

the mantle of peace with which to elect Nixon in November, and that it would be better to exploit the U-2 affair and call off the talks until after a new President had been elected.

Stevenson's Chances Now

Who's your candidate for President?

Adlai Stevenson.

Do you think the collapse of the summit has improved his chances?

Yes and no. Some people will feel that the country needs a really big man in the White House for a change now that we may be in a crisis. Others will feel that we need somebody who can talk tough to the Russians.

What about Kennedy?

His youth will hurt him now.

Do you think Kennedy's a man of peace?

He moved leftward to defeat Humphrey, and until the summit collapse he had to stay that way to cut the ground from under Stevenson. But if he's really that much of a liberal, why has he been such a favorite of Henry Luce?

Do you think the collapse of the summit will help or hurt the Republicans?

Hurt them. Not just because they've lost the peace issue but because they have no commanding figure left in whom the people have confidence. If they had a new glamorous soldier candidate, they might do well on a brink-of-war campaign. Nixon looks too young, shallow, tricky.

What does the summit collapse do for the Democrats?

Put them on a very difficult spot. To campaign as the peace party when the Russians are acting tough opens them to the charge of appeasement. The Democrats are split wide open between those who believe there is no alternative to peace and those who think we ought to have a super arms race and then "negotiate from strength," i.e. threaten Russian extinction if they don't surrender on U.S. terms. The convention will be a bitter one.

Do you think the Republicans might turn to Rockefeller?

Possibly. Because the collapse of the summit is a defeat for the conservatives of the party. Rockefeller favors a

On Frisco's Rioting Students

"Riots are always ugly; and the riot that took place last Friday in San Francisco's City Hall against the House Committee on Un-American Activities was no exception. The blame for it ought not to be placed solely on the students who were involved. There is nothing to indicate that they planned any disorder. They assembled for an entirely proper purpose: to protest against the Committee's bringing its portable pillory into Northern California . . . The police, it seems clear, acted with unnecessary severity.

Regrettable as the violence was, there is one heartening aspect to the student demonstration. It affords one more sign that students are beginning to rouse themselves from the irresponsible and frightened apathy of the postwar period—an apathy induced in no small part by the relentless effort of the Un-American Activities Committee to silence dissent and extirpate every form of unorthodoxy. This demonstration, however tragically it got out of hand, was not without kinship to the student demonstrations which have taken place recently in Southern cities—and even, perhaps, to those in Turkey and Korea.

"Students ought to protest against a Committee of Congress which has long since ceased to serve any purpose but punishment by publicity. It is heartening, despite the excesses, to see American students behaving once more like American students—and not like robots or zombies."

—"Coming to Life," Wash. Post editorial, May 17.

radical increase in arms spending, and a radical reorganization of the armed services, at one and the same time for thermonuclear preventive war power and mobile limited nuclear war to defend American interests (especially oil interests) in the hot spots of the world. He's willing to rally popular support by combining a garrison state with a social welfare state. He's made to order for the George Meany mentality in labor.

Can a peace candidate be elected?

Only if the Russians do not create a new crisis over Berlin. The signing of a separate treaty before the election, especially

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Dean Griswold Protests Uphaus Case in Upholding "Right to be Let Alone"

"Congressmen and Senators are not magistrates with roving commissions to go about the length and breadth of the land hailing people before them to respond to what they will. Congressmen and Senators are legislators with very important functions to perform in that capacity. They are entitled to make inquiries and examine facts in support of their work as legislators. They can get all the information they need about any topic without asking any person about his own past thoughts, beliefs or associations.

"Recognizing the privilege in these cases is frustrating to those who want to conduct broad-scale public inquiries. But is that important when measured against the rights of personality which are recognized in 'the right to be let alone'? Consider the problem of the witness. Most of those summoned involuntarily to appear before Congressional committees should not have been there at all. In this situation, the sure haven of the citizen against the unbridled power of the government was to claim the protection of the Fifth Amendment—'taking the Fifth,' it was called by those who did not fully appreciate what was involved.

