NAACP's Convention Confronts New Tasks

Need Program On Pattern of Montgomery

By George Lavan

As the 48th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People assembles in Detroit, two outstanding problems of strategy face the Negro people. The first of these poses the question of the most effective way of conducting struggles against Jim Crow; the second, concerns political policy.

Strategy problem number one has been answered by Montgomery, Alabama, and Tailahassee, Florida — the most effective way of fighting Jim Crow is by mass action. The concerted, militant efforts of thousands of people can achieve more today than anything else. This is the road to victory. The power of mass action draws in its wake favorable court and political action, it

The heroid Montgomery bus boycott has signalized the emergence of the Negro people of the South onto the stage of history as a powerful, organized fighting force. It has given renewed hope and courage to anti-Jim Crow fighters in the North and West thus sparkplugging the struggles there.

In the past the NAACP has engaged primarily in educational and legal action. The events in the South have made it plain that the NAACP must add the weapon of mass action to its arsenal. Indeed, this should become its principal weapon. This would not mean slighting educational and legal work for mass actions will make such work a hundred times more effective.

The recent mobilization of about 30,000 "prayer pilgrims" in Washington, D. C., is an encouraging sign that the NAACP is beginning to realize the efficacy of mass action. Though the call for a march on Washington came from Rev. Martin Luther King and the Southern Negro Leadership Conference, it is to the credit of the NAACP and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters that they joined in with it.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MAY 17 'PILGRIMAGE'

Though officially called a "prayer pilgrimage" rather than a March on Washington, though held on a work day rather than on the week end, though given the cold shoulder by the top labor bureaucrats who don't want to embarrass their favorite Democratic politicians, the Washington march was a success.

It was a success because for the first time, though it has been threatened many times before, the Negro people called for a march on Washington and then actually carried it through. Secondly, the feat of assembling 30,000 people from all parts

of the country on a work day was no mean achievement. Thirdly, it was a success because of the spirit engendered by the meeting — the 30,000 were not forced to listen to Democratic and Republican windbags, who profess friendship for the struggle against Jim Crow only as a vote-catching trick. They heard speeches by participants in the struggle in the South who did not (Continued on page 3)

At Washington Pilgrimage



A scene from the now historic Prayer Pilgrimage in Washington May 17. The huge nation-wide turnout for civil rights was the first of its kind in the nation's history. The participants reflected growing consciousness of the need for mass action in the struggle for full equality.

THE MILITANT

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High-Court Decisions Hearten action draws in its wake favorable court and political action, it teaches the rank and file that their efforts do count and do bring results. It inspires the Negro people and their white allies in all other parts of the country to deeds of moral and material solidarity. A NEW WEAPON HAS BEEN ADDING The beroid Montgomery has beyont has signalized the service Montgomery has beyond the service Montgomery has beyond the signalized the service Montgomery has beyond the service Montgomery has been all the signal action, it teaches the rank and file that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that their efforts do count and do bring the service that the service the service that the servic

A-Test Issue Puts Washington on Spot Hits Witch-Hunt Methods

By Herman Chauka

JUNE 18 — The United States government is now under extremely heavy pressure to accept the proposal made by the Soviet Union for a halt to the perilous

bor Party, urged acceptance of

By Frances James

mittee headed by Sen. Eastland

(D-Miss.), already has the trial-

Republican leaders Knowland

bill directly onto the Senate

this session of Congress is now

through American foreign policy.

FILIBUSTER EXPECTED

agree to the test sn

States.

Paris Trotskyists came June 14 with the proposal by the Soviet Union at the cur-On Trial Defend rent London disarmament par-ley that nuclear explosions be Algerian Freedom beginning immediately, and that this period be used for nego-

By John Thayer

Freedom of the press and the made by V. A. Zorin, chief Soright of the Algerian people to viet delegate to the London conindependence are being defended ference, is the proviso that inby four Trotskyist leaders now spection posts be set up in the on trial in France. The indict- Soviet Union, the United States. ment charges overt acts against Great Britain and the Pacific national security. The alleged Ocean testing area to assure enacts, however, all consist of arti- forcement of the ban. cles which appeared in the Trotskyist newspaper, La Verite, of a powerful body of world public which the four accused are edi- opinion that elementary human tors or writers.

Moreover, all the articles of the radioactive explosions. championed the right of the Al- The scope of this pressure was gerian people to self-determina- evidenced in the quick fashion in tion or reprinted appeals of the which Hugh Gaitskell, top right-Algerian freedom-fighters to the wing leader of the British La-French people.

The trial, which began on June the Soviet proposal. in the Court of Appeals in Paris, thus will determine if the URGES START expression of political support to In a speech, June 16, Gaitskeil the colonial independence move- expressed concern that the Britment and the printing of state- ish Tory gov't would answer ments by the Algerians-news the Soviet proposal by arguing essential for public knowledge of that Britain could not afford to he issues in Algeria-can be twisted into overt acts akin to

professor; and Stephane Just, struction, delay and confusion." official of the bus drivers' union. ist, Parti Communiste Interna- trail behind its Wall Street mastionaliste and either edited or ters, the next move after the Sowrote the "treasonous" articles viet proposal rests in the United NEW DEMAND in La Verite.

In his opening speech to the had re-read all the articles cited the nuclear tests even for a lim- the U.S. government immediate- but also hinted that the U.S. ponents of the Congressional in the indictment and that he ited time. In the face of volumi- ly countered with the demand might seize on the question of witch-hunting committees was he had known as members of the would not retract one line of them. La Verite's position on Al- the danger of the tests, the poli- only on the basis of an agree- tion posts as a new device for these committees did not pursue majority opinion, as presented by

(Continued on page 3)



This poisonous mushroom cloud was released by the explosion of a giant hydrogen bomb by the U.S. at the Eniwetok testing area in the Pacific. The Eisenhower Administration which wants to continue the deadly tests, has been put on the spot by the Soviet proposal for a ban on the tests.

to help keep the tests going. til control of nuclear production tration replied with the demand have since sparked the world nu- Dean Acheson, former Secretary itself is established. "If every- for inspection posts, even though clear-weapon race, this proposal of State, wrongfully fired diplo The defendants are: Pierre thing has to be dependent on it has been scientifically estab- marks a new high in political mat John Stewart Service as a Lambert, office worker; Daniel everything else," he warned, lished that nuclear explosions cynicism. Renard, machinist; Gerard Bloch, "there is endless scope for ob- anywhere in the world can be im-Since the British ruling class All are leaders of the Trotsky- is in no position to do other than hoped the USSR would not be ing the current Soviet offer. On cleared six different times by

able to accept.

ticians and brass hats have used ment that the production of fis- protracted "negotiations."

every fake argument in the book sionable material be confined to self is unconstitutional. peaceful uses. Coming from poli-

President's special assistant for bodies. disarmament, said in London When the Soviet Union yanked that he is ready to consider ne- UPHOLDS KEY ARGUMENT Washington, in turn, has made the rug from under the Big-Busi- gotiating the Soviet proposal. His

Of Congress Committees

JUNE 18 - Opponents of the witch hunt received an important assist yesterday with the major decisions handed down by the Supreme Court. In reversing the

comtempt-of-Congress conviction of John T. Watkins, a United Auto Workers organizer, the Emergency Civil high court struck a serious blow at the all-inclusive smear activi- Liberties Committee ties of Congressional "investigating" committees. In freeing Hails Court Rulings five California Communist Party Smith Act victims and ordering retrial for nine others, the Supreme Court placed certain restrictions on the legal basis for prosecution under the act.

While the majority of the court again ruled in effect that the thought-control act is valid, the present decision will undoubtedly serve as an obstacle to the Justice Department in current and future Smith Act cases. While this represents a step forward, the basic issue of the constitutional right to free speech remains as posed by Justice Black, who again demonstrated in a separate opinion that the Smith Act violates the First Amendment. Justice Douglas also took the stand that the Smith Act it-

The court also branded illegal In response to the previous ticians and brass hats who en- the governmental practice of ig-Soviet proposals for banning the dorsed dropping the first bombs noring the findings of its own "security risk" in 1951. Ache-American Big-Business poli- son's decision, a direct concesmediately detected. The demand ticians are now really hard put sion to McCarthyite pressure. was simply one that Washington to defy world opinion by reject- had come after Service was June 18, Harold E. Stassen, the various government appeals but were really agencies that

In the Watkins case, the court court, defendant Lambert de- it plain that if it possibly can, ness politicians with the present statement indicated recognition agreed that a major argument contempt for refusing to tell the clared that just that morning he it wants to avoid cessation of acceptance of the proposition, of the heavy pressure to accept put forward by civil-liberties op- House Un-American Activities nous scientific testimony as to that a halt to the tests be made the specific scope of the inspec- valid. This was the argument that Communist Party. The court's valid legislative investigations.

NEW YORK - June 18 -In a statement issued today, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee acclaimed the Supreme Court decisions in the Watkins and Sweezy cases. A resolution adopted by the executive committee of the organization, which has been a front-line fighter for the Bill of Rights, declared: "These decisions are not based upon technical considerations but constitute a broad attack on the unconstitutional use of investigatory power by Congress in the one case and by the New Hampshire Attorney General in the second. The Watkins decision will at least require the dismissal of many of the pending contempt cases. It may mean the beginning of the end of the un-American Committee's 20-year reign of patriotic Americans to join in support of the Supreme Court's decision and act now for the abolition of the inquisitorial committees of Con-

punished for political belief or association.

