The Supreme Court **And American** Democracy

THE MARXIST-LENINIST ANGUARD



Without a Revolutionary Theory

There can be no Revolutionary Practice!"

Price 10 Cents

July, 1953

On June 8, 1959, American democracy suffered another defeat. On that day the Supreme Court upheld the contempt citations of Lloyd Barenblatt, formerly a Yassar college instructor, and Dr. Willard Uphaus, director of World Fellowship, Inc. Mr Barenblatt had refused to answer questions. World Fellowship, inc. Mr Barenblatt had refused to answer questions of the House Un-American activities committee and Dr. Uphaus had challenged the New Hampshire sedition law. In effect, the court was retreating on its previous positions on the fect, the court was retreating on its previous positions on the Watkins and Nelson cases. Nei-ther Barenblatt nor Uphaus had invoked the Fifth Amendment, but stood on the rights of free-dom of speech and thought "guaranteed" to them by the First Amendment.

First Amendment. Both decisions were by a 5-4 vote. Disenting were Chief Jus-tice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan. The dis-senters followed the lines of the

Watkins and Nelson decisions. THE COURT AND POLITICS

The Supreme Court has been under attack from extreme reactionary circles as having been in recent years "too liberal." The decisions of June 8 have been widely and correctly interpreted widely and correctly interpreted as an effort to get the court off the hook, and as an effort to prevent the passage of "curb the court" legislation from Congress. The New York Daily News speaking for the reactionaries, support to this in an artitled, "LET'S CURB WERT ANYWAY".

At the time this article goes to press, the House of Representatives has just passed by a vote of 252 to 192, a bill sponsored by the arch reactionary and Dixiecrat, Howard W. Smith. This bill is designed specifically "to curb the court". The bill has two painer pravisions: The first two painer pravisions: The first two major provisions: The first of these is designed to allow pro-secution of dissenters under of these is designed to allow pro-secution of dissenters under state sedition acts as well as such federal legislation as the Smith Act (another contribution to the destruction of civil liber-ties from this same Representa-tive from Virginia), and the other provision is specifically di-rected to overruling the Supreme Court on its decision in the Nel-Court on its decision in the Nelcourt on its decision in the Net-son case. This Bill is now in the Senate, and will be defeated only by bringing public pressure to bear upon Senators.

THE COURT AND THE PRE-SERVATION OF DEMOCRACY

It has become a commonly held belief in recent years that the Supreme Court can and should be regarded as the guardian of American democracy. This is not a surprising view when held by liberals who wish to shy away from struggle, which is the only real way to defend the democratic real way to defend the democratic rights of the American people. But the leadership of the Com-munist Party of the United States, that should know better, has also adopted this attitude to the extent that it practices what might well be called "court room socialism".

The legendary Mr. Dooley had a better grasp of the realities of American polities when he re-marked that "the Supreme Court follows the election returns." Not only does it follow the election returns, but every puff of hot air from across the street in the Capitol Building!

As in most leading capitalist countries, bourgeois democracy

(Continued on page 4)

PUERTO RICO:

61 Years of American Imperialist Oppression

On July 25th, 1898, the American interventionist forces landed at Guanica in Puerto Rico. That move concretized the previously ennunciated policy of American imperialist expansion in Latin

As early as the Panama Con-As early as the Panama Congress in 1826 called by S. Bolivar to find ways and means of uniting the Latin American countries ing the Latin American countries and specifically to help liberate Cuba and Puerto Rico from Spain, American imperialism showed its predatory aims towards Latin America.

S. F. Bemis on page 539 of his John Quincy Adams and The Foundation of American Foreign John

"The threat from Latin America of liberation or conquest — call it whichever one may — of Cuba and Puerto Rico was a mat-ter of real alarm in Washing-ton."

And Ricardo Martinez in his historical brochure Pan American-ism — Theory and Practice of Imperialism, writes on page 49:

"The instructions imparted to the delegates of the Congress by their respective governments, raised, without diplomatic ambiguity, as the fundamental prob-lem that the Congress had to resolve, the concerted action of military and na*al forces to con-tribute towards the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico."

"On the other hand, the instructions given to the delegates from the United States resulted in the creating of obstacles which resulted in the total failure of the Panama Congress."

Obviously, the American ruling class was biding its time to seize the opportune occasion to grab both Cuba and Puerto Rico

After the Panama Congress, After the Panama Congress, the ideologists of the American ruling class cynically and bra-zenly spoke of the United States' "right" to expand southward into Latin America.

