When Uphaus Chose Prison

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, haus said, relishing his own to a "subversive" hunting atto a "subversive" hunting attorney general of New Hamp- The hotels being full with a Best Year

Dr. Uphaus had answered.

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 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-

We also talked of New Hamp-

MD Fee Just **Down Payment**

paying more for prescriptions Dr. Uphaus including his wife than for medical fees.

curity Administration, the pub- seventeen years as a missionary lic paid \$4,362,000,000 in 1958 for to China. pills, potions, powders, eye 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

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.

gained sweeping victories.

Leopoldville, capital of the Bel-

to gauge the strength of the na-

tional-independence sentiment

'Independence! Immediate inde-

dispatch reports. Baudouin may

meet with African nationalist

leaders during his stay in Leo-

poldville. The Belgian govern-

ment has scheduled a round-

table conference in mid-January

The five parties attending the

united-front congress were Aba-

ko, 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 represent-

ed. Josef Kasavubu, Abako lead-

er chaired the conference and

Albert Kalondji of the Congolese

National Movement was vice-

chairman. The parley was held

in Kisantu, 70 miles from Leo-

poldville with 200 delegates in

discuss the fate of the colony.

pre-Christmas invasion of busi-"And you could face life im- ness representatives, Dr. Uphaus prisonment?" Barry Gray had finally stretched out on a couch across from the fireplace in my Yes, that's about it, I guess," living room, much more content, he said, than he would "There are not many people have been in an expensive hotel

Thoreau's Words

In the morning a well-worn volume of Thoreau came down from the shelves and over it to find, in Thoreau's speech. comment about an injustice of back to the South.

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

I met Willard Uphaus again four days later when I arrived with a group of ten New York ers at the steps of the Merrishire and the World Fellowship mack County Court House in camp at Conway and of Mount Concord, N.H., for the unique purge hearing.

The Court House is a square white brick building set off from Concord's main street by a gently sloping lawn.

On the steps as our contingent drove up was a group of about The American people are now fifty friends and supporters of Ola whom he had married in According to the Social Se- 1938 when she returned from

Rev. Lloyd C. Worley, pastor the Bureau of Labor Statistics. has also been Dr. Uphaus' text Are the profits of the drug during his four-year refusal to

(Continued on Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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Can Be **Decades**

On Tour

Editor: Readers of the Militant will be interested in a report of a talk I had with George Breitman, a former editor of this paper now living in Detroit.

Mainly we discussed the changing political climate which is becoming apparent in the motor city as in every town I have visited. But in view of the circumstances of our meeting a few comments of a more personal nature also seem in order.

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 spend much of our conversation on the state of his health; he has arthritis and associated ills, which he assured me were not so serious as irritating because they incapacitated him from time to time. "I don't like to talk about

it," he said half-jokingly. "Everybody tells me I am very objective. But when I hear somebody else talking about his illnesses, I feel sorry for him. Because I am objective, I have the same reaction when 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 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 some nótebooks. 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 general theme: The American Revolutionist - Methods, Traditions and Personal Qualities, together with an evaluation of the three American revolutions. The opening talk will be on Samuel Adams and the First; then on Frederick Douglass and the Second; then on James P. Cannon and the next American revolution. If his enthusiasm about the project is a good indication. Detroit forum-goers are in for something worthwhile in February.

I won't attempt in this report to cover all the political questions we discussed. But I (Continued on Page 4)

Outrage Shocks West Germans



Unidentified woman enters synagogue in Cologne, West Germany, Dec. 26. On its walls are swasnikas 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 Main Political Need

By Tom Kerry

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 ers since the time of Samuel and Republicans. Gompers, when it was openly It is a neat scheme - slick

Today, the policy as interpret- process ed by Gompers is thoroughly dis-

Gompers. Nevertheless, it is a matter of common knowledge that the laoor-Democratic coalition has led to a series of defeats for the unions on the political arena. If the trend continues - and there is no reason to think it won't — the prospects for the mulated, with more to come.

policy of coalition, to which the fearful ordeal. union leaders remain commit-

To this end, Walter Reuther, president of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, has become the advocate of a policy of "liberals" in another. "Unless about 1,200. there is genuine progress toward 'progressive forces will continue

Admittedly, the most "serious obstacle" is the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress. Reuther's realignment gimmick tims of the Nazis. is based on the hope that some-

to face serious obstacles.'

Variations of the policy of "re- comprising, on the one hand,

suited to the needs of the work- brainstorms usually are. But what makes Reuther imagine With the expansion of Ameri- that the Dixiecrats are at all concan industry, the growth of the cerned about accommodating mions, the increasing interven- him? In domestic politics they tic party. To reward "friends" ist ruling class. In Congress, by Nov. 1, 1959. and punish "enemies" was trans- virtue of the seniority system,

some union leaders publicly de- rect beneficiary of this. There is When questioned about the either party, this was more an done only through the formation | zen for the last 100 years." outburst of irritated frustration of labor's own independent po-American labor politics.

Kerosene Fire In New York Kills an Infant

NEW YORK - On Christmas took the workers' jobs. Eve, Mrs. Carleen Cole, 32, was held without bail on a homicide is a neat one. The company charge. A kerosene stove in her keeps the plant open and the apartment had accidentally scabs working under protection proclaimed as the policy best and polished — as Reuther's overturned. In the resulting of the National Guard. The govblaze a two-year-old child per- ernor appears clean because he

been used in the slums of America's largest and wealthiest city; tion of the government in labor- have made the South a haven for but in 1957 they were finally nanagement 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 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 a coalition within the Democra- role to the benefit of the capital- units were given a deadline of on-labor drive involving the en-

muted into supporting Democrats as against Republicans for public office.