Watkins had been convicted of Committee the names of persons' (Continued on page 4)

Deportation Threat Coerces Witness in Janosco Hearing

The pressure process by which further questioning, he admitted tion witness, Henry Harris, 51, a the witch-hunters procure their visiting the Immigration office Minneapolis truck driver. He had informers was exposed in its in Detroit in 1949. hideous nakedness during cross- Asked what prompted this Act-trial there in 1941. examination of the key govern- visit and discussion, Zygmont ment witness in the deportation revealed: "A fellow went he approached Karl Skoglund, contempt actions arising under tions. hearings of John Janosco, West- to Poland and he was a Com- president of Local 544, with the the bill. The Senate bill, coming ern field representative of the munist, He came back and went offer that the FBI would give from the Senate Judiciary Com-United Packinghouse Workers.

troit, was brought in by the Im- ex-Communist. A few days later against his fellow-unionists. migration Service as its "expert they came to see me and said After Skoglund refused, he was by-jury clause in it. witness' to testify that the aims, they want me to testify as a wit- indicted and imprisoned under principles and structure of the ness in deportation cases. Two Socialist Workers Party were weeks ago they asked me to tes- quently been entangled in depor-"almost identical" with those of tify against Janosco." the Communist Party. Janosco is When the defense attorney incharged with membership in the quired why he thought he was SWP from 1937 to 1940, an al-| immune from deportation, Zyglegation which he denies.

munist Party in 1920, was ex- the government." pelled in 1938 because of his op- At this point the hearing ofposition to the Moscow Trials, ficer took over examination of joined the SWP in that year and the hard-pressed witness who and structure as the Communist left in 1940 with Burnham and threatened to give the case away. Shachtman in 2 dispute over the The defense attorney protested defense of the Soviet Union in vain against such improper inagainst imperialist attack.

Under cross-examination by tion. Janosco's attorney, Marshall Zygmont had obviously been substantiate the first point were Ross, Zygmont was asked wheth- confronted with the option of er he had ever talked with any helping the government expel government official about the Janosco from the country or risk possibility of his own denaturali- the same fate himself. zation and deportation under the The other side of this dreadful McCarran-Walter Act. He first alternative was recalled by the

mont said: "There is no reason Zygmont said he became a U.S. for my deportation because I spoken with him. citizen in 1918, joined the Com- quit the CP and besides I helped

terruption of the cross-examina-

been a witness in the first Smith

At that trial, Harris told how to the Immigration people and him (Skoglund) immuity from Thadeus Zygmont, 60, of De- exposed everyone who was an deportation if he would testify the Smith Act and has subsetation proceedings.

Harris said at this hearing that he had seen Janosco at several meetings of the SWP but admitted that he had never Zygmont's testimony was de-

signed to prove two contentions. One, that the SWIP has essentially the same aims, program Party. Second, that the SWP adother unconstitutional means." The sole evidence introduced to such Marxist classics as The of fighting for civil rights in convinced that we are right." Communist Manifesto. The His-

(Continued on page 3)

Dixiecrats Seek to Kill Civil Rights Bill JUNE 19 - The Eisenhower floor leader, spoke of the neces- General to ask federal courts for Administration's civil rights bill sity to gain votes in the East injunctions to enforce voting can Constitution and was made labor and of the Negro people" was passed by the House of and Midwest if the Republicans rights. Where election officials explicit by Supreme Court have ever introduced measures Representatives yesterday. The are to regain control of Con- refuse to obey injunctions, they Justice Harlan in a case involv- toward desegregation of Southissue is now before the Senate. gress next year. He pointed out could be punished for being in ing a Negro defendant in 1906. ern juries. As a matter of fact, that the Negro vote in important contempt of court. The House by a vote of 251industrial areas had shifted 158 defeated a Dixiecrat amend- from the Democratic Party to JURY-TRIAL ISSUE ment to require jury trials in Eisenhower in the 1956 elec-

of the civil rights bill and of a requiring jury trial in any convote against the disputed trialby-jury amendment. Martin, under its provisions. Southern ing to other politicians at this and their verdicts are based language they could understand and Vice-President Nixon today demagogic vote-catching for the attempted to by-pass the Senate next Congressional elections.

bill by introducing the House PROVIDES LITTLE

floor. A filibuster by the white is so weak that it will bring the supremacists to prevent passage Negro people but few practical of any civil rights legislation in benefits. Its provisions have engendered so little enthusiasm The pasic idea behind it is that that the New York Amsterdam no person shall be convicted of a News, a leading Negro news-The scandal of racism is a paper, wrote editorially on June vocates the overthrow of the sore point for the American Big- 15: "We haven't said too much government by violence "and Business ruling class in carrying to our readers this year about passage of civil rights legislation in the Congress, for frankly This is one reason why the Ad- we have felt it would be a waste the publications of the SWP and ministration is putting on a show of valuable space. Now we are

The Administration bill would James P. Cannon, In Defense of Another major reason was structure a committee to investigate revealed in a Republican Party the suppression of Negro votes

tempt-of-court action arising a practical politician, was talk- juries are notoriously lily white, commissioner. They write to tion of the jury system. ing to other politicians at this Republican conference, in a on the racist principle that a suggest jurors. Another method liberals in Congress — whether white man should not be con- is to limit jurors to registered Democrat or Republican - the - that is, the language of victed of crimes committed against Negroes. Such "jury Negroes have been prevented dependable friend in the fight trials" in cases involving denial

would only be another white-

IN THIS ISSUE:

The Fight Against Housing Bias in New York



See page 4

conference in Washington last in the South and would also crime unless by the lawful democratic right of trial-byweek. Rep. Martin, GOP House provide for the U.S. Attorney judgment of his equals. This jury. But this is a hollow excuse. idea is embodied in the Ameri- For not one of these "friends of Justice Harlan said, "that in or- the federal government could ganizing the grand jury as well legally take over the election as in the empanelling of the machinery in the South under The white supremacists are petit jury, there shall be no ex- the power given it by the 15th attempting to cripple the bill clusion of race and no dis- Amendment. Congressmen who He went on to urge support completely with an amendment crimination against them be were really interested in demo-

selected by a clerk and a jury as measures toward desegregavoters under conditions where Negro people have not a single from registering. According to a against the white supremacists. of voting rights to Negroes law passed by the 80th Con- The only way that a serious gress, juries for federal cases fight can take place is through The Administration bill itself supremacist mockery of justice. are selected on the same basis a break with both the Demo-For centuries, the right of as juries for state cases. Thus cratic and kepublican parties trial by jury has been a measure it is trial by lily-white jury that break with their vote-fishing, of protection against tyranny, the Dixiecrats propose as an demagogic political line as well amendment to the civil rights as with the party machinery bill. It is the exact opposite of that keeps them in office. the jury-trial protection sup- Congressmen elected by an posedly guaranteed by the U.S. independent labor party based

> split on this question. Some of movement would fight for a real them, Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.) civil rights program. Such Confor example, lined up with the gressmen would see to it that a Dixiecrats and voted for the civil rights program is enforced.

NEVER MOVED BEFORE

cause of their race or color." cratic rights would propose Juries in the South are usually actions in this direction as well

on the mass strength of the The liberals in Congress have Negro people and, the labor The formation of an independent labor party and the election of its candidates is the Kefauver's apologists say that most urgent task facing the his desire was to protect the American workers today.

A Comment On this Document

An Editorial

The Hungaricus document, excerpts from which we are publishing in the Militant, is one of a number of programmatic writings by Communists who oppose Stalinism that have come out of the Soviet orbit in the wake of the Polish and Hungarian political revolutions. It is the most serious writing of its kind that has come to our attention.

The first task, says Hungaricus, "is to create the theory of Hungarian socialism, by means of a re-examination of all the theories considered until now to be definitive and their confrontation with the reality of our epoch It is only after having clarified our ideas, our goals, that we must pass to the second stage, that of organization.'

We consider that the most important act of re-examination that Hungaricus decided to undertake was that of the historic conflict in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the 1920's and 1930's.

It is our opinion that the phenomenon of Stalinism cannot be understood without a thorough study of the conflict waged by the Trotskyist opposition to uphold Lenin- tion where they are most fit. . " ism against the bureaucratic faction led by Stalin.

By the same token the elaboration of a revolutionary socialist program'in opposition to Stalinism requires a fundamental study of the relationship between Leninism, Trotskyism and Stalinism.

The great merit of Hungaricus is that he addresses himself to the historic dispute and seeks honestly to understand its essence. His document is thus a trailblazer for other Communists who want to find their way from Stalinism to revolutionary socialism.

A Calendar of the Brutal Repressions in Hungary

The Polish Writers Union on June 7 unanimously adopted a resolution denouncing the purge of writers and intellectuals in Hungary as "against the essential rights

Budapest.)

"A group of 'counter-revolu-

armed insurrection, possessing

April 13: "Several persons

suspected of preparing a new

uprising and of having killed a

commander of the 'workers

militia' have been jailed in

Budapest." (Radio Budapest.)

April 15: "Ferenc Polya and

Joszef Benczik, condemned to

in London.

kus. Janos Varga and Pozsar.

been executed by Kadar's AVH.

journalists Gabor Folly, the com-

er's lieutenants Praszmeyer and

Kabalacs, Istvan Angyal, leader

of the revolutionary youth of the

Ninth District of Budapest, Balint

organization in Dunapentele. . . .

people. He is 70 years of age, and

nis crimes date from — 1919.

