville Freeman National Guard to restore "law called out the National Guard, declared martial law and closed To make it look good, the down the plant. However, in a roops closed down the plant few days the governor permitted for a few days. Then the militia it to be reopened "temporarily" reopened the plant "temporar- to permit scabs to finish processily" so that the scabs could proing some meat that might spoil. cess meat said to be on the Strange as it may seem, the union leadership approved this

The next step was taken by the company to help get the labor-endorsed governor off the They Vetoed federal court to regain full use of their plant and the court A Rockefeller structing him to let the company reopen the plant but al-lowing him to use troops to maintain "order" as the scabs

The formula, it can been seen, charge. A kerosene stove in her keeps the plant open and the blaze a two-year-old child per- ernor appears clean because he tries to close the plant down Kerosene stoves have long but is forced to reopen it under federal court order; and the court is only upholding "constiica's largest and wealthiest city; the protection of that holy of

tire meat packing industry, Wil-

(Continued on Page 4)

By Joseph Hansen

Nelson Rockefeller's announcement that he is withdrawing from the Presidential race has been handled by the capitalist press as a major political event. The reason is clear. In their world it is firmly believed that you can buy anything if you have sufficient dollars, including the White House. Rockefeller has the dollars; therefore the presidency was his if he wanted it; therefore his bowing out was

astonishing. Rockefeller gave as his reason hat the "great majority of those who will control the Republican convention stand opposed to any contest for the nomination." He

Kills an Infant NEW YORK - On Christmas took the workers' jobs. Eve, Mrs. Carleen Cole, 32, was

Gompers, when it was openly It is a neat scheme - slick apartment had accidentally scabs working under protection

Dec. 24-27, voted to demand An economic resolution. drawn "complete, immediate and un- up by the Socialist People's conditional independence" for party, charges that the capitalist the Belgian Congo from King character of the present Congo-Baudouin, now visiting the Af- lese economy "exploits the massrican colony. The five parties es for the profit of individuals.' met in the wake of local elec- It demands a state-controlled tions last month in which na- economy based on human needs tional-independence supporters and insists on a law to stop the export of capital. gained sweeping victories.

On his arrival Dec. 28 in Leopoldville, capital of the Belgian Congo, Baudouin was able movement during the past year. to gauge the strength of the national-independence sentiment at first hand. Shouts of "Long Live the King!" were "drowned by a mass of Africans roaring: 'Independence! Immediate independence!'" a New York Times dependence to the Congo and the dispatch reports. Baudouin may meet with African nationalist leaders during his stay in Leopoldville. The Belgian government has scheduled a roundtable conference in mid-January with African representatives to bal sorcery killings can serve discuss the fate of the colony.

The five parties attending the united-front congress were Abako, political organization of the the African Socialist party; the Abazi, the political organization of an ethnical group. Patrice Lumumba, prominent leader of another wing of the Congolese National Movement, was in jail and his wing was not represented. Josef Kasavubu, Abako leader, chaired the conference and Albert Kalondji of the Congolese National Movement was vicechairman. The parley was held in Kisantu, 70 miles from Leopoldville with 200 delegates in attendance.

The congress "impressed observers by its tight discipline and determination," says the New York Times. It adopted three resolutions.

The first demands immediate American Activities in 1954 and total independence and sets while an instructor at the Uni-Jan. 5, the anniversary of last versity of Michigan. He defied year's political rally broken up the committee on First Amendby the Belgian police, as the date ment grounds in a move to test for "discussing with Belgium the constitutionality of its inways and means to pass over quiries into the political beliefs power to the Congolese Govern- of citizens. ment."

tion of six autonomous republics, ¹viction.

Bakongo tribe; one wing of the Congolese National Movement; Davis Begins Prison Sentence Socialist People's party; and Abazi, the political organization For Stand on First Amendment

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 - Dr. | Immediately after he defied H. Chandler Davis, an associate the House committee, Dr. Davis into a booby trap. To retain their regardless of the length of editor of America's leading was fired by the University of support the union heads must slavery. mathematics journal, is sched- Michigan despite the fact that he hold out some hope for a fundauled to enter a federal prison was under contract. The action mental change. Jan. 4 to serve a six-months sen- was vigorously protested by the tence, the Committee of First American Association of Univer-president of the AFL-CIO United

Amendment Defendants report- sity Professors. ed today. The talented young mathematician will be the third persón to

inform before a "subversive" committee.

Europeans redundant."

dependence.

the House Committee on Un-

His stand brought a six-month Another resolution declares sentence for contempt of Conthat the future form of the Con-|gress. On Dec. 7, the Supreme golese state should be a federa- Court refused to review his con-

To this end, Walter Reuther,

Automobile Workers, has be-

come the advocate of a policy of

there is genuine progress toward

at the recent UAW convention,

"progressive forces will continue

Admittedly, the most "serious

Dixiecrat coalition in Congress.

is based on the hope that some-

to face serious obstacles."

Dr. Davis subsequently studied at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton and the proposal is that "conserva-

period for refusing to testify or editor of Mathematical Reviews, journal of the American Mathehunting Congressional or state matical Society. He intends to the realignment of forces within

request federal authorities to the two existing parties," states Dr. Davis was hailed before permit him to continue his re- the political resolution adopted company was willing to make search work while in prison.

Describing himself as "by profession a mathematician, and by advocation, a citizen and heretic," he told a recent mass meeting here of the Committee of First Amendment Defendants that he had defied the House how or other, the Dixiecrats can spokesmen said that Krupp, out

witch-hunters because "I simply refused to be an informer."

and discontented with a policy borer in a Krupp enterprise. Emperor" was that he had "not that has repeatedly led labor Moreover, the purse will be paid only accepted but actively

sought to employ concentration camp inmates and for that pur-The estimate of 2,000 claim-

ants was made by the Conference on Jewish Claims Against Germany. But Krupp officials, who seem to have carefully checked how many survivors "realignment." Stated briefly, there might be before deciding on the compensation, said that be imprisoned in a two-month then was appointed associate tives" line up in one party and there couldn't be more than "liberals" in another. "Unless about 1,200.

Public-relations spokesmen for of his vast empire by Jan. 31 of Krupp explained that the giant last year.

the payments even though it assumed no legal responsibility in the matter, since the West German government, as the succesobstacle" is the Republican- sor to the Hitler regime, was responsible for compensating vic-

Reuther's realignment gimmick tims of the Nazis. However, the public-relations will simply be cancelled.

be prevailed upon to walk out of of a warm desire to help "heal to depart with nearly 21/2% of the Democratic party. This the wounds of World War II," last year's profits to compensate Already imprisoned for the would presumably open the way had generously decided to put up surviving Jewish ex-slave laborsame reason are Lloyd Baren- to the establishment in the the \$2,000,000 needed. How mag- ers certainly demonstrates that blatt and Dr. Willard Uphaus. South of a two-party system nanimous the gesture was can he really is a decent chap.

In Pushing Up Cost of Living

The cost of living rose to a | tary spending, have stoked the pose built factories near the new all-time high as of mid-

camps at Markstaedt and Ausch- November - although the steel witz." Many prisoners died in workers had not as yet received extends back two decades to the Krupp's slave-labor factories. In 1951, the U.S. High Com- the U.S. Bureau af Labor Sta- tember 1939. The consumer price missioner for Germany, John J. tistics, the Consumer Price In- index then stood at 59.4 of the McCloy, decided Krupp had dex rose to 125.6 with the 1947-1947-49 base figure. By 1946, the paid a sufficient penalty and he 49 average as the base of 100. index rose to 83.4, or 40.4% was released after serving three | This means it takes \$12.56 to buy | higher than 1939. In 1952, the years of his 12-year term. How- today what \$10 bought in the consumer price index soared to ever, he was ordered to dispose 1947-49 period. Over 52.7% — or more than war figure.

half — of the cost-of-living rise

granted him another year. It is now widely assumed that 13.5 points from the base period. Truman.

when the new deadline arrives An additional 12.1' points have this Jan. 31 the dissolution order been added since under the Re-

After all, Krupp's willingness tion. the tremendous federal expenditures for war purposes, an average of more than \$40 bil-

inflationary furnace.

The entire period of inflation any wage increases. According to start of World War II in Sep-113.5, or 91.7% above the pre-

Today, the official cost-of-liv-When that deadline arrived, since the 1947-49 period occurred ing index stands 109.7% higher Krupp blandly announced he under the Democratic Truman than in 1939. Some 83.5% of the simply couldn't find a customer. administration. The index when total rise since 1939 was regis-The Allied powers graciously Truman left office at the end tered under the Democratic adof 1952 was 113.5, an increase of ministrations of Roosevelt and

> However, if the Republicans tay in office as long as the publican Eisenhower administra- Democrats did, at the rate the cost of living has been rising since 1952 the Republicans Under both administrations, should run the Democrats a very

close second in the matter of slashing the buying power of lion annually for direct mili- the American dollar,





New Technological Equipment Found in America's Bedrooms *Guilty of Daring to Battle for Marxism* (Second of two articles)

- By Herman Chauka

One of the dirtiest forms of invasion of privacy is spreading like a plague. In the trade it's called "bugging." Spying with electronic devices

Page Two

Latest revelations of the spread of this police-state practice, along with a chilling demonstration of new techniques in the foul "art," came at a Dec. 15-16 hearing of the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee which is considering proposals to loosen the already loose federal law against wire-tapping.

Members of the committee were given a rather upsetting personal taste of what these bedroom keyhole peepers, can do when Harold Lipset, a San Francisco private detective put on a demonstration.