Today, the policy as interpretToday, the policy as interpretToday in the semiority system, while city officials prepared the semiority system, while city officials prepared the semiority system, while city officials prepared the coupy the chairmanship of the prosecute Mrs. Cole, the state legislature was considering a plant. These were recruited from adjacent farm areas in southern cratic Mayor Wagner to exempt cratic Mayor Wagner to exempt Their power rests on the per- from the central heating recredited. Although, immediately petuation of the Jim Crow sys- quirement all buildings "schedfollowing the enactment of the tem. Big business, which con- uled" to be acquired for any Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, trols both major parties, is a di- kind of future housing project.

clared that the labor-Democratic only one power able to effect a tenants freezing if Wagner's coalition had proven a liability meaningful realignment in the recommendation were accepted, and suggested a return to the one-party South — the organized a City Hall spokesman cynically policy of supporting "friends" in labor movement. And it can be responded: "They haven't fro-

Maybe. But according to the and an implied threat than a litical party. This is the key to Fire Department 200 of them serious proposal for a return to the most critical problem of died in the past 10 years from

Krupp Dispenses \$1,190

future look very bleak. After Jews still alive who worked as year his industrial empire grossmore than 20 years of coalition | slave laborers for Alfried Krupp, | ed about \$1 billion, of which Alpolitics a formidable body of the German "cannon king," dur- fried Krupp pocketed some \$80 anti-labor legislation has accu- ing World War II. These pitiful million in net profit. survivors have now been as-Given a continuation of the sured of compensation for their sentenced to 12 years imprison-

and discontented with a policy borer in a Krupp enterprise. regardless of the length of

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

> Krupp explained that the giant permit him to continue his re- the political resolution adopted company was willing to make at the recent UAW convention, the payments even though it assumed no legal responsibility in the matter, since the West German government, as the successor to the Hitler regime, was responsible for compensating vic-

> > However, the public-relations will simply be cancelled. how or other, the Dixiecrats can spokesmen said that Krupp, out

As a war criminal, Krupp was ment in 1948. The U.S. military

ered a light sentence. Among are growing more dissatisfied that he or she was a forced la- the charges leveled at the "Ruhr 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 purcamps at Markstaedt and Ausch-Krupp's slave-labor factories.

ever, he was ordered to dispose 1947-49 period. of his vast empire by Jan. 31 of last year.

simply couldn't find a customer. granted him another year.

this Jan. 31 the dissolution order

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 labor-

Use of Troops Is Continued At Albert Lea

New Twist in Strikebreaking Seen in Packinghouse Battle

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-

gan against the strikebreakers, step two was taken. Democratic Gov. Freeman called out the quest that Gov. Orville Freeman National Guard to restore "law called out the National Guard, and order.'

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 process meat said to be on the Strange as it may seem, the verge of spoiling.

The next step was taken by the company to help get the labor-endorsed governor off the hook. The company filed suit in federal court to regain full use of their plant and the court ruled against the governor, h- A Rockefeller structing him to let the company reopen the plant but allowing him to use troops to As President maintain "order" as the scabs

The formula, it can been seen, 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 "constitutional law" which provides for the protection of that holy of holies private property. Only Spearheading a crackdown-

tire meat packing industry, Wil-While city officials prepared son began hiring scabs in Novtime the scab work force had reached about 500, the strikers from Local 6 of the UPWA began an aggressive campaign. Some 1,000 pickets began massing at the plant gates to stone scabs and company officials.

Once begun, such action soon extended beyond the immediate area of the plant gates. Farmers open and corn dumped.

Sympathy was widespread for the strikers. Support came from other packinghouse workers in nearby plants. School children were reported to be gathering stones for use by strikers.

Officials of Albert Lea and Freeborn county appealed to the know they preferred Nixon." governor. They were unable, they said, to cope with the situ- think that Rockefeller, because ation and were faced with the of his winning TV personality, danger of "riots" and "insurrec- would have a better chance than tion." They asked the governor Nixon to win the election. Thereto close the plant down to re- fore, the Republicans are makestablish "law and order," for it ing a mistake in not choosing was their opinion that even un- Rockefeller. der martial law the National ted, what is the perspective for mas Eve that he will grant a also condemned him to forfeit Guard couldn't patrol the coun-

tern encountered by the local Packinghouse Workers ran like tryside and prevent strikers 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 responsé to this redeclared martial law and closed To make it look good, the down the plant. However, in a ing some meat that might spoil. union leadership approved this

(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 said that he did not care to engage in the "massive struggle" that would be required to overcome the decision in favor of

In other words, the Republican bosses have already decided and the convention is a mere formal-

But the decisions of the Republican machine are not final. They are subject to the will of the ruling capitalist oligarchs, as Taft indicated in an analysis of who were discovered to be his defeat at the 1952 Republiscabs found their corn cribs cut can convention. Since Rockefeller is a prominent member of this ruling clique, why would he concede to the lowly hacks of the

Republican machine? New York Post correspondent Massolo indicated the answer tothat: "Despite his own great wealth most of the nation's industrial leaders let Rockefeller

Many political commentators

These commentators leave out (Continued on Page 3)

Edge Still Held by Democrats 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-November — although the steel witz." Many prisoners died in workers had not as yet received extends back two decades to the any wage increases. According to start of World War II in Septhe 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

Over 52.7% - or more than war figure. half - of the cost-of-living rise 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 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 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 been added since under the Re-

Under both administrations, the tremendous federal expenditures for war purposes, an average of more than \$40 billion annually for direct mili- the American dollar.

inflationary furnace. The entire period of inflation

113.5, or 91.7% above the pre-

Today, the official cost-of-liv-

However, if the Republicans stay 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 should run the Democrats a very close second in the matter of slashing the buying power of

attendance. The congress "impressed observers by its tight discipline and determination," says the New York Times. It adopted three resolutions. and total independence and sets while an instructor at the Uni-

tion of six autonomous republics, viction.