Why he was not punished be-

(Reuters, principal

of man" and "the cause of so-® cialism." This act of solidarity the government." (Neue Zuerwith writers being jailed and cher Zeitung, Swiss newspaper.) executed by the Kadar regime is in direct conflict with the policy has been condemned to death in that the defeated people forces of Polish ruler Gomulka. While Budapest along with her two no action has been taken against principal co-defendants. . . Jourthe Polish Writers Union, government censorship has kept news of the resolution out of Polish

THE LOG OF TERROR

An idea of repression now going ganization: "We are not indeon in Hungary, where death pendent, we work under the direcsentences for political offenses tion of the party." (Nepszabadare a daily occurrence, may be sag.) glimpsed from the following news items culled from the world inhabitants of Miskolc has opened press. Sources are indicated in in Budapest." The accused are parentheses following the items. charged with "having organized April 3: "Factory managements an armed uprising to overthrow must reestablish 'personnel de- the regime and having killed partments' directed by party several police officers during a another. . And again we arrive functionaries who will keep up riot." (Agence France Presse, to date records of all available principal French news service.) information on the professional, family and political situation of tionaries' has been arrested at Ormosbanya for preparing a new

each employe." These departments, dissolved by the revolution, are to be reestablished "in arms as well as a radio tranorder to keep management current in information about the British news service.) qualities of their wage earners and particularly about their political opinions." (Nepszabadsag, official daily paper of the Hungarian Communist Party.)

MASS TRIALS

April 4: "Eleven persons have been arrested in Miskolc for . having actively participated in the October insurrection. - Several members of a 'terrorist group' have been arrested in Budapest. - According to Radio of counter-revolutionaries." (Fi-Budapest two leaders of the garo, Paris daily paper.) revolution in the region of Gyor have been condemned to death the Ministry of the Interior has and six others to prison." (Arbeiter Zeitung, Vienna, a Socialist newspaper.)

April 5: "According to Radio-Budapest, seven 'counter-revolutionaries' have been arrested in Miskole for conspiring against COMMUNISTS IN PRISON

The Chinese **Communist Party** and the Hungarian Revolution

By Michael Banda Pioneer Pocket Library No. 6 22 pages

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excerpts from a mimeographed document signed "Hungaricus," dated December 1956. We printed the first installment last week. (Copies of the issue are available on request.)

The document was written by a person who, in the days prior to the October 1956 revolution belonged to the opposition (anti-Rakosi, anti-Geroe wing) of the Hungarian Communist party. Representative excerpts from the document were first published in the Jan. 31 issue of the French socialist weekly, France Observateur, which informed its readers that the document was "circulating at the present time among intellectual circles in Budapest." The entire document is about 20,000 words long.

Through the courtesy of Francois Fejto, a writer for France-Observateur and author of a book on the Hungarian revolution, we obtained the loan of a copy of the Hungaricus document. The translation from the Hungarian of the excerpts below are by Robert Dixon. - Editor.

munists are not filling the posi-

"Is there in the hands of the Russian workers' state sufficient economic sources of strength to assure the transition to communism? What is lacking? It is clear what is inadequate: the insufficient culture of the governing layer of communists. Let us take Moscow-4,700 officeholding communists, and if we take into account as well the bureaucratic machinery, that labyrinth, that mass, who is leading whom? Can we say that the labyrinth is seing led by the communists? I strongly doubt that. To tell the truth, they are not leading, they are being led. Here to transpiring something akin to what we were taught in history when we were children. . . . We were taught that sometimes when one people conquers another, . . . if the people which conquered have a higher culture than the vanquished people, then they force their own culture on the latter; if the mat-April 8: "Student Ilona Toth ter is otherwise, then it happens its own culture on the conqueror Isn't it something similar to this nalist Gyula Obersowszky and that is going on in the Russian playwright Jozsef Gali have been Socialist Federated Republic? sentenced to prison. (Radio And are not these 4,700 communists coming under the influence

April 11: Declaration made by of a foreign class culture?" a leader of the new youth or- FIGHTING AND BUILDING

Here we are in a certain sense dealing with a tragic case. The communist apparatus so strikingly characterized by Lenin, in April 12: "A big trial of 20 its origin and its majority, was composed entirely of honest men, even of heroes who fought splendidly during the Revolution and the Civil War. But fighting is one matter and building is at the bottom: as a consequence BASIS OF THE TERROR the Russian backwardness. the party at the head of the masses could summon enough strength to topple the Tzar and even the bourgeois-democratic power, but could not measure up fending a "system." He was de- years after Trotsky's exile they to the slow, step-by-step systematically progressing econom-

that they were not adequate to tradition to the system," but the years before, but spies." That

But it could not have done the event of the Opposition's otherwise. Here are a few se- victory. This reminds us of Hunlected quotes giving the view gary: when the "new type of Lenin held in his last years about economic work" was placed on the life led by the army com- the agenda following the 20th munist office-holders: "We must Congress, what a wild uproar confess" he said in 1922 "that the apparatus by and large put 99 out of 100 responsible com- up against even the mildest criticism-it felt that its very conditions of existence were being attacked. This was the real, if unspoken, basis of the argument of the whole body of function-

The apparatus defended Stalin then, because Stalin expressed what the apparatus was capable of-namely the forced building of socialism. At the same time this apparatus was the only state power in all dispersed Russia; Stalin, or any other representative of the state, had to defend it against the majority of the people. Here was the "secret" of Stalin's victory.

A STRUCTURE OF CRIMES

. . . The system, built up on force, committed year-in, yearout a series of injustices and monstrosities. The crimes and lies to cover up the crimes had now become piled up so high that the exposure of a single crime could endanger the whole criminal structure. In such a situation any debate, any criticism not actually initiated from on top could lead to [a challenge of] the basic monstrosities. . .

Khrushchev said at the congress that Stalin murdered even where "there no longer was any need to"-i.e., when the Opposition had already been ideologically annihilated. Only that was not exactly how things stood. Quite the contrary. The Opposition had not been annihilated, rather under Stalin's regime no one could say anything which contradicted Stalin, however true it might be. The theories cooked up were no longer adequate to demolish the standing positions held by the Oppositionists. Expulsions did not work. Permanent physical and moral terror

became indispensable.

cause he was a sadist, although the enemy's influence. we cannot dismiss the possibility that such a trend later developed in him. Stalin was decause of the terror was not some



A Document from Hungary — Part

Budapest workers inspect two artillery guns that they knocked out of action in the days following the historic Oct. 29 uprising. The Hungarian workers, inspired by the ideals of national independence and workers democracy, gave an heroic account of themselves in the struggle.

is not supported by the people, which forces itself on the people, has to resort to terror. [When Hungaricus uses the term, "system," in this connection he makes clear that he is referring to the police regime and is not defining the USSR sociologically. His is the same as Togliatti's use of the word in the June 1956 discussion between Togliatti and Pravda. - Tr.]

One cannot imagine a more shameless thing than when Stalin's accomplices report that "there was no need" to wipe out the Opposition, as they had al- party work and regulations covready annihilated it "ideologic- ering the liquidation of Trotzkyally." What was introduced ideologically was required to lay the groundwork for the mass exterminations. Terror was the essence, the ideological "discussion" of the 1930's became more and more just accompanying music. It was necessary to kill precisely then, when it seemed no longer necessary.

NEED FOR FRAME-UP

That is the reason why the terror struck down even men who had never been Oppositionists. It was necessary to keep the society in precisely that situation where anyone [could be considdence of being a traitor

ing thrown by the thousands into prisons and when, even ten fending the whole, including the turned up more and more, Stabases of the party regime. The lin explained that the Trotskyists were "no longer a political These men felt instinctively peculiar, freakish cause "in con- current, as they had been seven-

reason that any system which | "did not dare show their true faces"-in other words, did not confess to the workers that they were spies and diversionists.

You understand, don't you, innocent reader? That meant that all Trotskyists were spies, that they were denying their espionage past. Ten lines lower Stalin "proves" this, with the confessions of other Trotskyists-we now know, through what methods such forced confessions [were obtained]. Such is Stalinist logic. We can read it in Hungarian also under the heading, "On shortcomings in ite and other double-dealers. What a title!

A RULING CASTE

. . . . Compared to the horrible backwardness of Tzarist Russia, the workers' standard of living improved, even it did not approach the living standards of any significant capitalist country. The contrast between the mode of life of the people and the leading layers in the Soviet Union emphasizes with brutal clarity the formation of a new ruling caste. [Hungaricus' exact term - Tr.1

The socialist caste system is ered] a potential spy and traitor, the product of Soviet communimmediate decisive change, but, places prime responsibility for every independent thought, evi- ism, the necessary consequence in any case, it does demand se- the uprising at the door of imforced [industrialization ?], rious "building" of Socialism in eight- tion-demonstrated in practicespeak of dependence in this tackled in order to restore consense, that the leaders are de- fidence. pendent on the caste ruling over socialism.

. . . We cannot agree with

get the fundamental principles system. They look forward to of historical science. The results the formation of some kind of of the four decades of Soviet de- capitalist democracy. I am at velopment have been such that a loss to understand how they could never have been achieved can arrive at such conclusions. in any other way: Soviet industry, shaped through force outaken the most developed capitalist countries in several fields, in consequence of which Soviet technical-scientific development democracy [in Russia]. Aside had taken first place in the world from that, have the Soviet peoin the peaceful utilization of atomic energy, Soviet industry manufactures modern machines, some of which can in due time raise Soviet agriculture to a leading position.