Lipset told the committee that it's a simple business to record a private conversation these days. Committee Chairman Hennins indicated that as a Democrat from Missouri he would like to be shown.

The detective showed him. He calmly opened his jacket to show the miniature recorder, about the size of a paperback book, with which he had been secretly recording the hearing. He then walked across the room and picked up a similar device he had casually planted on his way in.

The easily concealed device displayed by Mr. Lipset is included in a price list of "office equipment" circulated among federal agencies by the General Services Administration. Retailing for around \$300, anyone with the money can buy it.

Congressmen were somewhat shook up by the committee hearings, according to Courtney Sheldon, Christian Science Monitor correspondent. "Almost everyone left in pre-Christmas Washington has an ear cocked in the direction of the committee, wondering if their worst suspicions will be confirmed.

"There obviously is concern among some Congressmen," he explained, "that what they League (SLL), which I discussed say in private to some public officials is being last week, is to brand the British recorded. This may prove 'true in some instances."

Sheldon recalled that in a recent interview, a Cabinet official remarked that a salesman had just tried to interest him in one recorder the from the Labor party. size of a cigarette package and another that could be stuck to the door of a room to record conversations on the other side.

Testifying before the committee, Paul Williams, a former U.S. Attorney, urged that the of the SLL and stand up for law should permit federal agencies to use wiretap evidence in court. He cited New York City, British socialists have done exwhere the police have such a right, and said that actly that. They are against if the cops didn't enjoy this right he didn't think the city would be "a livable place."

He couldn't have picked a better example. According to Samuel Dash, who recently made a study of illegal wire-tapping and bugging New York cops made about 30,000 taps in 1957 and less than a thousand of them were legally authorized.

During one of the recent shakeups of New York's graft-ridden "finest" it was established that a favorite police method of blackmailing bookies was to tap their phones for evidence.

In 1958 the City Transit Authority was caught red-handed bugging the headquarters of the striking Motormen's Benevolent Association.

Individual and family privacy, one of our most basic rights, is fast becoming a thing of offered the dark hint that behind the past with the deepening degeneration of capitalism. If it gets much worse, neither New be found "American imperialist York nor the rest of the country will be "a gold." livable place."

The main objective of the combined attack leveled by the

British capitalist press and the Labor party and union bureaucrats on the Socialist Labor Marxists as "troublemakers," 'outside agitators," and "irre-

sponsible strike instigators"; and, on such charges, purge them

In face of a witch-hunt like this, it would seem the obvious duty of every honest socialist in Britain to defend the members their democratic rights. Many purges.

The Tribune, edited by Michael Foot, has expressed its opinion vigorously. The New Statesman likewise. The New Reasoner, if only in a footnote, explicitly opposed the purge. Many of the Labor party organizations denounced the party leadership and championed the democratic rights of those under reactionary attack.

The Communist party, however, took a different position. It joined the witch-hunters. R. the SLL's left-wing activities can comfortable for them.

In the British Stalinist paper,

World News and Views, Oct. 24, 1959, one J. R. C. describes the Socialist Labor League as "a disruptive, Trotskyist organizaion." He tries to prove how sinister the League is by citing the recent National Assembly which was attended by some 700 proof does not testify to his sense of humor. The League's attention of some Left intellecprogram at the Assembly, he "skillfully conceals the

He suggests the formation of said, Trotskyist character of the organization.'

The SLL is against the cold the manufacture of the H-bomb; shop stewards; against rent in- posed of former CP intellectuals

creases; for a fight against colonial oppression and racism in England; for the extension of nationalization under workers control; and for a fight against the bans and proscriptions inside

unions.

bol, a bookkeeping device for neasuring the accomplishments of a people . . . What more useful work can there be than raising the standard of living of Soviet.'



Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Soc alist Labor League, addressing recent Assembly of Labor. Seated at left is Brian Pearce, co-editor of Labor Review. At right is SLL chairman Brian Behan.

Adopting the posture of a emphasis.)

center of Marxist leadership in | blatant absurdities on the front | advises in an article on "The Palme Dutt, British CP leader, the class struggle that can make page is indicated on page five, Crisis of Trotskyism," "to blame political life considerably less The Political Secretary of the Independent Labor party, Wil-

fred Wigham, who is among the the departure of Peter Fryer. most active of a new galaxy of profound delver into the theoretshouters of alarm, expressed it this way: crisis," Kendall points with pride swer to his own emphatic ques-"The mushroom growth (only

a small mushroom as yet) of the to his "prediction" of the crisis tion you are not familiar with in the Oct. 31 issue of the So- this species of centrism. He is Socialist Labor League within cialist Leader. In that article, really hinting that the socialist the last two years, with the help Kendall claimed that world struggle against the labor burof considerable prominence and delegates and observers. His sensational criticisms in the Trotskyism was in crisis due to eaucracy is overrated since the capitalist Press, has focused the its inability to explain how the workers too have their short-Chinese revolution triumphed comings. Thus the responsibility despite the leadership of the of building a leadership capable tuals on the SLL . . . Chinese Communist party. One group of these intellectual

critics of Trotskyism is centered about the articles, resolutions formula: the leaders are a little around the magazine New Reaswar: it proclaims opposition to oner which now appears as the and theses written by the Trot- to blame and so are the workers. skyists on this question. He New Left Review after a merger needs the crisis in order to show its "consequences": "Within the wages; defense of jobs and the itself the "New Left," is com-American (Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party a split developed

> over this and related issues. One who broke with Stalinism during section led by Joyce Cowley left sition of sectarian aloofness the shake-up that followed the the party altogether. In Britain spiced with an "analysis" of the Khrushchev revelations and the a similar situation seems to be Hungarian revolution. arising.'

Trotskyism has proved attract tive to them but they have also Here, of course, Kendall shows ignorance of somewhat astonishfound it - repellant. They proing degree. Comrade Cowley fess to see in the Trotskyist would be quite surprised to hear movement the modern continuathat she left the SWP, let alone tion of a lot of old evils generally led a group out of it. And beinvolving discipline, centralism, cause of China! Kendall's report and so on. They lump together Leninism and Stalinism and on a crisis in the SLL achieves a similar level of accuracy. regard Trotskyism as simply

vate property in capitalist society? Should revolutionary Marxists give up fighting for the interests of the Labor party rank and file because they have been proscribed by the bureaucrats?

Monday, January 4, 1960

Wigham's moral sermonizing doesn't even have the merit of stating the facts. According to the constitution and by-laws of the Labor party, groups representing differing views on program are entirely permissible. All that the SLL has asked is that the bureaucrats stop violating the constitution and recognize that members of the SLL have the same rights as members of the Fabian Society and the Victory for Socialism group, not to speak of the trade-union bureaucrats t h e m s e l v e s who have built a massive machine to exert their factional views and position

Walter Kendall concludes his article in the Nov. 21 issue with few choice centrist platitudes that deserve to be cut in marble. Socialists, he tells us, should "break away from trying to CAPTURE the leadership of the class" and turn "towards raising the level of its leading members at shop, union branch Labor party level." and lemphasis.) Kenda

How proposes to do this, while a hering to the ILP's where ILP theoretician Walter the present state of affairs on the 'moral" stand against partici-Kendall announced that the betrayal of false leaders. We pating in the Labor party he crisis in the SLL has "mounted have to ask Why is it that does not reveal. But aside from to explosive force" because of the workers give their leaders this small contradiction, where the power to betray?" (Kendall's does the struggle to "capture" the leadership of the class con-If you imagine that Kendall flict with the struggle to raise

ical roots of this "explosive might attempt even a weak an- its level of consciousness?

A Regrettable Attitude

Before closing, it is necessary to mention another grouping that has joined the campaign against the Socialist Labor League. The May 30, 1959, Newsletter reported that a group of supporters of a Liverpool publication called Socialist Fight united with the right wing of the Labor party to pass an amendment to a resolution protesting the ban on Newsletter and the SLL. The amendment

Instead of joining the SLL stated: "The League (SLL) could truggle against the right-wing only hamper the development of bureaucratic witch-hunters, the the movement in its struggle for ILP leaders have adopted a posocialism.'

What is shocking in an incident of this kind is the fact that Socialist Fight considers itself The ILP itself is opposed to Trotskyist and is associated with

socialists working in the British Trotskyists internationally who Labor party. They themselves belong to a faction headed by were in the Labor party up to Michel Pablo in the Fourth In-1932, they argue. But 27 years ternational. ago the ILP "decided that if it It is regrettable that Pablo has was to continue to work for

So? So it has now become dis- them instead of closing ranks in

jority of the British working tradition represented by Leon

Trotsky.

not thought it advisable to resocialism it would have to break strain his followers\ from such away from a party already by rabid factionalism. We do not Soviet." Moreover, since the SLL is opposed to placing any confidence in the Kremlin and the imperial-in the Kremlin and the imperial-in



The Story of Segregation

FAUBUS' FOLLY. The Story of | Segregation, by Curtis M. economic causes of inequality an industrial commission Vaughan. Vantage Press, New and segregation that it is sur- through which "much of the York. 1959. 160 pp. \$3.50.

In a chapter entitled "Negative vs. Positive Leadership," the author asks: Why, when the majority of the people in the South there been such a "fuss"?

He offers his own answer: "We think the answer lies in the fact that strong vested interests profit from racial segregation in the South. We think the stubborn the part of the political leaders of the South is ample proof that they serve these forces of exploitation."