Latin America.

In Bailey's Diplomatic History of the American People, page 303, we read the following question from the Philadelphia Ledger of July, 8, 1853:

"America is bounded on the East by sunrise, in the West by sunset, in the North by the Artic expedition, and in the South as

expedition, and in the South as far as we damn please." And again on page 277:

And again on page 277:
"The New York Evening Post declared: 'Now we ask, whether any man can cooly contemplate the idea of recalling our troops from the territory we at present occupy... and resign this beautiful country to the custody of the ignorant cowards and profligate ruffians who have ruled it for the last twenty-five years? Why humanity cries out against it. vivilization and christianity protide of barbarism and anarchy." test against this reflux of the This last reference was made

This last reference was made in regard to Mexico after the ne of 1848.

rape of 1848.

Here, in these two quotations we can almost touch the criminally predatory character of the American ruling class and its troglodite ideology — chauvin-

This imperialist "rendezvous with destiny" culminated with the colonial slavery of Puerto Rico and Cuba through the infamous enactment by the American Congress of the Forakker Act for Puerto Rico and the imposition of the Platt Amendment in Cuba. imperialist "rendezvous

From that date on Yankee imperialism has expanded throughout the length and breadth of Latin America, and today there does not exist a single country in Latin America which is not under colonial or semicolonial domination by American imperiations

PUERTO RICO SHOWCASE OF IMPERIALIST "DEMOCRACY"!

For the Puerto Rican people, July the 25th, 1959, marks the 61st Anniversary of national mourning. Sixty-one years of na-tional oppression which finds the best and most fertile land in the hands of American corporations; hands of American corporations, which has reduced the Puerto Rican economy to an absolute ap-pendage of the Wall Street cor-porations; which has pushed monoculture in the forcible production of one crop (sugar) to such an extent that everything that Puerto Rican consumes is imported from the United States.

imported from the United States.
Sixty-one years of national oppression has converted Puerto
Rico into an armed camp aimed
directly against the other Latin
American countries — military,
naval and air bases honey-comb
the Puerto Rican landscape, and
the whole island of Vicense is but the whole island of Vieques is but one big naval base.

Recall the disposition made by the State Department and the the State Department and the military brass to send "punitive forces" to Venezuela at the time of the Nixon incident. Those "forces" were readied in Puerto Rico. As a matter of fact, it was to Puerto Rico that Nixon escaped seeking sanctuary from the just wrath of the Latin American seconds.

Sixty-one years of national op-presion in Puerto Rico has left a brutal imperialist balance of

squalor and social misery. The starvation wages prevalent in this "model colony" are examstarvation wages prevalent in this "model colony" are exam-plified by the \$.85 hourly aver-age wage for plumbers, and \$.82 for carpenters, not to speak of the unskilled mass, which shows tobacco workers getting a pit-tance of \$.35 per hour. At the same time prices on the island are 1/3 higher than in the United-States.

This is the reason why the Puerto Ricans migrate in such unprecedented numbers, only to be driven into segregated ghet-tos and further victimized and exploited here.

Political persecution has cre-ated such an atmosphere of po-litical terror that it is difficult for the average American to com-prehend or believe its existence.

prehend or believe its existence.
Political terror has been an old
imperialist weapon, used throughout the whole period of U. S. occupation in Puerto Rico. In the
New York Spanish language
daily "Imparcial" of June 17,
1956 the appears list of the spanish of the spanish language New York Spanish anguage daily "Imparcial" of June 17, 1959, there appears a list of those heroic Puerto Rican patriots (too numerous to repeat here) whe were killed or imprisoned in the struggle for national freedom. For those who may be taken in by the imperialist propoganda that these patriots are just terrorists, let us remind them that real, oranized terror was represented by the massacre of Puerto Rican university students in 1935 and by the Palm Sunday massacre in 1937 perpetrated by the imperialists. It is also examplified by the continued imprisonment of Puerto Rican patriots such as Pedro Albizu Campos, Occar Collazo and Mrs. Lolita such as Pedro Albizu Campos, Oscar Collazo and Mrs. Lolita

American imperialism tries to (Continued on page 4)

while Smith probed for the causes of income, "wealth", etc.