A CONTRADICTION

The legends are dissipating. Grotesque and saddening it is, when the Soviet leaders sound off about Socialism achieved and the building of Communism. But all this should not obscure the decisive fact that Russia, forty Aptheker Says He years ago on the level of an Asiatic country, has today alyears ago on the level of an most reached the point where one can speak of laying the economic foundations for the building of Socialism. This is the powerful historical fact, perhaps the most important phenomenon in modern history.

The reader will notice that

So far it has not become clear expectations?] The 20th Congress showed manifestly enough behind these changes. The events the system still play the decisive bate.

ALTERNATIVES

The uneveness of the 20th Congress, which is most clearly manifested in the internal contradiction housed in the primitive evaluation of Stalin, can level out fact is indicated by the review along two variants: either back- of the book by Robert Friedman wards, with some camouflage, in the June 19 Daily Worker. toward the consolidation of the Stalinist system, or toward a despite his searching examinaradical break. This latter does tion of the failings of the Hunnot unconditionally demand an garian Communist government, the proper finishing touch to the calls for a serious determinato-ten short years in an Asian to work out a long-range reform country, hardly emerged from program that is put up for de- evidence bears out his honeful the Middle Ages. . . . We can bate. All this will have to be assertion that the present Kadar

Some individuals, with whom I for one cannot sympathize-ex- people abhor. the task which awaited them in very down-to-earth, everyday meant that the Oppositionists those who, in their blindness, for- for the downfall of the Soviet that is thoughtful and illumin-

and students of Hungary had

Do you think that some elder

ers and a sprinkling of cardinals

beaten us when it was not so

easy for twenty Soviet divisions?

I think it will be appropriate

"The workers have been beaten,

History will prove that it was

THE CLASS NATURE OF

THE SOVIET STATE. By Leon

Trotsky. 22 pages. 25 cents. (Cey-

lon publication.) Order from

Pioneer Publishers, 116 Univer-

sity Place, New York 3, N. Y.

others who suffered defeat."

but they have not been defeated.

There are not enough spawn of [pro-Tzarist, pro-capitalist]

side of the economy has over- emigres that could be scraped up out of all the brothels and roadhouses of Europe and Asia to fix up a tolerable capitalist ple made such sacrifices during the last forty years only to drag themselves after the splendors of capitalist democracy and to satisfy the whims of a few tenthousand men?

No. I don't want to see any such thing. I want to live to see the internal renovation of the Soviet Union. . . .

December 1956

CHICAGO, June 18 - Herbert Aptheker, a leading spokesman for the Communist Party, addressed a meeting of about a there remains a certain contra- hundred here tonight on the subdiction between the preceding ject "The Truth About Hunsections and the conclusion. But gary." He presented a summary this contradiction exists in re- of his new book of the same title.

With only half an hour availwhere these changes [rumblings able in the discussion period. in Soviet society] are leading to. there was little time for a full But we have seen enough so far discussion of Aptheker's thesis to be cause of anxiety [anxious | that the Hungary revolution was imperialist-inspired and organized. However during the disthe uneveness of these changes, cussion, Howard Mayhew, Chithe fact that there is no serious cago organizer of the Socialist scientific analysis or program Workers Party, took the floor to indicate the viewpoint of the that have unfolded since the SWP and of the Militant that Congress, the temporarily "se- the Hungarian revolution was cret" Yugoslav-Soviet debate in was a progressive movement for the summer of '56, . . . the mil- workers' democracy and nationitary provocations against the al independence. He then asked Poles, and above all the bloody Aptheker if he would debate the suppression of the Hungarian issue with a spokesman for revolution-all this showed that either the SWP or the Militant. the real break has not yet ar- Aptheker replied that he would rived, the conservative forces in be willing to accept such a de-

DAILY WORKER REVIEW

Aptheker's book and viewpoint is apparently receiving a divided reception within the Communist Party itself. This Friedman writes,

book, or life itself, sustains this judgment. Nor do I believe the government is ending the repressions which Aptheker condemns and which the Hungarian

"For this reason, despite much ating, I do not believe the Truth About Hungary is the full truth about Hungary. . .

"Aptheker sees in Hungary after the storm a government which has learned its lesson guine. Russian has been restored as a compulsory second language. The right to strike is proscribed by death penalty. The Hungarian people have no more opportunity to recall Premier Janos Kadar by popular referendum at stated intervals than and duchesses could ever have they had to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with Rakosi."

Indicting the Kremlin role in Hungary, Friedman replies to Aptheker that: "The Soviet Union itself bore partial but significant responsibility for the Rakosi-Gero government. Directly, because as an occupying power it, admittedly, outraged the national feelings of a people. . . Indirectly, because the Rakosi-Gero regime was only aping its betters, acting out in miniature the excesses, the obsessive suspicions, the grandiloquent identification of self with state that marked the rule of Joseph Stalin."

Hungarian Writer Nails Togliatti's

death on March 25 for illegal possession of firearms, have been executed. . . . Budapest police have arrested 'a dangerous band Paloczi-Horvath, a Hungarian Hungary. revolutionary writer. Togliatti April 22: "A communique of had attacked Hungarian writers for participating in the October announced the arrest of writer Tibor Dery for 'acts against Horvath's answer was printed in state security.' as well as the dis the May 31 Tribune, weekly solution of the Union of Hunnewspaper of the Bevan wing garian Writers." (Agence Fance

The leading revolutionary writers of Hungary are at pres-"There are more Hungarian ent mostly in jail or in exile. communists in Kadar's prisons than were imprisoned under Those colleagues of ours who

of the Labor Party. - Ed.

are at present in the torture Horthy." states the June 15 chambers of the Security Police Newsletter, edited by Peter Fryer jail in Budapest were pronounced "incorrigible" by their "They include such veterans of inquisitors for refusing to "conthe Hungarian working class fess" that they organized a counmovement as Zoltan Vas and Geza Losonczy; the communist intel- ter-revolution in order "to re-'store capitalism and Horthy lectuals Tibor Dery and Gyula fascism. Hay; the young novelist Tardos; the journalists Harazsti and You, Signor Togliatti, claim to

to believe after reading some Gimes; the young communist Gabor Tanozos, secretary of the of our writing, that our weekly, Petofi circle; the communist ofthe Literary Gazette, "played an ficers Maleter and Kopacsi; the extremely important part in the have long passed away. Everyone communist student leaders Martragic events in Hungary during knows nowadays that, wherever last October and November." "Hundreds of Communists have

You conclude that the Hungaran writers "destroyed the Com-Among them are the communist munist Party in a demented frenzy and have thrown the peomunist poet Istyan Eorsi, Malet- ple into a hopeless situation."

RAKOSI PERSECUTED?

You charge us, in effect, with being insincere cowards for not Papp, leader of the party's youth daring to declare that we really preferred the Horthy epoch to "Kadar's police have, however, that of people's democracy. We at last found a real live White must be most curious people inthat of people's democracy. We Terrorist, whom they have put deed.

on trial for killing progressive According to your accusations we were merciless enemies of ticles, and the various party rest they would keep their solemn Rakosi and his clique. We persecuted the poor dictators who had Hungarian revolution - when day, to evacuate Hungary. Read tween 1945 and 1956 has not been at their disposal only their army, there was freedom of speech and the official announcement of Octheir Security Police, their huge thought - then you would learn tober 31, broadcast from Moscow

We reprint below a reply to party apparatus, the two MVD that all political parties, news-

Some twenty-five writers are in the hands of the Security Police. Up till now these cowards expected of them. And do you think that a hand-

ardly intellectuals could have inspired the uprising of a nation? Do you really think that the millions of Hungarians who fought for weeks on end and later took part in the most complete general strike in history, wanted the impossible-the re-

Surely to a Marxist like your-self it cannot be all explained away by the fact that we writers "instigated" the people of Hungary? You must remember the famous statement of Karl Marx:

"The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background which is prevented by outworn institutions from satisfying itself."

Your main accusation is that we writers, instigators of the revolt, had purely negative, destructive aims; we did not work out a positive platform.

We did have a program, you their arms before final victory. know. It is called democratic Socialism. If you took the trouble to

study all the various 7, 8, 10 and 16-point programs, editorial ar- leaders and were not certain that olutions published during the promise, given on the previous

Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Com- brigades and four Soviet divi- papers and groups were unanimunist Party chief, by George sions permanently stationed in mous in wanting democratic Socialism.

The second accusation is that

we wrote and spoke in a language too barsh. If you troubled uprising last year. Paloczi- have not made the confessions to read the official party daily Szabad Nep, during the period we were fighting against terful of feeble, insincere and cow- rorism, you would see that we were attacked furiously in language much harsher still.

INTOLERANT OF COPS You picture the three hundred

odd writers and the 1.500 students of the Petofi Circle as opponents of free discussion and as people intolerant in their attistoration of Hungarian capitaltude towards minorities. This charge has its comic aspect. We were intolerant with the Security-Police representative, literary dictator Sandor Gergely, and we persecuted him! ... He had at his back the huge party apparatus He punished us with expulsion arrest, and the banning of our books. Yet we persecuted him! The third accusation - that

writers like Dery, Hay and Zelk who had been Communist Party members since 1919, wanted the restoration of the Horthy-period - is too ludicrous to need reply You quote my leading article

in the revolutionary issue of our Literary Gazette and detect in it uncertainty and distrust. It is true that I asked my fellow countrymen not to lay down

True enough. We were uncertain

and distrustful on November 1 when I wrote the article We distrusted the Kremlin

the world-press. Think of the ternational legal experts pres- from the past. I am not so sanevents of November 4. Was our ent, We even fought to defend uncertainty and distrust un- them with this purpose in mind. founded? But the workers and peasants

The last accusation-often re-

peated in Moscow and by the arms in their hands.