5 Congo Parties Push

For Independence

ing in a united-front congress elected by universal suffrage. 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

On his arrival Dec. 28 in at first hand. Shouts of "Long Live the King!" were "drowned by a mass of Africans roaring: pendence!" a New York Times

gian Congo, Baudouin was able movement during the past year.

Europeans redundant." with African representatives to bal sorcery killings can serve as pretexts for denying the Con-

Frightened by the swift growth

Belgians in the Congo "approach the new year with dread," says Homer Bigart in the Dec. 24 New York Times. They "have stopped buying cars, refrigerators and luxury items, lest 1960 bring independence to the Congo and the new African Government find

Five Congolese parties, meet- | headed by a federal parliament

export of capital.

of the national-independence

that a recent outbreak of intertribal war in the interior of the Congo and of the revival of trigolese demands for national in-

The Belgian authorities hope

dependence. 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

> Amendment Defendants report- sity Professors. ed today. The talented young mathema-

tician will be the third person to vanced Studies at Princeton and the proposal is that "conservaperiod for refusing to testify or editor of Mathematical Reviews, inform before a "subversive" hunting Congressional or state matical Society. He intends to the realignment of forces within committee. Dr. Davis was hailed before the House Committee on Un-

The first demands immediate American Activities in 1954 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.

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-

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 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-

Dr. Davis subsequently studied at the Institute for Adjournal of the American Matherequest federal authorities to the two existing parties," states 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 witch-hunters because "I simply refused to be an informer."

same 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.

To His Jewish Ex-Slaves There may be as many as 2,000 | be judged from the fact that last

the future? Merely to hold forth cash payment of 5,000 marks - his property. the promise of more-of-the-same \$1,190 — to each and every is not very hopeful. The ranks Jewish survivor who can prove

The estimate of 2,000 claim-

Public-relations spokesmen for

Krupp announced on Christ- court that tried the Nazi backer At the time this was consid-

In 1951, the U.S. High Com-

After all, Krupp's willingness

- 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

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

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 recorded. This may prove true in some in-

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.

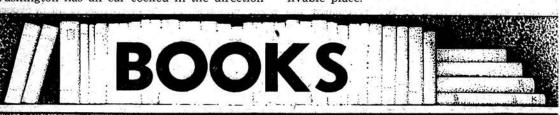
Testifying before the committee, Paul Williams, a former U.S. Attorney, urged that the of the SLL and stand up for law should permit federal agencies to use wiretap evidence in court. He cited New York City, British socialists have done exwhere the police have such a right, and said that actly that. 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

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 Asso-

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



The Story of Segregation

FAUBUS' FOLLY. The Story of | 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 are for school desegregation, has owned by all the people; hence, tural workers] each winter." 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 Relatively little cash is left to resistance to desegregation on purchase the manufactured prothe part of the political leaders of the South is ample proof that they serve these forces of ex-

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, especially 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 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 attention from the main issue that of assuring a supply of

cheap labor. Advertisement

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So well does he analyze the 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 prising that he does not naturally arrive at Marxism. For instance, "The agricultural products and the land upon which they are grown are not equally many must labor to produce goods which belong to another, and for this labor they receive money with which they may buy a part of their own production. ducts, which, in our society, are the symbols of a high standard

> of living." 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 apples so cheaply that sales are good, and a small number 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, tion. He feels that the problem of racial segregation will be solved by attacking it as the economic problem of poverty, and government, and is convinced that those fearful leaders who 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 exploiters 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 surplus has for years constituted to accept Christmas "payola" what is known as a 'social cligifts from students. "If a kid what is known as a 'social climate favorable to business" is ammunition for the foes of served, "you're going to think segregation and makes this book a long time before you flunk worth-while.

He suggests the formation of said, manufacturing of the South might be farmed out to small home-type plants on a piecework basis, and thus afford extra it is for strengthening the fight income to thousands [of agricul- for the 40-hour week; for higher,

There should be an all-out effort to teach the Negro personal property management, slums should be abolished, fivemillion new one-family homes should be constructed in the next five years.

Where will the money come from? "Money is merely a symbol, a bookkeeping device for measuring the accomplishments of a people . . . What more useful work can there be than raising the standard of living of every man and woman in the South?"

neutral world is waiting to opposed to peace! choose sides."

Besides his discussion of the economics of the South, the auservice . . . The Negroes of Cen- shop stewards committees." tral and West Africa had, by contrast, developed beyond the following advice: "So all trade 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 obthat kid.'

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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 New York 3, N.Y.

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

The main objective of the combined attack leveled by the British capitalist press and the Labor party and union bureaucrats on the Socialist Labor last week, is to brand the British Marxists as "troublemakers," 'outside agitators," and "irresponsible 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 organization." 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 program at the Assembly, he "skillfully conceals the Trotskyist character of the organization."

The SLL is against the cold the manufacture of the H-bomb; creases; for a fight against colonial oppression and racism in England; for the extension of nationalization under workers control; and for a tight against the bans and proscriptions inside the Labor party and the trade

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-

If the challenge is not met by in the Kremlin and the imperialthe American people, the author ists in the struggle for peace, points out that "Even now the proposing instead the socialist Communist world is waiting for road to peace, J. R. C. has our way of life to fail, and the "proof" that the SLL is really

Dual Unionism Charge

So far J. R. C. is simply rethor 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-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 pline and had no experience in trade-union bureaucracy. "On

The article concludes with the 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 La-The charge of "dual unionism"

the workers' movement throughpolicy.

with dual unionism in Britain, ence." they mean that it is impermissible for the rank and file to misleadership. More precisely, by dictatorial strong-arm meththey mean it is impermissible ods. for workers to organize a grouping in seeking a new policy and ates as the story itself reveals from its earliest stages, but be- Stalinized American Communist a new leadership.