A socialist could not put it better. Yet the author is not a socialist. He is a retired geographical researcher, who worked for the U.S. Army. He comes from North Carolina, where he was born on a farm. Like Anne Bra den and Robert Williams and Don West, he addresses himself to his fellow Southerners. Devoted to the South, especial ly to the poor white, he is gravely concerned about the mistakes being made in the name of segre- which reads like a call to acgation. He believes that if the South is to progress, education of the Negro is absolutely essential. He believes in constitutional government, and is convinced that those fearful leaders who that the great majority of Southerners do, too. He shows that it is to the interests of the privileged few to promote strife between the Negroes and whites, and that this strife diverts at-that of assuring a supply of cheap labor.

So well does he analyze the

and for this labor they receive money with which they may buy a part of their own production. Relatively little cash is left to resistance to desegregation on purchase the manufactured products, which, in our society, are the symbols of a high standard

prising that he does not naturally arrive at Marxism. For in- might be farmed out to small stance, "The agricultural products and the land upon which are for school desegregation, has owned by all the people; hence, tural workers] each winter." many must labor to produce goods which belong to another,

of living.'

five years. Again, he writes: "The whole state of Arkansas is a

huge orchard in which 480,000 Negroes and 1,450,000 white people labor. They pick the every man and woman in the apples so cheaply that sales South?" are good, and a small number

manufacturing of the South home-type plants on a piecework basis, and thus afford extra it is for strengthening the fight with Universities and Left Rethey are grown are not equally income to thousands [of agricul- for the 40-hour week; for higher view. The grouping, which calls There should be an all-out effort to teach the Negro per-

sonal property management, slums should be abolished, fivemillion new one-family homes should be constructed in the next

the Labor party and the trade Where will the money come

from? "Money is merely a sym-All this doesn't fool our astute . R. C. Since the Trotskyists are also in favor of a struggle for workers democracy in the Soviet Union that makes the SLL "anti-

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then select another group of cynical politicians to preserve the social atmosphere which is favorable to business."

Mr. Vaughan has written this book in a style of exhortation. choose sides." tion. He feels that the problem of racial segregation will be solved by attacking it as the economic problem of poverty, and advise waiting another thirty years for the solution should be renounced. Part of solving the problem is recognizing its nature, realizing that even if there were only one race in the South today, the evil forces of the ex-

ploiters would find some means of dividing the people into two groups in order to exploit both. He writes eloquently of the importance of education which

will fit the poor whites and Negroes for better jobs. It is his contention that many cannot leave the South because they would not be able to find employment elsewhere because of their low educational level. Yet in spite of all his careful thinking and impassioned sincerity, Mr. Vaughan does not come up with a solution to the good leaders should tackle them.

should suggest ways which will make industry serve humanity; lessen the economic terror of major illness; raise the dignity of

man; promote unions Of course, just exposing all the tieups between large industry and politicians to keep a labor surplus in the South — "A labor what is known as a 'social climate favorable to business'" ---

surplus has for years constituted to accept Christmas "payola" what is known as a 'social cli- gifts from students. "If a kid is ammunition for the foes of served, "you're going to think segregation and makes this book a long time before you flunk that kid.'

worth-while. Advertisement Advertisement Literature and Revolution By Leon Trotsky \$2.98 Written in 1924, this is a Marxist classic. It deals with the attitude of the working class and its party

to art and artists after conquest of state power. **Pioneer Publishers** 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

If the challenge is not met by in the Kremlin and the imperialthe American people, the author ists in the struggle for, peace, communist world is waiting for road to peace, J. R. C. has friendly attitude toward them, on it's all down hill in the di-iority of the British working the basis of the basis of the basis of the ba our way of life to fail, and the "proof" that the SLL is really neutral world is waiting to opposed to peace!

Dual Unionism Charge

Besides his discussion of the So far J. R. C. is simply reeconomics of the South, the author devotes several chapters to peating routine Stalinist distorthe sources of the Negroes' sub- tions and slanders. Of special jection, which seem to this re- interest, however, in these viewer to be open to question. circumstances is J. R. C.'s treat- the SLL after several years He traces it to their social or- ment of the way the SLL particiganization in Africa, in which pates in industrial struggles and they were subject to tribal disci-opposes the betrayals of the litical motivation for his shift; pline and had no experience in trade-union bureaucracy. "On then in statements to the press planning for their own existence the question of industrial strug- he accused the leadership of the on the land. The American In- gle," J. R. C. says, "the bright SLL of employing "Stalinist dian, on the other hand, "was by idea of the Socialist Labor methods." (See Militant, Dec. 14.) nature a migratory hunter, League is to set up a network of His evidence for this is trivial proved to be a highly unre- rank-and-file committees as a and obscure and saturated with iable servant, preferring escape parallel organization to the trade the inference that his own diseninto the forest to any form of union movement and to official chantment should be proof service . . . The Negroes of Cen- shop stewards committees." The article concludes with the tral and West Africa had, by

contrast, developed beyond the following advice: "So all trade hunting society to the stage of union branches would be wellsedentary agriculture; they were advised to consider the hidden thus admirably suited to the pro- motives of those who are orduction of cotton, and the great ganizing the apparently innocuplantations of the South soon ous 'National Assembly of Labor'." began to develop."

The objection to this reasoning is that the social organization of economic problems. He feels that the tribes in Africa cannot explain the status of the Negroes in the United States today.

- Constance F. Weissman

Time to Call a Halt Teachers in Westbury, Long

Island, were warned by the superintendent of schools not gives you a \$50 gift," he ob-

principled questions of Marxism Bolshevism. and to participate in workingclass struggles.

general grouping of British radical intellectuals, Peter Fryer, has recently moved away from association as one of its leading writers. At first he offered no po-

sponsibility. Fryer's break precipitated new flurry of anti-Trotskyist campaigning among the centrists, For example, the Independent Labor party weekly, the

Socialist Leader, Nov. 21, 1959, cites Fryer's departure. This issue really bears down on the The charge of "dual unionism" menace of Trotskyism. A trade-union officials. Ironically, sibly about the National Assemit was Stalinism that derailed bly of Labor, but the real subject

enough.

munist movement who waged a leader, who with bald head radical movements. policy.

crats, however, charge the SLL | tieth-century workers' conferwith dual unionism in Britain, ence.' they mean that it is impermis-To this is added revelations, sible for the rank and file to or rather hints of revelations, oppose their false policy and that the meeting was bludgeoned misleadership. More precisely, by dictatorial strong-arm meththey mean it is impermissible ods.

for workers to organize a groupa new leadership.

Centrist Critics

The British Communist party After the delegates had voted struggle as a leading exponent of ation in politics. Trotskyism for reasons of spec- the SLL leaders appealed to the United States.

cluded and one can expect them contributions should be preto deepen their thinking on this served. He is equally patronizing honest for socialists to stay in their defense in circumstances urging them to discuss the basic rection of the centrist critics of The SLL leadership, he says,

Wigham comments on the SLL's work in the Labor party "is filled with a messianic vision A prominent member of this that it (he?) alone held the key as follows: "To the uncommitted to a solution of all working class observer the tactic of entering a from the most reactionary secproblems." This is the familiar party whose policies you de- tions of the capitalist press to sneer of the centrist muddle- scribe in the very first clause of centrists and sectarians seeking heads who pride themselves on your official policy statement as factional advantage at no mat-"not having all the answers" - 'policies of class betrayal' ap- ter what cost to the British soa mannerism which they equate pears simply as dishonest." Wig- cialist movement.

with open-mindedness. If Ken- ham does "not accept the capdall were serious about his italist moral code, but we have cliches he would attempt to show a Socialist morality," he deprecisely what tendency has clares. Isn't this Sunday sermon better answers than the SLL - remarkable for the inspiration thrown from all quarters. And and on what issues. To charge it offers? Particularly to British that the Trotskyists think "they socialists under attack from the honest socialist fighters everyalone have a key" is simply an bureaucrats?

evasion of his own political re-

Oct. 31 issue of the Socialist private property of the officials, selves in the future as they have Leader that tells a lot about his to be approached with all the up to now in this battle. We wish politics. "It is not enough," he piety due the institution of pri- we could do more to help them.

Socialist Quarterly Discusses is as odious and unfounded coming from a CP hack as it is when uttered by right-wing trade-union officials Ironically

of leading the way to socialism

Sectarian Aloofness

morality" of the SLL.

class happens to be.

Naturally, he says nothing is washed out in an amorphous

The winter 1960 issue of the Populism to socialism and from American socialist radicalism the workers' movement through- is the Trotskyist villain Gerry International Socialist Review, support of the Democratic party have to come from a new gen-

What the task of the bearers of the early thirties; and it was typical bit: "Gerry Healy, old- articles on the past and future own political party against those the ideological continuity of the the Trotskyists within the com- line bureaucratic Trotskyist of American progressive and of their capitalist class enemies. earlier movement is, and what With cool objectivity, simply durable results the radicalism of great battle against this ruinous sweating spoke in a style more An article of key importance by setting the record straight the thirties has bequeathed to

day and Tomorrow." It is by pened to the promising radical-

Socialist Workers Party. Cannon is qualified to speak able and supported by evidence. on this subject if anyone is. Not The radicalism of the thirties

only because he was an active was deliberately and wilfully participant in the movement betrayed by the leaders of the The charge, however, evaporing in seeking a new policy and ates as the story itself reveals from its earliest stages, but be- Stalinized American Communist that the dictatorial control is cause he combines a rich per-party who replaced their early supposed to have been manifest- sonal experience with thoughtful revolutionary convictions with ed in the following incident: analysis based on decades of opportunism and class collabor

fears the growing influence of against giving someone the floor revolutionary socialism in the Cannon concludes that as a re-

fears of various centrist and sec- Assembly agreed! This showed, ing points in the development of movement of the thirties, with tarian radical groups have a dif- we are told, that the SLL ob- American radicalism. He starts all its grandeur, glory and powferent origin. They see the viously had tight control of the with the transition that Debs er, has spent itself ... the main emergence of a new militant meeting! The reason for such and his co-workers made from forces of the new movement of

The Socialist Labor League, as can be seen, is faced with a formidable combination ranging

But the League has demonstrated its capacity to stand up under the assault. It is gaining influence despite the blows it is winning the admiration of where.