Budapest stooges-is that our revolt would have turned later ly Horthy-officers, retired bankinto counter-revolution and white WANTED OPEN TRIALS No doubt there were counterrevolutionaries in Hungary, too. if I quote Marx in conclusion:

No doubt, some sixty or seventy Security Police thugs were unfortunately lynched.

We would have preferred to A Marxist Quarterly International

> The Spring issue is now on sale. It features a discussion on the future of Socialism in America between Harvey O'-Connor and the editors and an article on the Soviet econ-

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Monday, June 24, 1957

Historical Rulings

The decisions handed down by the Supreme Court, June 17, have been rightfully hailed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Lawyers Guild and other civil liberties bodies. The decisions will provide all civil-liberties fighters with important new legal and moral ammunition in the battle against those who work for the victory of a police state in America. The texts of the court's decisions in the Watkins case, the Sweezy case and the California Smith Act case deserve the closest study by every defender of the Bill of Rights.

The leading spokesmen for the various Congressional crucifying committees have already made clear that regardless of the court's ruling they intend to continue their dirty work. But the court's directive that their questions to witnesses must have relevancy to some clearlydefined legislative purpose will help the intended victims to fight back more effectively.

In addition, the court, which recently reasserted the right to use the Fifth Amendment against the Congressional frame-up artists, have by their present opinion strengthened the right to use the First Amendment against efforts to pry into one's beliefs and associations.

The court also challenged the very justification for the existence of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Examining the Congressional resolution establishing the committee, the court easily demonstrated the complete ambi-

guity of the "investigating" purpose staked out for the committee. The court said: "It would be difficult to find a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of 'Un-American'? What is the single, solitary 'principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution'?"

While a majority of the court clung religion. to its 1951 ruling that the Smith Act is constitutional, the net effect of its present decision will serve to make prosecutions under the act more difficult.

Another welcome aspect of the deci- renunciation of atomic weapons sion is that, at least implicitly, it explodes by all troops stationed on Gerthe frame-up thesis that the Communist party is a "conspiracy" rather than a legal political body with constitutional

Hampshire conviction gives ammunition pointed out that, since the Chanto those fighting thought-control on the cellor's assumption of power in campuses. The witch-hunters will derive low income groups had declined little comfort from the court's declaration by 20%. that "A university ceases to be true to its own nature if it becomes a tool of church or state. . . A university is characterized by the spirit of free inquiry. . . This implies the right to examine, question, modify or reject traditional ideas and beliefs.'

Those who have fought so long and hard for such principles have now registered a significant measure of progress. This can only serve to further the great continuing battle for democratic

Anniversary of Poznan

June 28 will mark the first anniversary of the Poznan uprising. On that day a year ago steel workers in the industrial Polish city went on strike and began a parade through the city which quickly snowballed into a general strike and a three-day insurrection.

Bullets and tanks finally overcame the working-class fighters, but nonetheless they had won the victory. The power and unanimity discovered by the Poznan workers once they had poured out onto the streets made it plain that though the Kremlin-controlled regime could overcome such an uprising in one city, simultaneous risings thoughout the nation would overwhelm it.

In the days that followed this lesson sank into the consciousness of workers throughout Poland. It made for the psychological and political unity of the Polish working class, it inspired the radical students and intellectuals, and it terrified the ruling bureaucracy.

This spreading of the spirit of Poznan soon forced the Stalinist rulers to back down on their traditional frame-up methods and then abandon them altogether. Initially the Polish regime and the Communist Party press throughout the world had smeared the workers' uprising in Poznan as the work of "imperialist spies and provocateurs." By the time of the trials, however, the mood of the Polish workers had forced the government to abandon the libel of "imperialist agents" in favor of the libel of "hooligans and criminals."

FRAME-UP EXPLODES

But the frame-up system can flourish only on the corpse of a defeated revolution and a terrorized working class. Though the Poznan uprising had been defeated militarily it had not been defeated politically. Consequently the frame-up of the young men whom the regime had chosen for trial as the most vulnerable fell to pieces in the very court room.

Extorted confessions were repudiated. The prosecution's contention that the defendants had had nothing to do with the now admittedly legitimate economic grievances of the strikers, but that they had simply engaged in a spree of murder, vandalism and looting, became a laughingstock. The testimony of the defendants themselves dramatically demonstrated that rather than "criminals," they were the honest, militant, youthful flesh and blood of the working class who had dared hunt down the brutal secret police and take up arms against tanks.

In classic revolutionary pattern, the frame-up trials became a forum for bold expression of the grievances of the workers and defense of the right of insurrection. Such had become the political temperature of Poland by the time of the trials that the government was only too glad to wind up the whole business with a few minimum sentences and the dropping of all the other prosecutions. For by this time Poznan's full fruit - the October defiance of the Kremlin — was but a month from complete ripening.

PRESSURE INCREASES

The vanguard of the workers and intellectuals, with threats of a nation-wide. Poznan-type uprising, forced the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Polish Communist Party to accept Gomulka as head of the party and consequently of the regime. With the same threat, backed up with armed workers' militias standing at the ready night and day in the factories and student militias in the universities, this vanguard forced the Kremlin to accept the overturn in the Polish CP and to call off the Soviet occupation troops who had been ordered into attack positions.

Today Poznan occupies a position among the Polish people comparable to the minds of the generation which made the American Revolution of 1776. Workers of Podnan who were initially denounced as agents and tools of imperialism or as criminals by the Polish rulers are now accepted (if somewhat grudgingly) as heroes.

NO HANDS CHOPPED OFF

Premier Cyrankiewicz is a prime example. As Premier he rushed to Poznan during the fighting and threatened, "He who lifts his arm against the People's Authority [the government] will have his right hand chopped off." The repercussions of Poznan led him to jump on the Gomulka bandwagon and consequently he still remains Premier. By popular demand from Poznan he was compelled almost a year later to re-visit that city and eat humble pie in atonement.

The effects of Poznan were not confined to Poland. United in common op-

movements in any of its parts. Poznan reverberated in Hungary and there brought about the downfall of Rakosi, the "little Stalin." The October days in Poland led directly to the Hungarian Revolution. Crushed by the Kremlin's military superiority, that revolution is now smeared, as was originally attempted in the case of Poznan, as the work of imperialist agents and capitalist restorationists. There is no risk in prophesying that coming revolutions in the Soviet bloc, perhaps in the USSR itself, will bring about the downfall of the brutal Kadar regime in Hungary and official recognition of the Hungarian Revolution's true place in history — that of a heroic milestone on mankind's road to freedom and socialism.

The West German Elections

By John Black

On Sunday, June 16, Erich Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of the alition regime of Chancellor unexpectedly large rally of 23,-000 supporters in the industrial city of Dortmund, Ollenhauer attacked the "Cold-War Chancellor," called for an end to nuclear tests and to nuclear rearmament in Germany. He revealed the Big Business orientation of the government and castigated Adenauer for recent attempts to split the labor movement along lines of

OLLENHAUER PLATFORM

Ollenhauer called for the abolition of conscription, international disarmament, the absolut man soil, normalization of relations with the Soviet Union and with East-European countries and demanded a new economic orientation to protect the "little man" against "Big Business." The reversal of Paul Sweezy's New To underscore the last point, he

The rally which was held in a large hall, was introduced by a ties in West Germany. parade of the socialist youth or-

States imperialism. The political atmosphere in West Germany is heating up as bankers, magnates, militarists and during the war, Wehner was re- the sensational right-wing gutthe September election date clerical reactionaries, now staging sponsible for directing some of ter press of West Germany. draws nearer. The two major a strong comeback in open al- the KPD underground work in Among the authors are governparties competing for allegiance of the voters are Adenauer's eign policy of the United States. on with Sweden as his base of Christian Democratic Party and While Ollenhauer has just the Social Democratic Party of opened the election campaign West Germany. The smaller par- with a formal political rally, the target of reaction because of his through the attack on Wehner. ties are either dissolving or are maneuvering for the role of decisive coalition partner for either of the main contenders, should the election result be very close.

SOCIALIST PROSPECTS

tions of last October and November are any indication, then the Social Democrats have an unprecedented opportunity before them to sweep the capitalist, clerical and militarist reaction out of office this year. That election, which involved half the total population of the Federal Republic, brought a genuine landslide victory to the SPD, (Initials: Soc'l Democratic Party) leaving it the largest of the par-

Public sentiment against ganization, the Falcons, who dis- militarization coupled with played a forest of red flags. growing anxiety over the nu-

for Peace," "More Homes In- West Germany, a mounting in- had been a member of the Com- minded of the amalgams of stead of Barracks," "Reduce flation, and Adenauer's arrogant munist Party of Germany (KPD) prosecutor Vyshinsky" (in the Prices" and "No Conscription." unwillingness to deal directly in fact before 1933 he had been Moscow Trials) and the session Ollenhauer, still smarting at with the East-Germans in re- secretary to Thaelmann, leader of Parliament broke up in dis-West German Federal Republic the chilly reception accorded to unification matters-these are of the KPD murdered by the order. launched his party's election him on his recent pilgrimage to undoubtedly some of the factors Nazis. Wehner claims to have atdrive to oust the right-wing co- Washington, made clear that that accounted for the sweep of tempted a reorientation of that Adenauer was the candidate fa- public opinion in the direction party along the lines of ideas Konrad Adenauer. Addressing an vored and supported by United of the SPD. It remains to be derived from Rosa Luxembourg.