Centrist Critics



of Labor. Seated at left is Brian Pearce, co-editor of Labor Review. At right is SLL chairman

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, Wilfred Wigham, who is among the the departure of Peter Fryer. most active of a new galaxy of shouters of alarm, expressed it this way:

"The mushroom growth (only Socialist Labor League within the last two years, with the help of considerable prominence and delegates and observers. His sensational criticisms in the capitalist Press, has focused the sense of humor. The League's attention of some Left intellectuals on the SLL . . .

One group of these intellectual critics of Trotskyism is centered around the magazine New Reaswar: it proclaims opposition to oner which now appears as the New Left Review after a merger with Universities and Left Review. The grouping, which calls wages; defense of jobs and the itself the "New Left," is comshop stewards; against rent in- posed of former CP intellectuals who broke with Stalinism during the shake-up that followed the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution.

> Trotskyism has proved attract tive to them but they have also found it - repellant. They profess to see in the Trotskyist movement the modern continuation of a lot of old evils generally involving discipline, centralism, and so on. They lump together regard Trotskyism as simply principled questions of Marxism | Bolshevism. and to participate in working-

class struggles. A prominent member of this general grouping of British radical intellectuals, Peter Fryer, has recently moved away from the SLL after several years association as one of its leading writers. At first he offered no political motivation for his shift; 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

> 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 menace of Trotskyism. A trade-union officials. Ironically, sibly about the National Assemit was Stalinism that derailed bly of Labor, but the real subject munist movement who waged a leader, who with bald head radical movements. 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 When the trade-union bureau- peasant guerrillas than a twen- movement is featured: "Ameri- Cannon concentrates his analycrats, however, charge the SLL tieth-century workers' confer-

To this is added revelations, or rather hints of revelations, oppose their false policy and that the meeting was bludgeoned

The charge, however, evaporthat the dictatorial control is cause he combines a rich per- party who replaced their early The British Communist party After the delegates had voted Trotskyism for reasons of spec- the SLL leaders appealed to the United States. emergence of a new militant meeting! The reason for such and his co-workers made from forces of the new movement of

where ILP theoretician Walter the present state of affairs on the Kendall announced that the betrayal of false leaders. We crisis in the SLL has "mounted have to ask ... Why is it that to explosive force" because of the workers give their leaders Adopting the posture of a emphasis.)

profound delver into the theoretcrisis," Kendall points with pride swer to his own emphatic quesa 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 cialist Leader. In that article, really hinting that the socialist Kendall claimed that world struggle against the labor bur-Trotskyism was in crisis due to eaucracy is overrated since the its inability to explain how the workers too have their short-Chinese revolution triumphed comings. Thus the responsibility

> Chinese Communist party. skyists on this question. He needs the crisis in order to show its "consequences": "Within the American (Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party a split developed over this and related issues. One the party altogether. In Britain a similar situation seems to be arising.

Here, of course, Kendall shows ignorance of somewhat astonishing degree. Comrade Cowley would be quite surprised to hear that she left the SWP, let alone led a group out of it. And because of China! Kendall's report Leninism and Stalinism and on a crisis in the SLL achieves a similar level of accuracy.

Moreover, since the SLL is opposed to placing any confidence in the Kremlin and the imperial
Moreover, since the SLL is opposed to placing any confidence in the Kremlin and the imperial
Meta do not have a simply another example of the same evil. The evolution of these inservice to Leninism in his artitute utterly discredited as representative of workers' inservice to Leninism in his artitute utterly discredited as representative of workers' interests or Socialist strategy."

We do not representative of workers' interests or Socialist strategy."

Without a simply another example of the same evil. The evolution of these interests or Socialist strategy."

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Without a simply another example of the same evil. The evolution of these interests or Socialist strategy.

We do not a simply another example of the same evil. The evolution of these interests or Socialist strategy. 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 question. The SLL takes a with Trotskyism. But from there friendly attitude toward them, on "it's all down hill in the diurging them to discuss the basic rection of the centrist critics of The SLL leadership, he says,

> 'is filled with a messianic vision that it (he?) alone held the key as follows: "To the uncommitted to a solution of all working class problems." 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' apa mannerism which they equate pears simply as dishonest." Wigwith 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 responsibility.

> 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.

center of Marxist leadership in | blatant absurdities on the front | advises in an article on "The the power to betray?" (Kendall's

If you imagine that Kendall ical roots of this "explosive might attempt even a weak an- its level of consciousness? despite the leadership of the of building a leadership capable of leading the way to socialism Naturally, he says nothing is washed out in an amorphous about the articles, resolutions formula: the leaders are a little and theses written by the Trot- to blame and so are the workers.

Sectarian Aloofness

Instead of joining the SLL bureaucratic witch-hunters, the ILP leaders have adopted a posection led by Joyce Cowley left sition of sectarian aloofness spiced with an "analysis" of the morality" of the SLL.

> The ILP itself is opposed to socialists working in the British were in the Labor party up to 1932, they argue. But 27 years ago the ILP "decided that if it was to continue to work for socialism it would have to break away from a party already by that time utterly discredited as deny the right of Pablo to ex-(Wilfred Wigham, Sept. 6 issue.) ists; the Labor party where the maclass happens to be.

> Wigham comments on the SLL's work in the Labor party observer the tactic of entering a from the most reactionary sec-

Who has decided, other than

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?

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 themselves 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 le emphasis.)

proposes to do this, How while a hering to the ILP's 'moral" stand against participating in the Labor party he does not reveal. But aside from this small contradiction, where does the struggle to "capture" the leadership of the class conflict with the struggle to raise

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 stated: "The League (SLL) could truggle against the right-wing only hamper the development of the movement in its struggle for socialism.'