Who has decided, other than We are certain that the British the "sectarian" pontiffs of the Trotskyists will continue to give Kendall asks a question in the ILP, that the Labor party is the just as good an account of them-



Socialist Workers Party WHAT IT IS -WHAT IT STANDS FOR By Joseph Hansen 54 pages 25 cents **Pioneer Publishers** 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

out the world with its ultra-left Healy, a bloody blackguard to just off the press, offers an ex- to the life-long conviction that eration."

adventurism of dual unionism in believe this sheet. Here is a ceptionally interesting group of the workers must build their

appropriate to a meeting of to any student of the socialist and citing the pertinent facts, the new generation should prove When the trade-union bureau- peasant guerrillas than a twen- movement is featured: "Ameri- Cannon concentrates his analycan Radicalism: Yesterday, To- sis on the question: what hap-

James P. Cannon, founder of the ism of the thirties?

The conclusion is unmistak-



sult of this betrayal of revoluial concern to Moscow. The body to alter its decision. The Cannon traces the major turn- tionary principles "the radical

Monday, January 4, 1960

THE MILITANT

When Dr. Willard Uphaus Chose Prison THE MILITANT Second class postage paid Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. at New York, N.Y. Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN Managing Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY Published weekly by the Militant Publishing Assn., 116 University Pl., N.Y. 3, N.Y. Phone: CH 3-2140. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in editorials Before They Went to Prison

Vol. XXIV - No. 1

of elections.

campaign.

000 signatures.

The socialist movement is starting the

New Year right. In the key industrial

state of Michigan, the Socialist Workers

party has won a place on the 1960 ballot.

"Your petitions have been checked and

found sufficient," wrote the state director

will inspire socialists in other states, we

hope, to similar achievements to assure

an effective 1960 socialist Presidential

its ballot place on a silver platter. To

qualify, 12,000 nominating petitions were

requested from every part of the state. As

insurance against moves by the major

parties to cheat them of their ballot place,

Michigan socialists filed a thumping 32,-

compensation. The campaigners estimate

that they talked to more than 100,000

people, compiling a valuable sampling of

opinion in the major cities of Michigan.

This gruelling feat offered a second

This is a substantial victory, one that

The Michigan SWP was not handed

Monday, January 4, 1960

(Continued from Page 1) raphers asked the group to move further down on the lawn so the courthouse could appear in perspective. The ceremony was repeated.

This was to be the pattern of the day. Dr. Willard Uphaus, white-haired theologian, born on a farm near Muncie, Indiana,

ed), as well as a Bible under

his arm, that the Merrimack

River, about which Thoreau had

to Thoreau's essay "Civil Dis-

The petitioners found that there are tens of thousands who are dissatisfied slender and spry at 69, teacher with the failure of the Republicans and religion, Christian pacifist, Democrats to solve the problems of war, believer in disputation as the way to resolve differences, a unemployment and racial bias. There is a man whose life had led him to general feeling of insecurity, they report, abhor informers, Biblical and and no hope or confidence that the old present-day, stood in perspective parties can or will do anything to erase to the affirmed legal verdict of that feeling. Distrust and cynicism toward his society's highest court which he refused to obey even under the two capitalist parties is widespread. threat of life imprisonment.

Consequently there is broad sympathy Towering in contrast to the for something new. Many talk of the need man were the Merrimack County Superior Court and both for a third party, unionists put it in terms the New Hampshire and the of a labor party. Most of them feel, though, United States Supreme Court. that such ideas are held only by a few Press Notes Drama

people. A hard-hitting socialist campaign is going to help crystallize that sentiment, Finally, in the few days before Dr. Uphaus would be conand help people to realize that their own fronted for a final time by his desire for a real change is shared by many inquisitor, New Hampshire Attorney General Louis C. Wyman, more than they realize.

who was also that state's one-To the Michigan socialists who started man "subversive" investigating committee, the press of the country had begun to underthe 1960 ball rolling, our best New Year's greetings.



Nov. 7 rally called in New York by the Committee of First Amendment Defendants. Last June, the Supreme Court upheld "contempt-of-court" convictions against them for having refused to give information to witch-hunting bodies. Both are now serving prison terms for exercising their rights under the Constitution.

tand the drama inherent in three p.m., Dec. 14, approached, speaking without notes, said this confrontation. They noted extra tables were brought in simply and eloquently in the that Dr. Uphaus arrived in Con- for eighteen reporters and cor- silent courtroom:

cord with a volume of Thoreau respondents. The courtroom "On January 5, 1956, in this could not hold an estimated one courtroom, I said that there was (once imprisoned himself for hundred other friends and sup- no question in my life to which refusal to pay taxes to support government policy he abhorporters who waited in the court- I had given more thought, more

house lobby below. prayer and sought the advice of A large clock hung on the a greater number of friends and wall between oak-framed porcolleagues. Since then World court," ordered him committed written, ran through the town traits of bearded New Hamp- Fellowship has had four sucof Concord; and they referred shire ancients. As it clicked off cessful seasons and has brought to the Merrimack County jail the final minutes before the together many friendly people obedience" which had inspired judge's entry, and the audience in the United States and abroad quieted, the strains of song in fellowship to discuss the

Much depended that day on drifted into the courtroom from problems that mankind faces below in an unplanned demonstration of support led by mem- thought of subversion of

ists of the summer camp he bers of the clergy who had Our God," written in 1529 by with the right to examine guest Martin Luther; "The prince of darkness grim

We tremble not for him. 'His rage we can endure: For lo! his doom is sure: One little word shall fell him."

Then a Christmas carol, "Adestes Fidelis" with its words,

"Oh come all ye faithful, Joyhad worked for integration under_circumstances almost haus case. There also the prethere also, the purpose was to destroy by public exposure of

A similar state committee in as a "deceit and a sham," open-

index cards containing the guest

our country and on my con-|the marble steps as the group science

"My conviction, which has ica," with the substitution used grown out of 69 years of living, by Southern Negroes, of the and comes from a grandfather word "soon" for "long.": who was a minister, and from my years in the church, is that t is a mean and contemptible

thing to bring innocent people into public scorn and loss of ivelihood. "It is not my purpose to be lefiant or stubborn or contumacious or to put myself above the law, but before God and before my friends here today, I can do nothing else than say 'No'

Sentence or "Finding"?

In the quiet of the courtroom as Dr. Uphaus seated himself, Hugh Bownes stood to address preme Court to overturn the himself to the nature of the sentence. He was supported by a Wyman, again on hand to fight second defense counsel, Royal France of New York City.

"You persist in using the word both attorneys angrily, in an apnad previously said, "has the science."

keys to his own freedom." any ruling imprisoning Dr. Uphaus would be called a "finding." Several character witnesses

vere sworn in and their statenents entered in the record. Judge Grant's steel cool eves room. On a sheet of paper he Uphaus in "contempt of this

Possible Loophole

First, "A Mighty Fortress Is of social problems and world mutation of sentence. The year's rights of Negro and white in-

stand by the minority decision nasal twang. As the "finding" of the Supreme Court which was pronounced, two deputy held that the investigation was sheriffs moved in toward Dr. for the impermissible purpose of Uphaus.

In a small anteroom, Dr. Upthe Sergeant at Arms and a hope to see the day, your honor, haus was asked if he wanted old cracker boys. identical with those of the Up- crisp order to "all rise" by the when laws that inquire into the any message delivered to his Roberts also said: "I object to

the federal government coming "Send them my warmest down here and indicting these speech, press and assembly will greetings," he said, "and tell men. If the state of Florida lets be declared unconstitutional. them I will stand firm." "No," he then reconsidered,

"they know that already." be able to hire any. An hour later, when he was The federal indictments came fiance, it is standing in the pre-finally led downstairs, about after state officials had sought Olson soon revealed his hand. After Mississippi had the month be- ed the proceedings. He stated sence of history and of moral fifty friends were still in the to whitewash the situation by directing the truck owners to stop opera-local papers as a function by the deputy dismissing a guard captain and

The Main Lesson at Albert Lea

Starting the New Year Right

Sam Kushner, Chicago editor of the Worker, Communist party weekly, has found an easy way to win strikes; namely, elect Democratic governors "friendly to labor." Kushner made the happy discovery when Minnesota Gov. Freeman sent troops to intervene in the AFL-CIO Packinghouse Workers' strike.

"When a state militia evicts strikebreakers from a struck plant, that is indeed news," Kushner declares in the Dec. 20 Worker. "This is what happened in Minnesota, at the Wilson & Co. meat plant at Albert Lea. Nor is this the first time for Minnesota. In 1934, Gov. Floyd B. Olson, the state's first Farmer-Labor governor, established this 'Minnesota pattern' when he ordered the state troops out during the general strike called by the Teamsters Union in the Twin Cities. The troops were ordered to maintain the peace by shutting down the struck plants and clearing them of strikebreakers . . . Labor's political power can make the Minnesota pattern the guide for many other state administrations."