> staging for the September electoral struggle has been going the Federal Parliament. In the anti-Hitler with anti-German acon for weeks and the SPD leadership has permitted itself to April, he demanded, in line with be pushed into shamefully defensive positions on several oc- West Germany, that the Governcasions.

This happened, for instance, in If the results of the local elec- the case of Herbert Wehner, who is parliamentary representative of the SPD in the Federal Parliament, chairman of that body's all-German national executive commission, member of the naparty and probably its most dynamic spokesman in the public eye. Recognized as the party's parliamentary expert on foreign affairs, he is earmarked as the future Foreign Minister in the event of a Social Democratic vic-

FORMER CP MEMBER

seen however if the SPD will During the years of Hitler's rule activities as an alleged Solead a militant attack on the in Germany up to and including viet espionage agent has flooded liance with the cold-war for- Germany. This work was carried ment supporters with a long his-

operation.

aggressive debating technique in course of one such debate in a growing public sentiment in ment should declare an immediate and total amnesty for the thousands of West Germans who fell victims to prosecutions that followed last year's Supreme Court outlawing of the KPD.

Wehner's sentiment does credited KPD, but from the desire to remove a barrier to negotiations with East Germany for the reunification of Germany.

Federal Minister of the Interior Dr. Gerhard Schroeder launched an attack on the move-

Banners called for "Atoms Only clear implications of NATO for ocrat in 1944. Before that he promptly replied: "One is re-

SMEAR ATTACK

Since then a flood of articles on Wehner's wartime anti-Hitler tory of fascist activities. The political significance of this at-Wehner has been a favorite tack on the SPD, conducted is the brazen identification of tivities.

The attack on Wehner has subsided because the reactionaries have since sighted a new target on the left which they are "finishing off" now. But the damage was done, because the SPD gave Wehner only half-hearted support, minimizing the extent of his wartime anti-fascist ac-The general motivation for tivity, instead of agressively atnot tacking the impudent reactiontional executive committee of his spring from sympathy for the aries for their war guilt and quite small, disorganized and dis- their responsibilities for the fascist years of horror.

Subsequent developments, particularly the sudden arrest and jailing of prominent left-wing Socialist Dr. Viktor Agartz, show that the attack on Wehner was chalked up as a victory on ment for amnesty by linking its the right and that every hesitan-Wehner became a Social Dem
organizers to supposed KPD cy by the SPD only serves to embolden reaction.

...French

Trotskyists

(Continued from page 1)

gerian independence was based

on a principle of Trotskyism, he

said, and was not only for the

democratic right of the Algerian

people but also to the interest of

the French working-class since

that alone would end the useless

shedding of French blood in Al-

By quotation from the accused

al Movement (MNA) whose

statements had been reprinted,

had from the first called for end-

ing the bloodshed in Algeria

through opening negotiations be-

tween the French government

and all the Algerian parties,

through a cease-fire, and through

the free election by all inhabit-

ants of Algeria-Arab, French

Convention which should deter-

mine Algeria's form of govern-

ment and relationship to France.

Lambert's speech was a devas-

tating exposure of the hypocrisy

of French imperialism about Al-

geria and the right of self-de-

termination. It was also the

means of speaking by proxy for

imprisoned independence leader

Messali Hadi, whose true posi-

tion Lambert stated to the court.

Witnesses called by the de-

fense included two Algerians im-

prisoned in France. They were

ALGERIAN WITNESSES

The Poznan Trial



Pictured above are some of the vouthful defendants sitting between police at the trial that followed the revolutionary uprising in Poznan, Poland, last June, Powerful mass pressure forced the government to finally drop its charge of "hooliganism" and admit the valid reasons for the uprising.

NAACP Convention

(Continued from page 1)

mince words about America's Jim Crow way of life and the But last month a similar event ministration will now quickly Negro people's determination to wipe that infamous system off resulted in a great anti-Ameri- take the case to the Supreme

The effectiveness of the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington must be measured in these terms, for it did not aim at forcing that which Lexington and Concord held in any specific concession from the powers-that-be. It was a general protest against Jim Crow conditions and a demonstration that the Negro people would go through with such a march. It has laid the groundwork for larger marches in the future when the situation demands them. The pioneering value of the May 17 demonstration will then be fully appreciated.

Among the lessons to be drawn by delegates to the NAACP convention is the need of the NAACP to overhaul its organizational methods. While certain NAACP branches acquitted themselves with honors, on the whole the organization showed itself sadly lacking in the ability or will to mobilize their members. This is largely because the NAACP has not sufficient experience with mass actions. To the extent that the NAACP engages in mass formance of duty. The "status personal fate of Private Girard. actions, not only will it step up the tempo of the fight against Jim of forces" agreement with Japan The top policy - makers are Crow but will greatly improve its ability to rally the people.

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS GIVE LESS AND LESS

The second great strategy problem before the Negro people is political action. While only partly enfranchised in the South, Dulles promptly agreed with fects relations with other U.S. the Negro vote in the rest of the country is large and strategically placed. Nevertheless the Negro people get less and less - even in promises - from the Democrats and Republicans.

It is significant that at the Prayer Pilgrimage almost every speaker, including Rev. King, Roy Wilkins, and Rep. Diggs, blasted both Big Business parties for their sell-out records on civil rights. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell called for the abandonment of both capitalist parties and the building of a third political force.

This to our mind is good advice - not only for the Negro people but for labor as well. The way out of the blind alley in pression by the Kremlin bureaucracy, the which the civil-rights and labor struggles now find themselves is working classes of all the Soviet orbit through the formation of a new political party - a Labor Party - based on labor, the Negro people and the working farmers. countries feel and respond to shocks and To the extent that the Negro people break with both Democrats and Republicans they will blaze the trail for labor to a new party.

Aside from the loss of a few political pay-off jobs, what is there to lose? Now is the time for Negro communities to nominate candidates for local offices - independent of both Democratic and Republican Parties. Many can be elected and in the process the ground-work of a real "third force," a party of the Negro people, labor and the farmers will be laid.

The struggles ahead will raise the issues of mass action and independent political action again and again, for these are the keys to victory. This is the bold program the NAACP needs to combat the white-supremacist campaign aimed at outlawing the NAACP in the South and at terrorizing the Negro freedom fighters; it is also the answer to false friends and sell-out politicians of the North. As so often happens the best defense is an offense.

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Girard Case a Lesson — Japanese Want GI's Out

By V. Grey

In Japan there has been a growing, restless hatred for the continued stationing there of U.S. troops. Farmers, villagers, ndustrial workers - all have been fighting for many months against the spread of U.S. camps and air-strips in that country. This opposition erupted JAPANESE ANGER on a nation-wide scale just two

An American soldier, William S. Girard, had killed Mrs. Naka Sakai, a 46-year old mother of five. Mrs. Sakai was "scavengdistance of 27 feet. She was civilized people." instantly killed.

TAIWAN DEMONSTRATION

incident happened on Jan. 30. can demonstration on Taiwan effect on the Japanese people. trial for Girard instead of a

U.S. Army court-martial. Taiwan incident encouraged the Japanese people, it alarmed the U.S. Big-Business politicians. Secretary of Defense Wilson quickly agreed that Japan should have judicial authority in the Girard case, since Girard's action was "not authorized" and therefore was not in the pericemen while off duty. Presi-Wilson.

KISHI WORRIED

The Japanese ruling class is

(Continued from page 1)

The character of the testimo-

key witness to prove that the

government by unconstitutional

means may be judged by the fol-

he had any personal knowledge

electricity had been turned off in

the apartments of some unem-

ing to turn it on again."

in as additional exhibits.

In the United States, mean- Japanese people to get the U.S. while, there has been a hue and government to remove its troops. cry for Girard. Politicians like In this battle, the working peo-Sen. Bricker (R-Ohio) and Rep. ple of the U.S. should ally itself Carl Vinson (D-Ga.), chairman with the Japanese people. of the House Armed Services Committee, are demanding new restrictions on the executive branch of the government.

The outcry in the U.S. has further increased the anger of the Japanese. Akikichi Sakai, the husband of the slain woman, expressed in a restrained manner what is probably going through ing" the empty brass casings of the minds of a great many of used machine gun shells after his countrymen, when he told a gun practice. Girard fired empty reporter, "The Americans who cartridges from the grenade insist on an American trial of launcher on his carbine - not my wife's killer do so because necessarily with intent to kill - they regard the Japanese people geria. but obviously to inflict pain. He as subhuman and no more than hit Mrs. Sakai in the back at a dogs. . . . We Japanese are (New York | Verite and the Algerian Nation-Times, June 9.)

On June 18, a Federal Judge, Joseph C. McGarraghy enjoined The reaction in Japan has the U.S. government from been a delayed one, since the releasing Girard to the Japanese courts. Dulles and the Ad-Court for a reversal of McGar-(Formosa). This had a decided raghy's injunction. Dulles warned that such an action as and Jewish-of a Constitutional The masses demanded a Japanese McGarraghy's would "give rise to serious difficulties in our relations with the Government For the same reason that the and people of Japan." (N. Y. Times, June 18.)

MOTIVES OF TOP POLICY MAKERS

American Big-Business politicians don't have the slightest sympathy for the tragedy of Mrs. Sakai. Nor do they have the slightest concern for the provides for Japanese trials for determined in this case, howall offenses by American serv- ever, to show how sincere they are about respecting Japan's dent Eisenhower and Secretary new sovereignty, since this afallies as well.