What is shocking in an incident of this kind is the fact that Socialist Fight considers itself Trotskyist and is associated with Trotskyists internationally who Labor party. They themselves belong to a faction headed by Michel Pablo in the Fourth International.

It is regrettable that Pablo has not thought it advisable to restrain his followers from such rabid factionalism. We do not like these is certainly not in the jority of the British working tradition represented by Leon Trotsky.

> The Socialist Labor League, as can be seen, is faced with a formidable combination ranging ter what cost to the British socialist movement. But the League has demon-

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

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 Quarterly Discusses is as odious and unfounded coming from a CP hack as it is when uttered by right-wing with the uttered by right-wing Clothes." The article is osten-

is the Trotskyist villain Gerry International Socialist Review, support of the Democratic party have to come from a new genout 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 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

> appropriate to a meeting of to any student of the socialist and citing the pertinent facts, can Radicalism: Yesterday, To- sis on the question: what hapday and Tomorrow." It is by pened to the promising radical-James P. Cannon, founder of the ism of the thirties? Socialist Workers Party.

> 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 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

struggle as a leading exponent of ation in politics.

With cool objectivity, simply

The conclusion is unmistak Cannon is qualified to speak able and supported by evidence.

fears the growing influence of against giving someone the floor revolutionary socialism in the Cannon concludes that as a result of this betrayal of revoluial concern to Moscow. The body to alter its decision. The Cannon traces the major turn-tionary principles "the radical 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

The winter 1960 issue of the Populism to socialism and from American socialist radicalism

What the task of the bearers of durable results the radicalism of the new generation should prove of interest to every reader whatever his political viewpoint may

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Monday, January 4, 1960

Starting the New Year Right

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 of elections.

This is a substantial victory, one that will inspire socialists in other states, we hope, to similar achievements to assure an effective 1960 socialist Presidential campaign.

The Michigan SWP was not handed 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,-000 signatures.

This gruelling feat offered a second 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.

The petitioners found that there are tens of thousands who are dissatisfied with the failure of the Republicans and Democrats to solve the problems of war, unemployment and racial bias. There is a general feeling of insecurity, they report, and no hope or confidence that the old parties can or will do anything to erase that feeling. Distrust and cynicism toward the two capitalist parties is widespread.

Consequently there is broad sympathy for something new. Many talk of the need for a third party, unionists put it in terms of a labor party. Most of them feel, though, that such ideas are held only by a few people. A hard-hitting socialist campaign is going to help crystallize that sentiment, and help people to realize that their own desire for a real change is shared by many inquisitor, New Hampshire Atmore than they realize.

To the Michigan socialists who started man "subversive" investigating the 1960 ball rolling, our best New Year's

The Main Lesson at Albert Lea

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-

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

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 2½ weeks ago to quell picket 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.

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 operations, he allowed them to move cargo outlawing the NAACP." again under special permit. And under troop protection. The strikers responded at 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. bastion of institutionalized Mc- authorization "to determine 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

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

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 landlords 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 sume open rule of imperialist

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

When Dr. Willard Uphaus Chose Prison

(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, slender and spry at 69, teacher religion, Christian pacifist, believer in disputation as the way to resolve differences, a man whose life had led him to abhor informers, Biblical and present-day, stood in perspective to the affirmed legal verdict of his society's highest court which he refused to obey even under threat of life imprisonment.

Towering in contrast to the were the Merrimack County Superior Court and both the New Hampshire and the United States Supreme Court.

Press Notes Drama

Finally, in the few days before Dr. Uphaus would be confronted for a final time by his torney General Louis C. Wyman, who was also that state's onecommittee, the press of the country had begun to undertand the drama inherent in cord with a volume of Thoreau (once imprisoned himself for refusal to pay taxes to support government policy he abhored), as well as a Bible under his arm, that the Merrimack River, about which Thoreau had written, ran through the town to Thoreau's essay "Civil Disobedience" which had inspired judge's entry, and the audience in the United States and abroad Ghandi.

Much depended that day on 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 with the right to examine guest Martin Luther; rosters of public lodging houses. Only a few weeks before, three Negro ministers in Florida were cited for contempt for refusal to turn over to a legislative committee in that state the membership lists of the National Kushner's "Minnesota pattern" turned Association for 'the Advancehad worked for integration haus case. There also the pre-"Communists" or "subversives," seated himself and the proceedthere also, the purpose was to destroy by public exposure of

local papers as a "prelude to produce the two packages of toric and moral traditions of sheriffs, Dr. Uphaus paused on lieutenant.

purge hearing, every daily newspaper in the United States had "part of a lawful investigation received a round-up on the cases 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 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 held in the Danbury, Conn.,

Carthyism?

The confrontation setting was presently within the state." simple New England court-

Rockefeller

(Continued from Page 1) of account the fact that Amer ica's ruling families also control the Democratic party and its choice of candidates. Consequently the outcome of a contest between the Democrats and Republicans is not of fundamental concern to them, whatever their preferences.

But to put a ROCKEFELLER in the White House! Even one as presentable as the governor of New York? In a world of ments? In a country of deepen-

ing class struggle? In such circumstances to as America is a grave decision. Better to continue to rule vicariously through a political servant.

That was why Rockefeller. who would like to emboss his address, was persuaded by the Morgans and Du Ponts to pick day and I think his contempt up the hat he had thrown in the has continued."

COFFIER COFFEE

The Food and Drug Administration last month seized 31/2 tons of a substance labeled intalline dextrorotatory sugar."

Before They Went to Prison



Lloyd Barenblatt (left) and Dr. Willard Uphaus at the 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.