To say that Keynes' ideas are not classical does not mean to not classical does not mean to say that they are new. The fun-damental idea that the level of employment depends upon the level of income of the capitalists ("entrepreneurs") in fact was the subject of lectures by Karl Marx before the German Workingmen's Club of Brussels, Belgium, in 1847. Club of Brussels, Belgium, in 1847. These lectures became, edited by Friedrich Engels, the famous "Wage-Labor and Capital". Marx exposes the shallowness of the bourgeois argument in these

"To say that the most favorable condition for wage-labor is the fastest possible growth of productive capital is the same as to say: the quicker the working to say: the quicker the working class multiplies and augments the power imimical to it — the wealth of another which lords it over that class — the more favorable will be the conditions under which it will be permitted to toil anew at the multiplication of hourseois wealth, at the enlargebourgeois wealth, at the enlarge-ment of the power of capital, con-

tent thus to forge for itself the golden chains by which the bour-geoisie drags it in its train." (Ch.

Pursuing the argument, Mark showed that the level of employment at best rises more slowly than the growth of capitalist income because of the constant rise in the productivity and intensification of labor, through mechanization, automation, speed-up, close "supervision", etc. Further, he showed that the general tendency was toward a decline in the proportion of employment among the total working class, and a corresponding rise in the proportion of the total working class, and a corresponding rise in the proportion of the total wealth (as well as the absolute mass of it) monopolized by the capitalist class. (See Part V of this series for figures on United States experience which confirm this analysis).

HOW THE THEORY

HOW THE THEORY
IS APPLIED

Knowing the Keynesian theoretical approach taken by Mitchell and the government's statisticians, we can fairly easily analyze the way in which they arrive as (Continued on page 3)

Part VI The Economic Situation

The boureois self-styled "anti-Keynesians" show their basic agreement with the Keynesian assumptions furthermore, by their assumptions furthermore, by then loyalty to the cult of "the gross national product" (which is an other term for the "Y", or aggregate income, or "value of output", of Keynes' basis formula: Y = C (consumption) plus I (in-

They all have enlisted behind the "aggregate income" concept of Keynes as the basic determinant of the level of employment, investment, consumption a n d other major aspects of the capitalist economy. This concept was stated by Keynes as follows: "Furthermore, the effective de-"Furthermore, the effective de-mand is simply the aggregate income (or proceeds) which the entrepreneurs (capitalists — ed.) expect to receive, inclusive of the income which they will hand on to the other factors of produc-tion, from the amount of current

employment which they decide to give." (J.M. Keynes, General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money, p. 55).

By this most fundamental standard, modern U.S. bourgeois economists are all Keynesians (Keynesians a n d "anti-Keynesians", alike).

The shallowness of Keyne comparison with the highest de-velopers of classical political econ-omy such as Adam Smith is obvious from the fact that Keynes (in an attempt to overthrow classical theory, takes as his most fundamental assumption the ex-istence of the total income (simiistence of the total income (similar to Smith's "wealth") without regard to its basis or origin; whereas Adam Smith developed a labor theory of value from a labor theory of value from his historic "Inquiry into the Na-ture and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. In other words Key-nes "refuted" classical economy by limiting himself to effects

PUERTO RICO:

61 Yrs. of US Imperialist Oppression

(Continued from page 1) hide this horrible reality of national oppression by painting the facade of its "model colony" and adorning it with the title of "Associate Commonwealth State". Neither the abstract title, nor the protestations of "freedom" by the satraps of the Luis Munoz Marin regime can hide the fact that the Puerto Rican nation and its people exist as imperialist chattels, victimized, exploited and persecuted in a way that history will record as one of the most criminal and brutal in the annals of national oppression.

of national oppression.

It is both shameful and tragic that in the U. S. there is hardly any voice that is raised in condemnation of the crimes of American imperialism, especially around the Latin American and Puerto Rican questions, and this is certainly tragic not only to the oppressed Latin American peoples, but also to the American people and first of all to the American working class. American working class.

ACCESSORIES TO THE CRIME In the magazine "World Stu-dent News" organiof the I.U.S. Issue No. 6, we read the follow-

"The first case against U. S. imperialism was a motion tabled by Latin American delegates on

Puerto Rico which asked for the liberation of Puerto Rican pat-riots now in jail and national independence for the island. Many expected that the U. S. N. S. A. would be the first to take up the cudgels in support of such a mo-tion. But their spokesman quite shamelessly 'explained' with a straight face that Puerto Rico straight face that Fuerto files is 'a free associated state of the U. S. A.' as a result of 'free and democratic elections' and that he therefore opposed such a motion.