"There was the witness before the committee, often a rather little man. He was usually frightened, and understandably so. If he answered the questions he could be

in trouble. He might be prosecuted on the basis of his answers; or he might be prosecuted for perjury if his answers were felt to be untrue. If he refused to answer on general principles, or as a matter of conscience, he was also in trouble. He could be prosecuted, and often has been, for contempt of the investigating committee. The sad case of Dr. Uphaus is a currently painful example, which will, I think, long leave a scar on the good name of the fair State of New Hampshire . . .

"Commentators have said that many claimed the privilege when they had no real right to do so—the witnesses knew that the testimony withheld would not have been incriminating in the strict legal sense. There is no doubt that this is so. But is it surprising? Is it even desirable? If the question should not have been asked, is it not good that there was a way to thwart the questioner? Is there not something rather American when the individual citizen holds the government at bay on a matter of conscience and belief?"

—Dean Erwin N. Griswold of Harvard Law School speaking on "The Right to Be Let Alone" at the Northwestern University Law School Centennial in Chicago May 13.

Eisenhower and Khrushchov Have Destroyed Each Other Politically

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if followed by trouble between the East Germans and our military, will play into the hands of the war party here. The Russians cannot force the U.S. into a humiliating back-down at Berlin and expect peaceful negotiations no matter who is elected.

Is it possible to put Russo-American elections into a sort of deep-freeze until after the elections?

Possible but not probable. Given the realities of mankind and its easy descent into mutual recrimination and suspicion, no such happy solution is likely. It is more likely that the collapse of the summit is the opening of a new and dangerous era in world history, and one which could easily be the last.

Can the Nuclear Test Talks Survive?

Can the nuclear testing and disarmament negotiations go on after the summit has collapsed?

Theoretically, yes. Practically, no. Insofar as foreign policy is concerned, all countries have a two-party system—the "hards" and the "softs." We are moving into a period in which the "hards" will probably be dominant in both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The Soviet leaders in their new mood are less likely than ever to allow foreign monitors and on-site inspections on their soil.

What do you see as the most important lesson for the American people in the last few days?

The extent to which our fate is at the mercy of a huge military and intelligence machine which can create incidents and manipulate events; the extent to which, through the press, they can brain-wash the country. They easily sold papers as enlightened as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* the fantastic line that aerial overflights in violation of international law in a trigger-tense thermonuclear age are a form of public service. If they can sell this line, can one be sure they can't sell the idea of preventive war?

Do you see a stepup in the arms race?

Yes, and we are only a few years away from the stage of technology in which we may see garrison states rise on

Hat's Off to Senator Morse

In our issue of May 2, we called attention to editorials in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* on the pointless cruelty of the deportation order against a Portland, Oregon, house painter, Willia Niukkanen. Though born in Finland, he came to this country as an infant. Now at 52 he is to be deported for membership in the Communist Party from 1937 to 1939. The Supreme Court 5-to-4 upheld his deportation under the 1950 Internal Security Act. We suggested that a bill be introduced in Congress cancelling the Niukkanen deportation. We are happy to report that Senator Morse in an act of characteristic humanity introduced such a bill (S.3543) on May 13.

both sides, digging deep into the earth to give their citizens shelter and reaching high into the skies with space stations from which to aim missiles at each other. The black day of May 17, 1960, may bring nearer the vision of Orwell's 1984. Coming developments can be a bonanza for the secret police business and the paranoids on both sides. Stalinism and McCarthyism may have their recrudescence together. World rivalry and many basic similarities have made Siamese Twins of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. If poison runs in the veins of one, it flows into the veins of the other.

Can Khrushchov survive a sharp turn of events?

Just as it was a political asset during the period of thaw for ambitious leaders to demonstrate by visits and talks that they could get along with their opposite numbers, so in the coming months it may become an asset on both sides to demonstrate that one can "talk tough" with the other. Eisenhower's tragedy stems from his weaknesses of character, his essential laziness of mind. Khrushchov in anger has destroyed Eisenhower; Ike ends a failure. But Khrushchov may go down with him if there is a turn for the worse. It will not be easy for Nikita "Kukuruchik," the expansive extrovert, contemptuous of stuffed shirts and bureaucratic hacks, to become a Stalinist style wooden Indian. We suspect neither man will long survive the collapse of their mutual hope. They have ruined each other. *Noon, May 18.*

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