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: respondents. The courtroom could not hold an estimated one courtroom, I said that there was hundred other friends and supporters who waited in the court- I had given more thought, more house lobby below.

wall between oak-framed porquieted, the strains of song 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 "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, Joy-

ful and triumphant."

ings began. Wyman, who had publicly characterized the announced refusal of Dr. Uphaus to inform A similar state committee in as a "deceit and a sham," openindex cards containing the guest By the day of the Concord lists to the World Fellowship Camp in Conway, N.H., was

> Persistently through two Nehru Turns Down hours of court proceedings

- which in no way attempts to

Hugh Bownes, of Saconia, N.H., attorney for Dr. Uphaus, gestion by Chinese Premier The lines were drawn taut in challenged the right of the 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 whether subversive persons are

Judge Grant who had originalroom about sixty feet square ly sentenced Dr. Uphaus to an with oak benches for only 120 indeterminate term until he observers. In the middle was a "purged himself" of the conlarge open space with two tempt by turning over the lists, tables. As the hearing time of declared a recess to study a memorandum prepared by Bownes and a word of hope went down to those in the lobby.

But the judge quickly dismissed the memorandum which has since become the basis of a renewed appeal to the New Hampshire Supreme Court.

The judge then turned to Dr. Jphaus to "urge upon you the thought that this is no contest between you and the Attorney General who operated within the authority of our general court."

"This case has been reviewed by two higher courts including 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 of Jan. 5, 1956. Bownes immediately question-

ed the authority under which the judge made the request and Judge Grant replied without reference to the previous defense motion, "I do have the it. I found him in contempt that

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

Dr. Uphaus Speaks

stant coffee. It proved to be knuckles on the table, straight- paper said (according to a Hong increased by 70% from 1949 to "dextrose." Dextrose is "a crys- ened, looked at the judge Kong dispatch Dec. 16 to the 1959. The number of wool spin-

"On January 5, 1956, in this

no question in my life to which prayer and sought the advice of A large clock hung on the a greater number of friends and colleagues. Since then World 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 the final minutes before the together many friendly people in fellowship to discuss the

> today. At no time was there a thoughts of overthrowing this come to uphold one of their own. state or this country. We talked First, "A Mighty Fortress Is of social problems and world peace. The Bill of Rights is part it. I am also proud to uphold the constitution of the State of New Hampshire which protects the right of conscience.

"I am strengthened in my for the impermissible purpose of Uphaus. With the bang of a gavel from exposure for exposure's sake. I under circumstances almost the Sergeant at Arms and a hope to see the day, your honor, haus was asked if he wanted identical with those of the Up- crisp order to "all rise" by the when laws that inquire into the any message delivered to his clerk, Superior Court Justice thoughts of men and women in friends. speech, press and assembly will be declared unconstitutional.

"My loyalty to God is not in contradiction to this state or this "they know that already." country. My position is not de-

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

"It is not my purpose to be defiant 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

Sentence or "Finding"?

In the quiet of the courtroom as Dr. Uphaus seated himself, Hugh Bownes stood to address himself to the nature of the sensecond defense counsel, Royal France of New York City.

"You persist in using the word both attorneys angrily, in an aprom the bench back to the deendant himself whom Wyman Bill of Rights and my connad previously said, "has the science." keys to his own freedom." any ruling imprisoning Dr. Up-

haus would be called a "finding." Several character witnesses vere sworn in and their statenents entered in the record.

Judge Grant's steel cool eyes went slowly around the court- his opposing lawyers or to look room. On a sheet of paper he face-to-face at the slender symfound and adjudged" Willard bol of conscience behind him. Uphaus in "contempt of this court," ordered him committed to the Merrimack County jail, there to remain for one year from this date or until he purges himself of contempt or on further order of this court."

Possible Loophole

of my life and I wish to uphold over the witch-hunt as the inde-life punishments was to keep

the message in a New England them, for as long as a week. 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. In a small anteroom, Dr. Up-

> "Send them my warmest greetings," he said, "and tell

them I will stand firm." "No," he then reconsidered,

An hour later, when he was fiance, it is standing in the pre- finally led downstairs, about after state officials had sought fore held hearings, portrayed in that the order for Dr. Uphaus to law. I stand upon the basic his- lobby. Flanked by the deputy dismissing a guard captain and

our country and on my con- the marble steps as the group sang the last stanza of "Amer-"My conviction, which has ica," with the substitution used grown out of 69 years of living, by Southern Negroes, of the

"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 Supreme Court to overturn the conviction on the new grounds. tence. He was supported by a Wyman, again on hand to fight the move, accused Dr. Uphaus 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 to God, the Constitution, the

Observers recalled, however, 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

Indict Florida **Prison Guards**

Eleven guards at the state prison in Raiford, Florida, are The judge had given himself under federal indictment for loophole for a possible com- brutalities violating the civil mutation of sentence. The year's rights of Negro and white interm 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 defense of the indicted guards, declaring, "they are just good old cracker boys.

Roberts also said: "I object to the federal government coming down here and indicting these men. If the state of Florida lets these men down, we won't have any guards left and we won't be able to hire any.

The federal indictments came

Headlines in Other Lands

Parley with Chou On Border Dispute

India's Prime Minister Nehru turned down a Dec. 21 sug-Chou En-lai that the two meet Indian border dispute. Chou also terms for settling the frontier

In his reply to Chou, Nehru did not offer a meeting at a different date and scored Chou for not having accepted his own 'reasonable and practical" proposals for easing the frontier

Charge 'Rightists' In China with Acts **Against Communes**

The latest articles in the Chinese Communist party press against "rightist" inner-party opponents charge that last summer the "right-wing" elements got full control of some counties in Hunan province, forced many public mess halls in the communes to close, "went openly 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, according to a Dec. 22 AP dispatch culture, education and housing. from Tokyo.

Another Chinese newspaper, the Changsa New Hunan, Nov. 22, quoted the commander of the military district as saying the dissidents tried to win over well. The author of the article, thought" to "make haste and Kong reported. come back to the revolutionary rank and file."

through his rimless glasses and, New York Times) that if pea- dles increased 36%.