Could anything be easier? Elect a Santa Claus like Freeman and you get Christmas every day in the year.

What really happened in Albert Lea? On Dec. 11 Gov. Freeman ordered the National Guard to close the plant. But then he opened it "temporarily." And Wilson and Co. sued Freeman to make the open-

your failure to acknowledge that they have any rights is the primary cause of violence," he said. But he pledged enforcement of the law "fairly and equally with-" out fear or favor."

Then he turned on the strikers: "I will not tolerate violence" when the plant reopens Dec. 28. And he asked Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers for "full co-operation" in preventing further disorder.

What is the upshot of all of Freeman's wriggling, maneuvering and use of troops? A Dec. 28 AP dispatch tells the tale succinctly: "The plant resumed operations under protection of National Guardsmen, sent here 21/2 weeks ago to quell picket Negro ministers in Florida were line violence." Wilson is again free to use scabs as it was before the workers set up picket lines to protect their jobs.

out to be a slick attempt at strikebreaking. ment of Colored People which

What about the precedent of Gov. Olson's use of the militia in 1934? The Minneapolis truck drivers in that year were under no illusion that Olson was text had been a search for George R. Grant, Jr., briskly violation of their rights of using troops to help them out. The leaders of the strike had prepared the rank and file to rely solely on their own strength its adherents, the work of a and on the solidarity of the workers in group with dissenting views. other industries.

tions, he allowed them to move cargo outlawing the NAACP."

the persistency of Willard Uphaus' refusal to turn over guest directed for World Fellowship, lists normally available to any police official in a squad car rosters of public lodging houses.

Ghandi.

Only a few weeks before, three cited for contempt for refusal to turn over to a legislative committee in that state the membership lists of the National

Carthvism?

(Continued from Page 1)

of account the fact that Amer

ica's ruling families also control

the Democratic party and its

choice of candidates. Conse-

ments? In a country of deepen-

In such circumstances to as

sume open rule of imperialist

America is a grave decision. Bet-

ter to continue to rule vicarious-

That was why Rockefeller

who would like to emboss his

address, was persuaded by the

COFFIER COFFEE

ly through a political servant.

their preferences.

ing class struggle?

ring.

Kushner's "Minnesota pattern" turned Association for the Advance-

today. At no time was there a thoughts of overthrowing this come to uphold one of their own. state or this country. We talked

Nehru Turns Down

On Border Dispute

India's Prime Minister Nehru

In his reply to Chou, Nehru

ferent date and scored Chou for

not having accepted his own

'reasonable and practical" pro-

thought" to "make haste and Kong reported.

come back to the revolutionary

rank and file."

posals for easing the frontier

Parley with Chou

peace. The Bill of Rights is part of my life and I wish to uphold over the witch-hunt as the inde-life punishments was to keep it. I am also proud to uphold the constitution of the State of

clerk, Superior Court Justice thoughts of men and women in friends.

these men down, we won't have "My loyalty to God is not in any guards left and we won't contradiction to this state or this fusal of Dr. Uphaus to inform country. My position is not delocal papers as a "prelude to produce the two packages of toric and moral traditions of sheriffs, Dr. Uphaus paused on lieutenant.

from this date or until he purges nimself of contempt or on fur-

went slowly around the court- his opposing lawyers or to look found and adjudged" Willard bol of conscience behind him.

of trying to "manufacture a false front of martyrdom" and desentence,'" Judge Grant told scribed as "nothing short of sacrilege" Uphaus' contention parent attempt to shift the onus that he stands on "my loyalty rom the bench back to the de- to God, the Constitution, the endant himself whom Wyman Bill of Rights and my con-Observers recalled, however,

Page Three

sang the last stanza of "Amer-"Soon may our land be bright With Freedom's holy light." Dr. Uphaus wiped a tear from

his cheek as the flashbulbs again popped. He was then taken to a small windowless cell in the Merrimack County jail, fourteen miles north of Concord in Boscawen, N.H., where he is still held while a large-scale movement for clemency suggested by both the New York Times and the Washington, D.C., Post-Times Herald gains increasing

strength.

Defense attorneys immediately moved in New Hampshire Suconviction on the new grounds. the move, 'accused Dr. Uphaus

Agreement was reached that that during the hearing, Wyman and two aides sat at one table immediately in front of the judge's rostrum, while directly behind sat Dr. Uphaus and the two defense counsel. Not once had Wyman turned to address

face-to-face at the slender sym-

Indict Florida there to remain for one year

Prison Guards Eleven guards at the state prison in Raiford, Florida, are

ther order of this court." The judge had given himself under federal indictment for a loophole for a possible com- brutalities violating the civil

term was itself a partial victory mates. One of the guards' favorterminate sentence could have prisoners, without clothing or been reimposed which would food, chained to the bars of have meant a life imprisonment. their cells, intermittently turn-A stern-faced clerk read out ing high-pressure fire hoses on

Rep. C. O. Roberts, a member of the state legislature's prisons committee, jumped to the deense of the indicted guards, declaring, "they are just good

New Hampshire which protects the right of conscience. "I am strengthened in my the message in a New England them, for as long as a week.

ful and triumphant." With the bang of a gavel from exposure for exposure's sake. I

"Communists" or "subversives," seated himself and the proceedings began. Wyman, who had publicly

characterized the announced re-

ing permanent.

Freeman told the court that when the strikers set up mass picket lines against the armed scabs and violence erupted, "I made' a decision . . . that no one is going to get killed." That's why he declared martial law and sent the state troops to Albert Lea.

The judges responded with a ruling: "Certainly the civil authorities with the aid of the National Guard can control any further disturbance in and around the plant . . . " But this must be done "without the closing of the plant and without an order forbidding workers who desire to work the right of free ingress to and egress from their place of employment."

How did the Democratic governor react to that strikebreaking ruling? "Freeman quickly announced his intention to 'comply fully' with the court's order," said the Dec. 24 Minneapolis Morning Tribune. He called on union and company representatives to meet with him so that, in his words, "reopening and operation of the Wilson plant may be accomplished without friction, confusion, misunderstanding or rumor."

He scolded the company for refusing to promise that all strikers would be rehired. "Your threat to your employees and

again under special permit. And under troop protection. The strikers responded purge hearing, every daily newsat once with militant demonstrations. That was the real "Minnesota pattern'

-the pattern of class struggle.

The leaders of the truck drivers included militant unionists like Bill Brown and revolutionary socialists like the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund and Farrell Dobbs. They knew that you can't win strikes by been jailed on Nov. 10, is now to inquire of this witness." depending on false "friends of labor."

Thanks to the class-struggle methods federal prison. they promoted, Olson's slick strikebreaking moves were defeated, as were the violent attacks of the police and the slippery moves of the federal mediators. Minneapolis became a union stronghold as a result of these bold policies.

And why did Kushner go to such tortuous trouble to find merit in Gov. Freeman? Because the Communist party line is to back Democrats for office instead of pressing for independent political action. For display to unionists, the CP needs attractive samples of the product they are selling. How difficult it is to find such samples is shown by the fact that the very best of them turn out to be strikebreakers when the chips are down. That's the main lesson to be learned from the actions of Minnesota's Democratic governor.

Four Children Are Murdered

On page one we report a fire in a New York tenement caused by a kerosene heater. The blaze took the life of a twoyear-old child. Following this, the press reported another fire in a tenement building in Jersey City, N.J., caused by a faulty kerosene heater. The toll there was even more terrible.

A family of eleven existed in four rooms on the top floor. Three of the children, ranging from three to nine years old, were trapped when the fire broke out. They were burned to death.

Three more are in the hospital with critical burns. Another of the children suffered a broken back when she tried to jump to safety from the window of the fourth floor apartment. She was also badly burned.

The heater was of the same type that has caused 200 deaths in New York in the past decade. In New York kerosene heaters are now-supposed to be illegal. But thousands of tenement dwellers are forced to continue using them because their land- of New York? In a world of lords ignore the central-heating law with mounting anti-imperialist moveimpunity. In Jersey City, the authorities don't even make a pretense of doing anything about the situation and the heaters are legal.

In our view the four children that died last week were victims of murder murder committed by profit-hungry slumlords, with the city officials who guard stationery with the White House their interests, willing accessories.

These crimes are all the more revolting in that they occurred in two major cities of the richest country in the world -, a country that has more than enough resources to provide safe and decent housing for every one of its citizens. How long must America put profits above human lives?

By the day of the Concord lists to the World Fellowship Camp in Conway, N.H., was paper in the United States had "part of a lawful investigation received a round-up on the cases - which in no way attempts to of a total of thirty-four Ameri- censor any activities - and incans facing jail for their refusal vaded no freedoms."

on First Amendment grounds to Persistently through two hours of court proceedings co-operate with Congressional and state committees or to name Wyman eased away from his names. One of these thirty-four, own role in demanding the lists Lloyd Barenblatt, had already said, "It is now for the Court

Hugh Bownes, of Saconia, held in the Danbury, Conn., turned down a Dec. 21 sug-N.H., attorney for Dr. Uphaus, gestion by Chinese Premier The lines were drawn taut in challenged the right of the Chou En-lai that the two meet Concord that day. How firm court to renew a demand for the Dec. 26 to discuss the Chinesewould this man prove to be? lists on the basis that the How strong the New Hampshire amended legislation omitted an suggested new, conciliatory Indian border dispute. Chou also bastion of institutionalized Mc- authorization "to determine terms for settling the frontier whether subversive persons are conflict.