But the real question for the Japanese masses is not whether Girard is tried by the U.S. or no less worried than the Amer- Japan. The real question is the ican. It fears the militancy of permanent stationing of U.S. the Japanese masses. The Jap- troops there against the will of anese foreign Ministry hailed the population. If Girard is the American decision as a finally tried in a Japanese court, "manifestation of sound judg- this will be an important victory ment by President Eisenhower." in the bigger battle of the

Army controls both countries

cuted and there would be a good

At the conclusion of its pres-

entation, the Immigration Serv

against Janosco on the ground

pended for several months to

its rebuttal of the allegations.

Janosco Hearing

Marxism by Leon Trotsky, and Janosco should be branded

ny offered by the government's such a person would be perse-

lowing excerpt. Asked whether ice lodged further charges

of the advocacy of sabotage by that the SWP and the Fourth In-

the party, Zygmont answered: ternational taught "the econom-

"Yes, I talked with several peo- ic, international and govern-

ple in the SWP headquarters and mental doctrines of World Com-

they told me that the gas and munism." The hearing was sus-

ployed people and they were go- give the defense time to prepare

SWP taught overthrow of the chance of his execution."

Abderrahmane Bensid, a young leader of the Union of Algerian Workers (USTA), and Mohamed Maroc, a leader of the MINA. Both testified to their knowledge and solidarity with the Trotskyist leaders and their own continued devotion to the cause of Algerian independence. After their testimony and demonstration of indomitability they were taken back to their prisons. Other defense witnesses included numerous socialist, trade union. and intellectual leaders, who defended the right of the defendants to write what they had written, and who, in a number of instances, solidarized them-Asked what would happen "if selves with the views which the prosecutor said should be punthe Program and Statutes of the Trotskyite and deported to Hunished "with all the rigor of the Third International were brought gary or Czechoslovakia," Zygmont replied: "Since the Red

Revolution in **Hungary and the Crisis of Stalinism**

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N. Y. Council Ducks

On Realty Bias Bill

of the bill to ban discrimina-

tion in New York Housing

was indefinitely postponed yesterday by the City Coun-

cil's Committee on General

Welfare. This major conces-

sion to the city's rent

gougers, who are bitterly

fighting the proposed law,

came after Mayor Wagner

asserted that "there is no

time table for the bill" and

that "we're not trying to ram

this bill down anybody's

throat." Wagner had prev-

iously posed as a champion

of the measure. The power-

ful real-estate gang received

further solace with an an-

nouncement from City Hall

of a cut in the real-estate

THE MILITANT



Reprinted from the Militant of June 8, 1953

Four years ago this week Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were legally murdered as alleged atomic spies. They were tragic martyrs to the witch hunt which was sparked by Wall Street and fanned to white heat by McCarthy.

Since then there has accumulated a mass of weighty, documented evidence confirming the fact that the Rosenbergs were the targets of a vile frame-up conducted in the poisoned atmosphere of whipped-up hysteria. They were convicted on the word of tainted witnesses who had compelling reasons to commit perjury on behalf of the prosecution. Presiding at the trial was a judge who did little to conceal his bias against the defendants.

Today the government is continuing the persecution which it unleashed at that trial. The victim is Morton Sobell who is grand-jury investigation of the tion; (4) to defend and mainnow serving a 30-year term at Alcatraz. Every serious study of his case has with Carl and Anne Braden for demonstrated that Sobell, like the Rosen- their efforts to help Andrew bergs with whom he was tried, was Wade IV, a Negro, obtain a

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg cannot be returned to their children. But Morton Rhine properly invoked a sec-Sobell can. On the occasion of the an- tion of the Kentucky state conniversary of the legal lynching of the stitution equivalent to the Fifth Rosenbergs, all who love truth and justice Amendment and that the State's should vow to redouble their efforts to to offer him "immunity" from win Morton Sobell's freedom. This will be prosecution. the most meaningful of tributes to the memory of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. ganizer, was called to testify

Residents in the New York area can pay this kind of tribute by attending the Rosenberg Memorial Service at Wellwood arresting Braden and others on

Cemetery at Pinelawn, L. I., Sunday, June a sedition charge. These charges 23, sponsored by the Committee to Secure | were dismissed last fall. The decision in the Rhine case Justice for Morton Sobell. **High-Court Decisions** that since the Communist Party the Wade home have not been

Committee Acts to Block Cowley Demands Attack on Foreign-Born

City Council Act JUNE 19 - New York state authorities are seeking to subject the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born to crippling state regulations on the pretext that it is a charitable organization

dered to register as such or the witch-hunt. stand in violation of Art. 10-A of the Social Welfare Law.

VOLUME XXI

because they solicit funds to se-

Court Upholds Henry Rhine in Louisville Case

JUNE 15 - A fresh victory in the Louisville "sedition" case among those persecuted along the foregoing purposes. home in a segregated neighbor-

The State's high court said York courts ever since. Attorney General had no power

Rhine, a former union orafter the Wade home was dynamited by racists and the authorities had responded by

ended all pending litigation in the Wade-Braden case. Last month the Wades gained clear title to their home after a Chicago couple loaned them the money to pay off repairs and mortgages. Those who bombed

The organization has been or- cure legal defense for victims of

While the appeal from this def the Social Welfare Law.

According to the recent decision of New York State Su- witz has secured a temporary in-Committee is subject to this law tee from soliciting funds or from carrying on any other activities pending a hearing for a permaslated for today, has been post- York's private dwellings. A ing civic, labor, religious and oned.

The American Committee for party's candidate for Mayor was porting the anti-bias law.

the Protection of the Foreign read to the committee by Lil-Born, which has been in exist- lian Kiezel speaking for Mrs. poses: (1) To give information to the foreign born concerning U.S. laws and their rights under these laws; (2) to fight such came yesterday when the Ken- reactionary measures as the Mctucky Court of Appeals upheld Carran-Walter Law; (3) to give Henry Rhine in his refusal to counsel to people who are threat-answer questions during a ened under the existing legislaa ened under the existing legisla-Wade-Braden case. Rhine was tain itself as an organization for

In 1955, the proceedings against the Committee were started by Senator Javits, then State Attorney General, and has been moving through the New

COMMITTEE STATEMENT

Abner Green, the Committee's Executive Secretary, explains: "By starting a completely new proceeding and securing an injunction against the organization, the State Attorney General is trying to prevent the American Committee from carrying on its activities in education, waiter-McCarran law repeal, and self-defence-which have been found already to be non-charitable-as well as raising the necessary funds to carry through the appeal from Justice Steuer's

The trumped-up "charity" label placed on the committee is one that could, by the same standards, be applied to numerous other New York organizations whose main purpose is the defense of democratic rights. It

decision of the Supreme Court in

tions under the Smith Act as a

victory for the American people

"We regret, however, that all

"We believe that the fight

against the witch hunt requires

that all sections of the working

working class victims regardless

of their ideological differences,

for in the last analysis the use

14 of the California Smith Act

victims were not acquitted and

Los Angeles SWP Letter To CP Hails Court Victory

Angeles County Committee of the Communist Party, the terest rate in general.

Scientist Driven **House Committee**

On the very day that the Supreme Court condemned the Committee, a talented young

The scientist, William K. Sherwood, who was working on people come to the aid of any emphasizes that, "The only overt cancer research, was slated to act which is now charged against be grilled in San Francisco this these defendants is that they week by the House Un-American Activities Committee. He cussion of public questions, a colleague and then took a

the Walter Committee he declared, "My life and my liveli-"I fear that the present type hood are now threatened by the of prosecutions are more in line House committee. . . . I will be with the philosophy of authori-in two days assassinated by that expressed by our First spend the next few years in publicity. . . . I would love to Amendment," Black declared. laboratories and I would hate to Meanwhile it became quickly spend them in jail." In a stateapparent today that the Con- ment he had prepared for subgressional witch-hunters will do mission to the committee, Sherall in their power to circumvent wood said, "The committee's trail is strewn with blasted Rep. Smith (D-Va.) author of lives and the wreckage of

When the committee opened husband and make my four His associate on the commit-children fatherless. . . When you

of the witch hunt is a class weapon against all working people. wrote an explanatory letter to The Socialist Workers Party must sell many billions of dol- mercial-bank interest, savings stands ready to support any future Communist Party victims of

> effect on the rate of interest count rate, therefore, is not a generally. For Treasury bonds cause but an effect, It is not a are still the safest bond invest- means to prevent inflation as ment in the country. Even the much as it is a result of inflabonds of the biggest corpora- tion. tions are not considered to be as Meanwhile the boom in the good "risks" as those of the Fed- country is slowing down as may eral government. The corpora- be judged by the following intions thus would also have to dications. Home building has offer a higher interest rate in gone down from 1,300,000 new

terest rate on Treasury offer- tion is off. Auto production is ings is the steady inflation of not doing as well, this year as Black Reconstruction in Amer-ica (1860-1880). By W. E. B. prices in the country. From 1946 expected. Worst of all, the ex-ica (1860-1880). By W. E. B. to 1956, the "value" of the dol-pansion of U.S. industry is slow-DuBois. Special price: \$5.50. lar has fallen an average of ing down. It is expected to be Order from Pioneer Publishers, about 2.9% a year, according to 61/2%—at best, 9%—higher than 116 University Pl., New York 3, the March 3 New York Times. last year, whereas last year's The bankers seek to cover them- expansion was 22% higher than

On Housing Bias an open session today of the Workers Party, I would like to New York City Council's Com- make a statement on the preme Court Justice Steuer the junction to prevent the commit- mittee on General Welfare, the proposed law to ban discrimina-Socialist Workers Party took a tion in New York City housing. vigorous stand in support of the The Socialist Workers Party Sharkey-Isaacs-Brown bill to puts human rights above pronent injunction. The hearing, ban discrimination in New perty rights and joins the lead-

> "This is clearly a fight of the big real estate interests against ence for 24 years has these pur- Cowley. The statement declared: the people of New York City. These property owners make millions by exploiting the misery of minority peoples living in ghetto slums - slums that cripple the lives of the people who live in them, jeopardize the health and welfare of the entire community, and provide fertile breeding grounds for disease, delinquency and human degradation.