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

Finally, a Dec. 19 Reuters dispatch from Peking reports that mittee's theoretical journal has accused the "rightists" of carrying on "factional activities" and "anti-party activities inside the schools about \$60 million in party." Red Flag scored as "absurd" the charge of the 'rightists" that the party lacked democracy because it would not of church and state is far greatlet them speak.

Pravda Reviews Stalin's Errors

Though describing Stalin as staunch fighter for socialism, Pravda devoted more space to is "mistakes" than to his 'achievements" in an article observing the eightieth anniversary of his birth, Dec. 21.

Immediately after Stalin's death, said Pravda, "the Leninist nucleus of leading men in the delegates adhering to the Comparty'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 of Stalin had been "courageous" and a "complex and very responsible matter."

The Pravda article ended with long list of post-Stalin reforms in foreign policy, industry, agri-

Chinese Experiment With New Textiles

The People's Republic of authority and I am exercising armed forces in the area as China has experimentally produced 10,000 varieties of new Shang Chen, appeals to the textiles and new designs this "small number of cadres which year, a recent Hsinhua news have deviated from the correct agency release received in Hong sored Inter-American Regional

According to Chang Kuangnai, China's minister of textile In another "anti-rightist" ar- industry, the number of cotton Dr. Uphaus, leaning with his ticle in the People's Daily, the textile spindles in production

Votes to Subsidize

Under threat by Pres. Gaulle to further curtail its Red Flag, the CP Central Com- powers, the French parliament voted 427-71 to grant state financial aid to Catholic schools. The measure will grant parochial

"aid" next year. However, popular opposition to the breach in the separation 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 Trade Union Parley

La Prensa, New York Spanish daily, reports that at a recent trade-union congress in Chile, munist party won a majority of socialists 403, and the "Trotsky-The Communists pushed a res-

olution favoring affiliation with the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina, which is headed by Lombardo Toledano, well-known Stalinist trade-union official of Mexico.

The majority of the delegates opposed this, however, and voted in favor of creating a new Latin American trade-union organization as recently proposed by the Cuban trade unions.

The Cubans ended their affiliation with the AFL-CIO spon-Organization of Workers.

At one point the discussion became so heated that fist fights broke out.

Among the resolutions approved by the delegates was one naming capital as the "enemy" of the working class.

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 conven-

tion, 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

"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 Steven-

"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 he offers a magnificent dialectical explanation forming a "watchdog function," of why we are always 'rejecting and throwing out the healthy body with the distorted growth.' 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 periods when our emphasis is against the Right, 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 tion, North and South, as the

"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."

Aptly Named Court

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.'

The five-man court unanimously upheld 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 is not without interest. In it, the judges establish these facts:

. Dr. Buxton is "an eminently qualified obstetrician 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."

 In the case of the couple identified as Paul and Pauline Poe, the judges found, "Mrs. 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 disturbing 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.'

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-

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 so-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

BECAUSE OF SMAZE AND SMOG - The problem of corrosion has become greatly intensified in recent years. According to Henry L. Shuldener, president of Water Service Laboratories, 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 comcan 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 ing by some water. The breakdowns from damyou'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.

longer, slimmer line with high, rounded, not-

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.

monly used today in water-conveying systems of copper condenser tubes. Even copper can actually be dissolved from brass or copper pipage, he adds, are most likely to occur just when grationists. However, I oppose "the equipment is most needed" - like when legislation forbidding such inter-

Detroit ACLU Pays San Francisco Tribute to Lockwood

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 in the field of civil liberties" to Charles C. Lockwood.

This public recognition and "Civil liberties can never be 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 libthey are a lot better off than erties is regaining self-conthey were in 1954. . . . And they fidence. will be a lot better off in the During the past years, when

received the most publicity.

There were many others that

he handled before Army re-

view boards and local "se-

curity" committees and won.

Most of these cases received

little attention and seemed to

many at the time to be im-

portant only to the individual

victims and to Lockwood. To

him they certainly were im-

portant. His mark as a real

fighter for civil liberties is

that he sees in every individ-

ual victimization an attack on

his contribution was presented

by Harold Morris, ACLU De-

troit chapter chairman, during

ceremonies at the McGregor

Conference Center at Wayne

Accepting this recognition of

his work, Lockwood reminded

his colleagues in the legal

profession that much remains

to be done in the civil-liberties

field. He recalled that he had

A scroll citing Lockwood for

the basic rights of all.

State University.

future than they might otherit was less popular to defend wise be, if - for the ACLU so-called "security-risk" cases, life begins, once again at forty!' Charles Lockwood never turned down anyone who was The report cites discriminaunder attack. He helped ornation's primary "civil liberties ganize the local Kutcher Civil problem." Although it believes Rights Committee, was the it sees improvement in the defense attorney in the Raduschool integration process, the lovich and Lupa cases, and was ACLU sees little possibility of prominent in the fight against comprehensive congressional acthe Michigan "anti-subverstion on civil rights in 1960 due ive" Trucks law. to "exigencies of presidential These were the cases that

politics. Other major issues involve free speech, belief, association.

VOLUME XXIV

By Flora Carpenter

After four decades of per-

the American Civil Liberties

Union views the future in its

field optimistically.

Fight

"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 au thority to the U.S. Commissioner of Education that it constitutes "a threat to the universities freedom to protect their standards 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 the requirements for minority representation. . ."

The report contains a concise People to reactionary laws af- the decree of the military." fecting birth control. Among the William L. Greene.

The important Lloyd Barenblatt and Willard Uphaus freespeech cases are cited in the

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.