The confrontation setting was presently within the state." Judge Grant who had originalsimple New England courtroom about sixty feet square ly sentenced Dr. Uphaus to an with oak benches for only 120 indeterminate term until he "purged himself" of the conobservers. In the middle was a large open space with two tempt by turning over the lists, tables. As the hearing time of declared a recess to study a

dispute. memorandum prepared by Bownes and a word of hope went Rockefeller down to those in the lobby.

Charge 'Rightists' But the judge quickly dis-In China with Acts nissed the memorandum which has since become the basis of a **Against Communes** renewed appeal to the New Hampshire Supreme Court.

The latest articles in the Chin-The judge then turned to Dr. ese Communist party press Jphaus to "urge upon you the against "rightist" inner-party thought that this is no contest opponents charge that last sumbetween you and the Attorney mer the "right-wing" elements got full control of some counties in Hunan province, forced

Another Chinese newspaper, the Changsa New Hunan, Nov.

22, quoted the commander of the military district as saying the dissidents tried to win over Morgans and Du Ponts to pick day and I think his contempt up the hat he had thrown in the has continued."

swer?

The Food and Drug Administration last month seized 3½ tons of a substance labeled in-Dr. Uphaus, leaning with his ticle in the People's Daily, the textile spindles in production

"dextrose." Dextrose is "a crys- ened, looked at the judge Kong dispatch Dec. 16 to the 1959. The number of wool spintalline dextrorotatory sugar." through his rimless glasses and, New York Times) that if pea- dles increased 36%.



Pravda Reviews

Though describing Stalin as

staunch fighter for socialism,

Pravda devoted more space to

is "mistakes" than to his

serving the eightieth anniver-

sary of his birth, Dec. 21.

With New Textiles

ponsible matter."

Stalin's Errors

sants were left to themselves, French Parliament they would "head for capital ism." Hence the need for mass **Votes to Subsidize** campaigns guided from the top The "rightists" have allegedly Parochial Schools criticized the mass campaigns

Under threat by Pres. Finally, a Dec. 19 Reuters dis-Gaulle to further curtail its patch from Peking reports that Red Flag, the CP Central Com- powers, the French parliament voted 427-71 to grant state finanmittee's theoretical journal has cial aid to Catholic schools. The accused the "rightists" of carrymeasure will grant parochial ing on "factional activities" and "anti-party activities inside the schools about \$60 million in "aid" next year. party." Red Flag scored as "ab-

However, popular opposition surd" the charge of the 'rightists" that the party lacked deto the breach in the separation did not offer a meeting at a dif- mocracy because it would not of church and state is far greatlet them speak.

er in France than the parliamentary vote indicates. As the Dec. 27 New York Times admits editorially, "Voting in the National Assembly, in the Fifth Republic is often . . . rigged.'

New Federation Favored by Chilean 'achievements" in an article ob-**Trade Union Parley**

La Prensa, New York Spanish Immediately after Stalin's daily, reports that at a recent trade-union congress in Chile, death, said Pravda, "the Leninist nucleus of leading men in the delegates adhering to the Communist party won a majority of party's Central Committee" opened a campaign against the posts in the leadership. The "personality cult." The criticism Communists got 645 votes, the personality cult." The criticism socialists 403, and the "Trotskyof Stalin had been "courageous" ists" 17. and a "complex and very res-

The Communists pushed a res-The Pravda article ended with olution favoring affiliation with long list of post-Stalin reforms the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina, which in foreign policy, industry, agriis headed by Lombardo Toledano, well-known Stalinist **Chinese Experiment** trade-union official of Mexico.

The majority of the delegates opposed this, however, and voted in favor of creating a new Latin The People's Republic of American trade-union organization as recently proposed by the

duced 10,000 varieties of new Cuban trade unions. Shang Chen, appeals to the textiles and new designs this The Cubans ended their affili-"small number of cadres which year, a recent Hsinhua news ation with the AFL-CIO sponhave deviated from the correct agency release received in Hong sored Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers.

According to Chang Kuang-At one point the discussion benai, China's minister of textile came so heated that fist fights In another "anti-rightist" ar- industry, the number of cotton broke out.

Among the resolutions apstant coffee. It proved to be knuckles on the table, straight- paper said (according to a Hong increased by 70% from 1949 to proved by the delegates was one naming capital as the "enemy" of the working class.

General who operated within the authority of our general many public mess halls in the "This case has been reviewed communes to close, "went openby two higher courts including ly on the road to capitalism,' and created a chaotic condition in the countryside. This is the version published by the Peking People's Daily Nov. 30, accord-

ing to a Dec. 22 AP dispatch culture, education and housing. of Jan. 5, 1956. from Tokyo. Bownes immediately questioned the authority under which

the judge made the request and Judge Grant replied without reference to the previous defense motion, "I do have the authority and I am exercising armed forces in the area as China has experimentally proit. I found him in contempt that well. The author of the article,

Turning again to Dr. Uphaus, he 'asked, "What is your an-

Dr. Uphaus Speaks

quently the outcome of a contest between the Democrats and Republicans is not of fundamental concern to them, whatever court." But to put a ROCKEFELLER in the White House! Even one as presentable as the governor

the Supreme Court which is certainly sensitive to individual rights," Judge Grant continued. "I shall now ask you if you are going to comply with my order

Watch that Bath Water

By Harry Ring

The following conversation between two supporters of the Communist party took place recently in a New York cafeteria. Its authenticity is beyond question, as I got it from an unusually unimpeachable source.

'What did you think of the party convention, Stanley? Looks to me like we're still on the same kick. We still need more 'criticism and self-criticism' and more vote-hustling for the Democrats."

"Max, you couldn't be more wrong. This convention was a landmark. It gave the Party the 'New Look' that Comrade Dennis pledged in 1956."

"You mean they redeemed the pledge by dumping Dennis and giving Gus Hall his job?" You know perfectly well, Max, that Dennis

had a mild stroke or small heart attack and couldn't attend the convention."

"Sure. I also noticed in this week's Worker that he's 'rapidly recovering' and he'll be taking on 'curtailed activity' within a month."

"Be that as it may, Max, it was certainly an opportune development. Comrade Hall is providing the movement fresh and inspired leadership. Unfortunately, I wasn't a delegate at the convention; but I read the extracts from his keynote speech in the Worker. It's a remarkable job of scientific analysis of our past errors, and brilliant oratory, too. It's rich with the language of the people.'

Well, maybe. But I'm sitting it out for a while yet, Stanley. I'm really beat out running errands for that Tammany hack in my district. And that 'progressive' shop chairman I helped elect is still giving me a hard time."

'Max, you're a perfect example of what Comrade Hall explained is still wrong with the party. Listen to what he says; I'm quoting from the text: 'Some of our cadre and a small section of our membership and some of the friends and members who left our ranks are afflicted by a disease one could designate as "negativism." That's what you're afflicted with."

'You mean it's a disease? I thought it was just that we're making such steady headway backwards."

"That's pure subjectivism, which Comrade Hall explains is a form of the disease of negativism. And he put his finger right on the root source of the infection. Listen: 'If you are one of those who sits and waits and sulks in a mist of negative cynicism you are so because you have been influenced by the ideology, the propaganda of the capitalist class."

"It's true, Stanley, no one ever accused me of positive cynicism and it does seem to be getting pretty misty. But I never caught wise that it was capitalist ideologists that were making me cynical about knocking ourselves out supporting anti-labor politicians, like Stevenson.'

"Max, life itself couldn't provide a better example than you of Comrade Hall's point. He explains that we made so many errors in the past because 'We never really grasped the Leninist concept of the struggle on two fronts.' The big mistake was that 'We changed from one front to the other, and therefore have fought only one direction of deviation at a time.' And

out the healthy body with the distorted growth.' Union views the future in its He points out we've been doing that at the very same time that we've been writing and speaking 'against the idea of throwing out the baby with permanently 'out of the woods'," the bath water.' Incidentally, I think that part Executive Director Patrick about the baby and the bath water drives the Murphy Malin declares in a

point home with real force. That's just what foreword to the organization's we've been doing - throwing out the baby thirty-ninth annual report. "But with the bath water." "To me, Stanley, it's still a little misty." "It's perfectly simple. Listen: 'During per-

all tactical questions tend to be raised to the level of principle and during periods when the emphasis is against the Left danger, principles are generally brought down to the tactical level'.'

"Clear as pea soup."

"Never mind your negativism, Max. Comrade Hall provides the answer. It's a masterful addition to Marxist-Leninist-Stal- . . . Marxist-Leninist theory: 'We have not fully learned the lesson that while one or the other of the germs is active and weakening the party, the opposite germ moves in'."

"Now I get it! Our new General Secretary is saying that if we shut the door to keep out due process and equality before the Right germs while we're opening the win- the law. dow to get rid of the Left germs, then we'll be able to throw out the tub and save both the front," the ACLU supported baby and the bath water!"

"It's good to see that at least you're grappling with the problem, Max. At any rate, to use one of Comrade Hall's rich metaphors, 'Life Itself' will demonstrate the validity of this scientific analysis of what's been infecting the Party and how to cope with it.'

Fight No.

Crow

VOLUME XXIV

By Flora Carpenter

After four decades of perhe offers a magnificent dialectical explanation forming a "watchdog function," of why we are always 'rejecting and throwing the American Civil Liberties field optimistically.