This scathing, but just criticism is directed against the "liberal" U.S.N.A.S., a student organization which claim to be progressive. But it is not only this organism which spews their proorganism which spews their pro-imperialist propaganda on the Latin American question as a whole. There is, as we have pointed out in the past, a whole chorus of ideological sycophants all the way from the "liberals" such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, to the Social Democrats of the stripe of Norman Thomas, and the "Communist leader", Gene Dennis. Dennis.

We of the POC, and in the name of the American working cdass take our stand against Yankee imperialism and in support of all Latin American peoples in-

The Economic Situation

(Continued from page 3)

produce with less socially neces sary labor time than is repre-sented in the newly imported items — that would lead to a general rise in prices. But to call such a situation "inflation" would mean to say that infla-tion is the same as exchange at equivalent values, an obvious ab-

In short: while every inflationary situation results in a gen-eral rise in prices; yet not every general rise in prices is the token (("the essence", as MR would have it) of inflation.

Inflation is the relative rise in the money and credit supply beyond the supply of goods to be beyond the supply of goods to be circulated and debts to be paid by them. If the value of the oney remains unchanged under such a condition, it merely means that money is being exchanged at below its value and that in a relatively short time balance will be restored by an increase in the supplies of goods. Under such conditions, it would indeed be in-conceivable that large proportions of productive capacity would re of productive capacity would re-main idle; the demand for goods would guarantee that. The edi-tors of MR clearly imply that this is the extent of their con-cept of "classical" inflation.

Here is where we discover the fatal ambiguity of their use of the term "demand". If the value of the money remains unchanged — it will be able to call unused — it will be able to call unused capacity into action, if there arises a situation of a relative excess of money supply. But, if the value of the money actually declines in relation to the supply of goods—then the money loses, to that degree, its power to "derect". - regardless of how many pieces of paper with large num-bers on them may be called

And this is precisely what has happened to the American dollar. There is no excess of demand—but there is an excess of money. but there is an excess of money. This, too, is inflation, just as "classical" as any. It is pure in-flation, not merely a cyclical im-balance of supply and demand of money and commodities. And, money and commodities. And, contrary to the view of Monthly Review, the unused productive capacity, in such a situation, is not a contradiction, but the most irrefutable confirmation of the existence of this form of "clas-

sical" inflation!
At this point we digress make two points to avoid possible misconstructions of the remarks we have just made:

First: Every worker, of course, knows that he doesn't have any "excess of money" — the inflated kind or any other. All that this proves however, is that the work-ers' position is not improved by inflation. The excess of the money is poured into the economy through the banks and other capitalist enterprises. By the time the goods and services reach the workers, the inflated prices are already there. The workers have to struggle for wage increases just to ty to catch up. Second: Just because, under

present circumstances, the productive capacity firms the existence of inflation

this is not at all to suggest
that it is caused by inflation. The cause of the underutilization of productive capacity lies outside the sphere of circulation; it lies in the sphere of production, in the capitalist relation of produc-tion itself. "The real barrier of capitalist production is capital, itself." (Marx, Capital, Volume III, p. 293).

(Continued next month)

SUBSCRIBE NOW - CONTRIBUTE NOW THE VANGUARD

VANGUARD Box 137 Planetarium Station New York, New York

Make all checks and money orders payable to ARMANDO ROMAN

NAME ADDRESS CITY cluding the Puerto Rican peoples.

Latin American countries from the clutch of Yankee imperial-For the immediate independ-

ence of Puerto Rico!

ence of Puerto Rico!

For the exposure of the imperialist farce of the Puerto Rican Associate Free State!

For the freedom of Pedro Albizu Campos, Oscar Collazo, Mrs.

Lolita Lebron and all the Puerto

Rican patriots now in jail!

For the lifting of all military bases in Puerto Rico!

On Theory

(Continued from page 2) the case, it is not hard to see why capitalists prefer to produce guns that society does not need for a high profit rather than roads and schools and hospitals that society needs badly, but whose construction does not re-

whose construction does not return so great a profit.

You frequently hear it said that "the United States is the richest country in the world." As in many popular sayings, there is a great deal of truth in this. The a great deal of truth in this. The wealth of a country depends in the long run on the level of development of its productive forces — its machines and technology and a working class that has developed the skills to use them. But at the same time one has only to look around to see unemployment and poverty. This is because of the lag of the development of the relations of production behind the development of the forces of production in our country, because the wealth that is produced socially is appropriated privately, because the end result of the social process of production becomes the private property of the bosses. There is another popular American saying "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

The important political country to the property of the poorer. forces of production in