While defending labor's right to picket, the ACLU reversed a 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 between segregationists and inte-

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1960

than money. Discussing the political climate in which the witch-hunt grew, Lockwood recalled that the Attorney General's "sub-

said; has been a great disapfrom it and this is the responand Democratic parties.

since both major parties have forms, "especially socialism."

in the ceremonies included prominent figures in the union movement, the legal profession, the Michigan courts, and the educational and religious

Members of the newly formed Advisory Committee to the chapter's executive board were introduced. The committee includes Lockwood and others who have long been front-line fighters for civil liberties.

the Michigan Supreme Court spoke on "The Price of the Bill of Rights," and declared that "the rights that wither for the weak, the friendless and the guilty will eventually be taken away from all."

regard of legal rights.

often sought additional legal aid on cases and had been told that "security risks" don't have enough money. But money is not everything, Lockwood said. Civil liberties must be defended out of duty, and the rewards are greater

it had gained the most from versive" list, first issued under the Truman administration. The present Congress, he

pointment to everyone who expected liberal legislation sibility of both the Republican He concluded by saying that

failed, those who want to preserve the basic concepts defined in the Bill of Rights must now examine other political Those who came to honor Lockwood and to participate

Justice George Edwards of

A statement was read from

Mayor Miriani extolling civil liberties. It might better have been sent to the Police Department, notorious for its dis-

Strike at Albert Lea

(Continued from Page 1) and asked its members to "go along" with it.

Wilson and Co. filed suit federal court ruled that the plant must be permitted to reopen; however, the governor could keep troops there to maintain "order." In its antilabor ruling the court castigated the governor's way of using troops: "The workers [scabs] who de-

oundup 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 In what has been taken as a

> school in Little Rock, Ark., the dicating what should be done. court stated, "By way of analogy, let us assume a situation instance, against so-called mindemand that such citizens leave out the troops! the neighborhood, often incites

| would prevail."

"Lawlessness in this manner could be suppressed but it would be obtained by compelling the against Gov. Freeman to regain victims of such lawlessness to full use of plant facilities. The surrender their constitutional rights so precious to all freedomloving people."

This tortured piece of legal sophistry, which attempts to draw a parallel between minsegregated neighborhood and scabs moving into striking workers' jobs, provides fresh evidence of the traditional role of the courts in labor disputes.

Clearly the next developments depend upon the decisiveness of the workers. However, the leaddefendants 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-

Public statements have been issued by R. A. Olson, Minnethat not infrequently arises in sota president of the AFL-CIO our country. Racial hatred, for and Walter Cramond, president of the Minneapolis Central Laority citizens moving into a bor Union Council. These comcommunity, with the resulting mended the governor for calling

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 innocent citizens leave the squeeze-play put on by a comneighborhood because if they pany in collusion with governposition, held since 1942, that did so, peace and tranquility ment officials, courts and troops.

. 1960 Can Be Best Year lass and read me a passage in

(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 will not have taken full advantage of them.

"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 Doug-

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 mes-It was dated only nine

months before the outbreak of the civil war that ended in the abolition of slavery!

"I don't mean that the American workers are only 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 had in years.

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

> Fraternally, Farrell Dobbs

Musician Locals End Jim Crow

By George Lavan

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+

from the labor movement. In a news release, hailing the an Francisco musicians' merger, John Hammond, chairman of the Music Committee of the Urban League of Greater New York, Lithographers Music Committee of the Urban says: "We hope that this merger will point to the elimination of the 46 segregated locals of the AFM before its next convention

still needs to be done to eradi-

cate all forms of segregation

n June 1960." It is noteworthy that only 15 of these Jim Crow locals are in the South and nine in border states. The remaining ones are in such places as Denver, Bridgeport, 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 spur of the recently passed state Fair Employment Practices law although the proposition has been under discussion in the union for the past five years.

In San Francisco and other cities with segregated musicians' ocals, resistance to merger has come not solely from bigoted white elements in the union. In some instances it comes from the officers of the Negro locals and from the members as well. Negro musicians, like all Negroes, hate and resent segregation, but with specific merger propositions their desire to end Jim Crow is outweighed by fears that discrimination in a merged local stered by the NLRB intervenwould deny them representation in union offices and worsen their rum-Griffin law. ot 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 are actually bosses and usually rejected by the membership have a vested interest in the status quo which is usually segregated orchestras. Because of their economic hold on union that neither the local's negotimembers, dependent on them for ating nor executive committees iobs, these contractors command powerful cliques and machines out the agreement. Further, the in many locals and bitterly oppose integration.

locals in the AFM calls for guar- ed. This particularly incensedantees 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 workment includes adequate repre- ers. sentation on the boards of 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 orchestras in their jurisdiction." already signed. It is a shock to learn just

Though New York City has an economic demands to secure the 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.

of "Porgy and Bess," the lily- Jan. 10, 11 a.m. Forum Hall, 1702 white contractor gave in only East Fourth St.

when the producer and cast of the show, then in Europe, cabled absolute insistence that several Negro musicians be included in the orchestra.

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

tion under the Kennedy-Land-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

roll back work rules were bol-

meeting. Strong membership opposition developed when it was learned had played any part in working new agreement would provide only a 4% wage increase as The New York Urban League against the across-the-board statement on ending Jim Crow raise of \$10 originally demand-

The agreement was defended

Many members saw merit in how widespread discrimination these arguments but questioned against Negro musicians is the need of giving up so many

Calendar Of Events

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

Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntingon Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO

Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. dams, DE 2-9736. CLEVELAND

Socialist Workers Party 10609 Suerior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Thursday nights 8 to 10. The Militant, P.O. Box 1904. University Center Station, Cleveland 6.

DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodvard. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES ım Hall and Modern Book Shop, 702 E. 4th St. AN 9-1953 or WE 5-9238.

MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave. MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hen-

nepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon 6 P.M. daily except Sundays. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361,

Newark, N. J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND - BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.

PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE

1412-18th Avenue, EA 2-5554, Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS

For information phone MO 4-7194.