Jim

"Civil liberties can never be they are a lot better off than

they were in 1954.... And they will be a lot better off in the iods when our emphasis is against the Right, future than they might otherwise be, if - for the ACLU life begins, once again at forty!' The report cites discrimination, North and South, as the nation's primary "civil liberties

> problem." Although it believes it sees improvement in the school integration process, the ACLU sees little possibility of comprehensive congressional ac-

tion on civil rights in 1960 due to "exigencies of presidential politics.

Other major issues involve free speech, belief, association,

"On the church - and - state legal action and protested both religious teaching in public schools and the use of public facilities — such as buildings, textbooks, and buses - by parochial schools.

In the past year clashes occurred between the ACLU and Postmaster General Arthur B. Summerfield over postal censorship. The department "would do well," the ACLU says, "to remember that its job is to deliver the mail, and that Americans are free to decide what they will read."

In the academic field, the ACLU notes its opposition to the 1958 National Defense Education Act which grants such wide authority to the U.S. Commissioner of Education that it constitutes "a threat to the universities freedom to protect their stand ards of admission and student

performance." The ACLU hails a court reversal in New York of "a decision by a state official [Carmine De Sapiol in refusing a place on the ballot to the Independent Socialist party" because of minor irregularities on nominating petitions. The case indicates the need for "thorough re-evaluation of the state election laws to simplify

By Frank Lovell

The Detroit chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union commemorated Bill of Rights Day, Dec. 15, by presenting its first annual award for "outstanding achievements must be defended out of duty, in the field of civil liberties" and the rewards are greater to Charles C. Lockwood. This public recognition and than money.

acclaim of Lockwood's defense of civil liberties marks a big step forward for the ACLU and the whole civil-liberties movement in this city. It shows that the struggle for civil liberties is regaining self-confidence.

During the past years, when it was less popular to defend so-called "security-risk" cases, Charles Lockwood never turned down anyone who was under attack. He helped organize the local Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, was the defense attorney in the Radulovich and Lupa cases, and was prominent in the fight against the Michigan "anti-subversive" Trucks law.

These were the cases that Lockwood and to participate received the most publicity. in the' ceremonies included There were many others that prominent figures in the union he handled before Army removement, the legal profesview boards and local "sesion, the Michigan courts, and curity" committees and won. Most of these cases received the educational and religious little attention and seemed to fields many at the time to be imformed Advisory Committee to portant only to the individual victims and to Lockwood. To him they certainly were important. His mark as a real

fighter for civil liberties is that he sees in every individual victimization an attack on the basic rights of all. A scroll citing Lockwood for

his contribution was presented by Harold Morris, ACLU Detroit chapter chairman, during ceremonies at the McGregor Conference Center at Wayne State University.

Accepting this recognition of his work, Lockwood reminded his colleagues in the legal profession that much remains partment, notorious for its disto be done in the civil-liberties regard of legal rights. field. He recalled that he had

Strike at Albert Lea

erties.

| would prevail." (Continued from Page 1) "Lawlessness in this manner

and asked its members to "go long" with it. Wilson and Co. filed suit against Gov. Freeman to regain victims of such lawlessness to full use of plant facilities. The surrender their constitutional rights so precious to all freedomfederal court ruled that the plant must be permitted to re-

loving people." This tortured piece of legal open; however, the governor could keep troops there to mainsophistry, which attempts to draw a parallel between mintain "order." In its antilabor

Detroit ACLU Pays San Francisco Musician Locals End Jim Crow money is not everything, Lockwood said. Civil liberties

> The announced merger of San Francisco's Local 6 white) and Local 669 (Negro) of the American Federation of Musicians is heartening news for all opponents of Jim

Crow and spotlights how much+ still needs to be done to eradicate all forms of segregation from the labor movement. In a news release, hailing the

The present Congress, he said; has been a great disap-San Francisco musicians' merger, pointment to everyone who John Hammond, chairman of the expected liberal legislation Music Committee of the Urban League of Greater New York, Lithographers Music Committee of the Urban from it and this is the responsays: "We hope that this merger sibility of both the Republican will point to the elimination of the 46 segregated locals of the Fight Injunction He concluded by saying that since both major parties have AFM before its next conventior

n June 1960." failed, those who want to pre-It is noteworthy that only 15 serve the basic concepts defined in the Bill of Rights must of these Jim Crow locals are in the South and nine in border now examine other political

states. The remaining ones are in such places as Denver, Bridge-Those who came to honor oort, New Haven, Hartford, Chicago, Sioux City, Topeka, Boston, St. Louis, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Seattle Milwaukee and six in Ohio. The San Francisco merger i being achieved only under the Members of the newly spur of the recently passed state Fair Employment Practices law

although the proposition has the chapter's executive board been under discussion in the were introduced. The comunion for the past five years. mittee includes Lockwood and others who have long been In San Francisco and other front-line fighters for civil libcities with segregated musicians' ocals, resistance to merger has Justice George Edwards of come not solely from bigoted the Michigan Supreme Court white elements in the union. In spoke on "The Price of the some instances it comes from the officers of the Negro locals and Bill of Rights," and declared from the members as well. Nethat "the rights that wither for the weak, the friendless gro musicians, like all Negroes, hate and resent segregation, but and the guilty will eventually with specific merger propositions A statement was read from their desire to end Jim Crow is outweighed by fears that dis-Mayor Miriani extolling civil liberties. It might better have crimination in a merged local would deny them representation been sent to the Police De-

in union offices and worsen their lot economically. A further complicating factor is that, like other of the entertainment unions, the AFM has contractors (hiring agents) in its locals. These white contractors could be suppressed but it would have a vested interest in the be obtained by compelling the status quo which is usually seg-

regated orchestras. Because of their economic hold on union that neither the local's negotimembers, dependent on them for ating nor executive committees jobs, these contractors command had played any part in working powerful cliques and machines out the agreement. Further, the in many locals and bitterly op- new agreement would provide

Aptly Named Court By Alex Harte • In the case of the couple identified as Paul and Pauline Poe, the judges found, "Mrs.

The highest judicial body in Connecticut, which goes by the unusually apt title of Supreme Court of Errors, upheld a law Dec. 22 which an expert in the field recently characterized as making the citizens of that state, "the largest mass criminal population in America."

two 1879 statutes forbidding the prescription or use of birth-control drugs or devices. The law provides a \$50 fine and a 60-day to oneyear jail term for either "offense."

The latest reaffirmation of the statute came in reply to a legal challenge by Dr. C. Lee Buxton, chairman of the Obstetrics Department at Yale University, and two married couples and a married woman, all patients of his. They charged that the statutes violated the Fourteenth Amendment which forbids the states to "deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." They now plan an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The ruling upholding the birth-control ban

The five-man court unanimously upheld

is not without interest. In it, the judges estab-

Poe, who is 26 years old . . . has born three abnormal children, no one of whom lived more than 10 weeks. The basic cause of these abnormalities is thought by Dr. Buxton and other qualified medical specialists to be genetic, but the prognosis is very uncertain and renders the prospect of another pregnancy extremely dis-

turbing to both Mr. and Mrs. Poe." • Nor is the problem insoluble, the court said. "The plaintiff Buxton has knowledge of drugs, medicinal articles and instrumentalities which could be safely used to prevent conception and pregnancy in the women plaintiffs, who desire to live normal married lives with their husbands."

• This is not simply the opinion of the court. "It is conceded by the demurrers [the state of Connecticut] that the use of contraceptives is, according to medical science, the best and safest measure for the plaintiffs to follow in order to avoid pregnancy.'

Discussing the political cli-

mate in which the witch-hunt

grew, Lockwood recalled that

it had gained the most from

the Attorney General's "sub-

the Truman administration.

and Democratic parties.

forms, "especially socialism."

versive" list, first issued under

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1960

Tribute to Lockwood often sought additional legal aid on cases and had been told that "security risks" don't have enough money. But

By George Lavan

when the producer and cast of the show, then in Europe, cabled absolute insistence that several

Negro musicians be included in the orchestra.

NUMBER 1

Move by Gov't

SAN FRANCISCO - Hearings on an application to bar the Amalgamated Lithographers of America from including a "hot cargo" clause among contract demands opened in federal court here Dec. 21. The National Labor Relations Board applied for the injunction against Local 17 of the union which has been on strike since Nov. 23. A ban on handling material from struck plants has been traditional in the union contract.

A stormy membership meeting of the union Dec. 19 voted 746 to 271 to reject a contract agreement reached by International union officials and the employing lithographers. Top union officials, including Edward Swayduck, president of the large New York local, had come here to help secure a strike settlement that would protect the union's job and jurisdictional rights. The employers' moves to roll back work rules were bolstered by the NLRB intervention under the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law.

The International officials sought to sign an agreement before the court action on the injunction. application. Accord with the employers was reached. It was this agreement that was are actually bosses and usually rejected by the membership meeting.

> Strong membership opposition developed when it was learned only a 4% wage increase as

lish these facts: • Dr. Buxton is "an eminently qualified ob-

stetrician and gynecologist." • One of his patients, who joined in the suit under the pseudonym, Jane Doe, 25, when three and a half months pregnant, had "developed a condition which brought her to the very brink of death. Her physical condition is now such that conception and another pregnancy would be exceedingly dangerous to her life. She needs and requires advice as to what preventive measures can be taken to avert a recurrence of the experience she suffered."

The court further explained that it has the right to "interfere" with laws that do not "serve the public health safety, morals or welfare or . . . deny or interfere with private rights un-

reasonably.' After presenting these block-busting arguments against the birth-control ban, you may well ask; on what possible basis did the judges

manage to uphold it? The simplest argument in the world: The

plaintiffs have another alternative . . . ". . . abstinence from sexual intercourse."