The important political con-clusion from the Marxist analysis of basis and superstructure is that there is no such thing as "automatic socialism" evolving naturally out of cap talism. Peo-ple who are careless with the categories of social science often categories of social science often picture the development of mo-nopolies as a form of social pro-gress which somehow or other will necessarily lead to social-ism. The truth is that the development of monopolies does re-

SUPREME COURT

(Continued from page 1) was established in the United States as the result of a revolution. The masses of the young nation had been moved to fight the revolution on the strength of democratic promises. As in most such cases, they did not get all they expected and had every right to expect, but substantial liberties were established for the American people in our Consti-

The framers of the Constitu-tion were for the most part sincere democrats, and more rea-listic than present day liberals both in and outside of the CPUSA. both in and outside of the CPUSA. In Article III of the Constitu-tion, which is the Article dealing with the judicial powers, there is no word said about making the Supreme Court the guar-dian of American democracy. But dian of American democracy. But in 9th Amendment (part of the Bill of Rights) it clearly states that: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain #ghts shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

POPULAR STRUGGLES ARE THE ONLY GUARANTEE OF DEMOCRACY

The bourgeoisie, late in their The bourgeoise, late in their history when they are fearful that the period of their rule is ending, attempt to destroy even bourgeois democracy. They seek to limit and undermine rights and liberties won by the masses of the people long ago in the great bourgeois revolutions. This is precisely what is happening today in the United States, and has been happening for more than the last decade. This pro-

flect a great development of the product've forces and a higher degree of social production than degree of social production than smaller industries, but does not reflect one atom of progress in the relations of production. The financial giants who own the monopolies also own all the goods that they produce. The relations of production, the foundation of soc'ety, are the same for large and small industries.

Suggestions for readings:

Marx, The introduction to A contribution to A Critique of Political Economy.

Stalin, Dialect cal and Historical Materialism. Stalin, Marxism and Question

Konstantinov, Basis and Super-

THE STREETS

These are the workers' streets-no trees here. No leaves drift to the gutter, only

orange peels and the smell of dead cats.

Here, under the smoking factories,

The workers live.

Forced, like the harlot who sleeps on the bed

she works in, to gaze up at

The bed of their oppression, to smell the

Waste air of their exploiters.

The tenements rise up, like Mountains around a hidden valley,

Turning away the fresh wind, keeping out the new sound. Shadows meet and merge in the narrow street,

Flooded with blinding darkness.

But "light breaks where no sun shines."

The cinders of protest are scattered with the crumbling masonry.

Glowing red, the bricks hint of the future.

"Phil Youngman"

Carthy - it began before he ber came prominent and continues after he is gone. While McCarthydid not invent this process of the whittling away of democratise rights, this process provides an atmosphere in which a McCarthy can flourish.

It should not be thought that It should not be thought that only Communists will suffer from this destruction of democratic rights. Because they are the most consistent defenders of the rights of the American people, they are the first to feel the brunt of this attack, but not the only ones. If the Smith Bill should pass the Senate an immediate victim would be the NAACP, already classified as "subversive" in many Southern States. They way would be opened for drives under state "sedition" act against many or ganizations that tre presently engaged in progressive strug-

The preservation of demorights in the United States is the business of the American people. Only mass political action led by the potentially strongest sector of the American masses, the working class, can guarantee our cristing liberties and extend them existing liberties and extend them to those like the Negro people who enjoy them only on paper. The masses in motion, not legal briefs, will be the guarantee of victory.

Literature Of the POC

Against Opportunism 35c

For a Revolution tion on the Negro 35c Question

35c Two Roads

Resolution on the Jewish Question

Marxism-Leninism vs 35e Revisionism

Marxism, Humanism 35c and Hyman Levy

On the Question Of Youth

25c Report on Labor 25c Report on Housing

10c

Integration The Real Thing

Ollie Harrington, the famous cartoonist of the Negro weekly newspaper, The Pittsburgh Courer, is now on a tour of the Soviet Union. Mr. Harrington has been invited by Krokodile, the leading Soviet humor magazine to be its guest on his tour and to contribute drawings to Krokodile on his trip through Soviet central Asia.

Mr. Harrington, creator of the cartoon character "Bootsie", is an expatriate from the United an expatriate from the United States by courtesy of the State Department. That agency of American "democracy" lifted his massport and only the refusal of the cooperation of the French authorities prevented his being shipped back to the United States against his will (Mr. Harrington now makes his home in Paris).

Mr. Harrington cabled the

Mr. Harrington cabled the Pit sburgh Courier from Tash-kent, "... here I've seen inte-gration, but the real thing!"