Notes in the News

CHRISTMAS IN THE COUNTING HOUSES - It is estimated by the National Stationery and Office Equipment Association that \$10 million in damages (like drinks spilled on desks and carpets) resulted for those firms that threw office Christmas parties. An inspiring sight for the world's underfed millions!

PAIN IN THE NECK - From watching television you can get a pain in the neck as well as the breastbone, the arteries and the back — and besides, you may become victim of "command-automatism" (example: one man watching a hair-tonic demonstration began scooping water from the goldfish bowl to put on his hair). This warning appeared in Lancet, an English medical journal. However, if you're a confirmed Vidiet, Lancet recommends adequate lighting, proper chairs, and avoidance of tight clothes, especially tight girdles, during television sessions.

CAPITALIST BRAINS AT WORK - Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller has come up with a neat way of reducing crimes committed by youths. He recommends a law to lower the age of adults to 15. Youths of 16 can then be called adults, can be tried in adult courts and given adult sentences instead of being sent to correctional schools for juveniles as the law now provides.

NOT A BAD IDEA — Retail druggists are complaining that customers have been giving them a hard time since the price-gouge scandal hit the headlines. A Jacksonville pharmacist says: "The whole thing is being wrapped around our necks. I'm confident we all will be in the investigation before it's over."

WATCH THAT STANCE ! - Ruth Preston, writing in the New York Post on clothing fashions in the past ten years, reports that the decade saw "a very important change in silhouette for both men and women. And with it came a change in posture from erect (to support a prominent and pointed bosom, tiny waist and rounded, even padded, hip) to a more relaxed stance with pelvis almost forward of the waistline which gives the figure a much

longer, slimmer line with high, rounded, notso-prominent bosom. This was also true in men's fashions . . . the well-padded shoulder and long, loose jacket . . . gave way to narrow unpadded shoulders which rounded the shoulder line and, with the hip held rather well forward, gave an extremely slender look." Or as they said in the clothing trade, it was a way of slenderizing the pocketbook through planned posture obsolescence.

* * *

ARE THE TRACKS SAFE? - A private engineering firm which investigated New York's subway system issued the comforting announcement that it had found the tracks "safe." However, it also found that it will take two years to carry out the extensive repairs needed to "keep" them safe. New York City newspapers labor "having sown the wind of have been running accounts day in and day neglect, has this year reaped the out illustrating the dangerous deterioration of the famous subway network. Democratic Mayor Wagner's response to this was to hire Coverdale and Colpitts to make a four-month survey at a cost of \$70,000 to the taxpayers. The engineering outfit - strictly by coincidence, of course - was the same one that supervised He salutes the appearance of repair work done in the previous period.

BECAUSE OF SMAZE AND SMOG - The problem of corrosion has become greatly in-

tensified in recent years. According to Henry L. Shuldener, president of Water Service Lab-

oratories, Inc., the water used in cooling frozenfood apparatus, refrigerators, air conditioners etc., picks up so much of the chemically active gases from the atmosphere that no metal commonly used today in water-conveying systems can withstand the corresive action. He says that a sensible one and is harder to damage from corrosion can be in the form of answer than some questions that clogging or dilating spray-nozzle apertures, get thrown around more freleaky pipes, perforated plates and destruction quently. The question is difficult of copper condenser tubes. Even copper can actually be dissolved from brass or copper piping by some water. The breakdowns from dam- tween segregationists and inteage, he adds, are most likely to occur just when grationists. However, I oppose "the equipment is most needed" - like when legislation forbidding such interyou've just loaded your freezer with \$20 worth marriages." - Roger Shinn in of meat. The expert did not say what the effect Christianity and Crisis, quoted of the corrosive gases might be on human lungs. in the Southern Patriot.

the requirements for minority

representation. . ." The report contains a concise "The workers [scabs] who deroundup of current civil lib- sired to return to their work at erties cases in fields extending the plant were forbidden to refrom racist attacks in the South turn, and plaintiff's right under against the National Association the federal constitution to opfor the Advancement of Colored erate its plant was abrogated by People to reactionary laws af- the decree of the military."

fecting birth control. Among the In what has been taken as a defendants mentioned are Frank reference to Gov. Faubus, who ership of the United Packing-Wilkinson, William Worthy, Pete used state troops to prevent Ne- house Workers has not issued a Seeger, Asbury Howard and gro children from going to single statement up to now in-William L. Greene.

The important Lloyd Barenblatt and Willard Uphaus freereport.

However, the survey does not mention the internationally famous case of Morton Sobell, who was convicted and sentenced to thirty years during the witch-hunt hysteria surrounding the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The ACLU offers no reason for the omission.

urged the unions "voluntarily" to create an internal democracy of free speech and due process.' The ACLU approves the new Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law on the ground that organized whirlwind, even from friends." Malin notes the ACLU's current membership of 45,000 and pays special tribute to its 800 co-operating attorneys in 300 cities who "work without fee." other organizations concerned

about the defense of civil liberties in America.

To a Segregationist?

"Do I want my daughter to marry a segregationist? Curiously no one has ever challenged me with that question — though it is because I seriously doubt the wisdom of intermarriage be-

ruling the court castigated the governor's way of using troops:

scabs moving into striking workers' jobs, provides fresh evidence of the traditional role of the courts in labor disputes.

be taken away from all."

Clearly the next developments depend upon the decisiveness of the workers. However, the leadschool in Little Rock, Ark., the dicating what should be done. Public statements have been court stated, "By way of analissued by R. A. Olson, Minneogy, let us assume a situation speech cases are cited in the that not infrequently arises in sota president of the AFL-CIO our country. Racial hatred, for and Walter Cramond, president

of the Minneapolis Central Lainstance, against so-called minority citizens moving into a bor Union Council. These comcommunity, with the resulting mended the governor for calling demand that such citizens leave out the troops!

the neighborhood, often incites The next move is up to the mob action. If the violence could Minnesota union movement not be suppressed by local auth- which has a unique opportunity orities, a governor could impose to show through militant acmartial law and the military tion, as it did in 1934, how to could issue an order that the break out of an antilabor While defending labor's right innocent citizens leave the squeeze-play put on by a comto picket, the ACLU reversed a neighborhood because if they pany in collusion with govern-

. 1960 Can Be Best Year

(Continued from Page 1) am sure his friends will be interested to know not only that George's spirits are good and that he keeps active most of the time but also what he thinks about the period ahead, which I'll summarize here:

"1960 can be, and I think will be, the best year for revolutionary socialism since the cold war began. Things are opening up all around. The hypnosis is broken. People are

beginning to open their eyes and ask questions and though they may be shocked a little by some answers, there's a greater readiness to listen than in the last 13 years. If we don't make progress in the 1960 election campaign it will be partly our own fault, partly because we will have failed to realize what the opportunities are or had in years. will not have taken full ad-

"If your tour does nothing else," he told me, "it will be a success if it will drive this one point home wherever you go." For emphasis George opened a book of Frederick Dougority peoples moving into a segregated neighborhood and ment includes adequate repre-ers.

sentation on the boards of orchestras in their jurisdiction." | already signed.

pose integration.

It is a shock to learn just, integrated AFM local, discrimi- agreement.

nation in hiring is commonplace. An Urban League study early in 1959 revealed that neither the New York Philharmonic nor-Metropolitan Opera orchestras had ever hired a Negro musician. Of the dozen orchestras sent overseas by the State Department only one (Julliard School) was integrated. The 26 musical shows on Broadway from 1956 to

1958 employed approximately - Toward Capitalism or Social-650 musicians of whom only 14 ism?" First of three lectures on - and these mainly in two the Russian Revolution by Theoshows with Negro themes or dore Edwards opening the winstars — were Negroes.



The New York Urban League a gainst the across-the-board statement on ending Jim Crow raise of \$10 originally demandlocals in the AFM calls for guar- ed. This particularly incensed antees of equal treatment to Ne- unskilled workers who, under gro members of merged locals. previous contracts, have received 'The definition of equal treat- equal raises with skilled work-

The agreement was defended merged locals and assurances as a victory on the key issue of that job opportunities will be union security by the Internaoffered to all on the basis of tional's lawyer Ben Robinson merit . . . Further, all locals of and Local 17 President Brandenthe AFM should take positive burg. They pointed to the adsteps to ensure equal job oppor- vantages of going into court with tunities and the integration of the strike ended and a contract

Many members saw merit in how widespread discrimination these arguments but questioned against Negro musicians is the need of giving up so many Though New York City has an economic demands to secure the



LOS ANGELES

"Economics and Social Causes ter session of the School of In-Even with the 1953 production ternational Socialism. Sunday,

of "Porgy and Bess," the lily- Jan. 10, 11 a.m. Forum Hall, 1702

position, held since 1942, that did so, peace and tranquility ment officials, courts and troops.

lass and read me a passage in which that great agitator, after 20 years of unremitting struggle against slavery, bemoaned the apparent apathy and indifference of the American people to the abolitionist message.

months before the outbreak of the civil war that ended in the abolition of slavery! "I don't mean that the

nine months away from a final showdown with capitalism now," he explained. "What I mean is that the best and most clear-sighted radicals must always be careful to watch for changes even before they fully mature and be ready for them in time. To me, all the signs point to the best opportunity revolutionary socialists have

vantage of them. "But of course what happens will depend on how well we understand the opportunities and how hard we work to win them.'

Fraternally,

Farrell Dobbs