"The landlords, who are making exorbitant profits on segregated housing, are engaging in a vicious campaign to block passage of the proposed bill. They are systematically spreading distortions and lies about this bill. They have purchased advertising space in major newspapers and flooded apartment national origin be made an ofhouses with circulars designed to whip up race prejudice.

"We must combat the racist propaganda of New York landlords with the same determina- this law, I intend to make the tion that has characterized the fight to ban discrimination in inspiring struggle to desegregate housing a major issue in my schools in the South.



ist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York.

not only calls for the passage of this law but demands that discrimination against tenants on the basis of race, religion or fense punishable by a prison

"If the real estate lobby succeeds in stalling the passage of 1957 campaign for Mayor of

Refinancing of National Debt Helps Inflation and Bankers

"bank holiday" of 1933.

They are able to use their the decline. strategic positions as money supforce up the interest rates on Treasury short-term loans goes government bonds (of which they are the principal buyers) in the discount rate ordered

In the first week in May, the to refund \$4 billion in shortand offered its support to the term, 1%% notes which it owed to the bankers. The Treasury did not have cold cash to pay a higher rate in order to make a this money. So it offered new profit. "The Los Angeles Local of the short-term notes at 3 % %. Despite Supposedly, the Federal Rethe higher interest rate, when serve Bank raises or lowers the the United States Supreme Court the May deadline arrived, the discount rate to control inflabanks had accepted only 72% of tion or deflation, and to regulate the new notes. This was the the "business cycle." Thus the greatest percentage of "no tak- procedure can supposedly be ers" for U.S. government securi- utilized to slow down a speculaties since 1933.

The Treasury, of course, might harder to borrow, or to pump step up its campaign to sell prime a business recession by more government bonds to the encouraging business men to bor general public-including the row for expansion at attractive workers-at, say, 2% as it did ly low interest rates. during World War II. But even during the war, the bankers bought the bulk of the bonds. And today, workers are cashing in their bonds faster than they rate six months ago to check a are buying them.

LONG-RANGE EFFECT

lars worth of bonds to the bank- bank interest, government-bond ers in order to pay off bonds that interest-all are going up. The are now maturing. If the bank- "price of money" is going up ers take the same attitude they The Federal Reserve Bank, is have just taken on the short- only a complex link between the term notes, the Treasury will Treasury and the wealthiest prihave to raise the interest rate vate banks. The attitude of the on the bonds in order to induce bankers is reflected in both the bankers to buy them.

order to compete with the Treas- starts in 1955 to 1,118,000 in

selves and protect their own in- that of the year before. In

for a hike in the interest of

about six months ago by the Federal Reserve Bank. This dis-U.S. Treasury Department had the DDD to the rate at which the FRB loans money to member banks. They in turn have to loan this money to customers at

tive boom by making money

THE REAL REASON

Supposedly, again, the Federal Reserve Bank raised its discount credit inflation. But it is now clear that the discount rate is not going to go down apprecia-If the Treasury does not sell bly again on the basis of a sim-Treasury and the Federal Re-This would have a long-range serve. The raising of the dis-

1956 to an estimated 900,000 What motivates the bankers in for 1957. Railroads are only their pressure for a higher in- holding their own. Steel produc-

| terests. They seek to make sure | addition, according to the AFL-The huge banking corporations of the United States are now engaged in forcing up the rate of interest to the highest point of the United States are now engaged in forcing up the rate of interest to the highest point of the large state in the value of the dollar. If the real value of the large even the 1932 depression years. interest to the highest point bonds they purchased does de- (Despite these indications of a the famous Roosevelt cline, they want a higher inter- slowing down of the boom, firstest rate on the bonds to make up quarter profits in 1957 were at an all-time high.)

According to the theory upon supposedly operates, this is the time for lowering the discount rate in order to encourage new borrowing to restimulate business activity. But the discount rate remains caught in the general inflationary trend of the economy, which combines a continued rise in prices with a leveling off of the prosperity.

East Coast Vacation School

The Marxist Labor School has reserved the facilities of beautiful Mountain Spring Camp in Washington, N. J. for the ten-day period of July 4-14.

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Calendar Of Events

sake of exposure."

Act ruling.

SWEEZY ALSO WINS

The court also reversed the

conviction of Paul Sweezy, co-

editor of Monthly Review. He

Chicago

Militant Labor Forum. Friday, June 28, 8:15 P.M. "The Atom and Your Future." Adams.

New York

American Youth for Socialism 116 University Place. A short for legal proprieties in any fu-committee." business meeting is followed by ture prosecutions. an interesting educational dison Marx vs. Keynes.

Chief Justice Warren, declared, Amendment in such cases. to expose the private affairs of indefensible," Warren continued. Stating that "First Amendment Albert Jason Lima, Loretta freedoms of speech, religion or

political belief and association" cannot be abridged in legislative inquiries, Warren went on to declare that "there is no Congressional power to expose for the instance, in relation to the sec- derground" apparatus within the tion of the Smith Act which pen- party. alizes "organizing" a group for FOR FREE SPEECH Charging Congress with the the purpose of "conspiring to adresponsibility to "spell out" the vocate forcible overthrow." The jurisdiction and purpose of its committees, Warren assailed the American Activities committee fering from the "vice of vague-The lone dissent in the Watkins case came from Justice Tom Clark, who, as Truman's Attorney General, was a principal architect of the witch hunt. Clark also dissented from the Smith

ganizing" section of the act.

Party members under the "or-

had been convicted of contempt MEDINA USED AS MODEL in New Hampshire for refusing The second point rested on the to answer the snooping questions failure of the trial judge to speof a state "subversive"-hunting cify to the jury a difference becommittee. Like Watkins, he had stood on his rights under the ing to violent overthrow" as con-First Amendment. The high court ruled that Sweezy had been overthrow" in the abstract. The deprived of due process of law. court contended that in this re-As in the Watkins case, the despect the charge to the jury difcision is generally interpreted as fered from the charge made by Judge Medina in the 1949 Smith Act trial. The majority claimed that Medina had established such a distinction in the minds of the

Medina's charge to the jury at that time was predicated on the frame-up contention that Eugene Dennis and his co-defendants had allegedly conspired to develop a special group within the Communist Party which would go in-Speaker: Ray Follett. 777 W. to action whenever they decided the time was ripe to employ violence against the government. In case decided by the present court its hearing, June 18, the widow reaffirming the procedure fol- that the Communists have lost." of the young biochemist tried lowed by Medina, the court majority in effect told the government that it had grown careless Committee said "It seems the responsible for her husband's holds open meetings every in its Smith Act frame-ups and court leaned over backwards to death. The statement declared: Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at must display a greater concern make it more difficult for our "You have helped to kill my

cussion. On Tuesday, June 25, E. court, may now have ruled, how- claimed, "We have just turned you destroyed a man of bright Owens will lead the discussion ever that mere membership or the country back over to the promise, a talented fighter in Party is insufficient grounds for sions."

In ruling on the California of California as such was not apprehended although the Louis-"There is no general authority Smith Act cases, the court or- proved to be a criminal conspira- ville police chief publicly named is a vindictive attack that should dered the following acquitted: cy and since no substantial evi-Henry Steinberg, Rose Chernin dence apart from membership in ago.

"excellent" suspect a year be vigorously opposed by all defenders of the Bill of Rights. individuals without justification Henry Steinberg, Rose Chernin dence apart from membership in ago. in terms of the functions of the Kusnitz, Frank E. Spector, Phil- the CP was presented against ip Connelly and Al Richmond, any of the five, they should be

"Investigations conducted soleThe nine who won a new trial acquitted outright. ly for the personal aggrandizement of investigators or to 'punish' those investigated are 'punish' those investigated are Otto Fox, Carl Rude Lambert, seems to boil down to the contention that if every benefit of Starvus Stack and William the doubt were given the prosecution, there might be a theoret-The court majority struck ical basis for finding them guilty down the conviction, in the first of belonging to a special "un-

In a vigorous separate opinvocate forcible overthrow." The defendants had been convicted in ion, Justice Black, supported by To Suicide by charter given the House Un- part on the ground of "organ- Justice Douglas, argued eloizing" the Communist Party. The quently for the freeing of all as "excessively broad" and suf- present ruling now limits the 14 defendants. Declaring that the concept of "organizing" a group Smith Act runs counter to conas meaning literally to help stitutionally-guaranteed demobring it into being. Since or- cratic rights, Black declared: ganization of the Communist "Under the court's approach, de- witch - hunting activities of the and a setback to thought control Party could not be established fendants could still be convicted House Un-American Activities in the United States. as later than 1945, when it was simply for agreeing to talk as reconstituted, the court held the distinguished from agreeing to three-year statute of limitations act. I believe that the First San Francisco scientist comhad expired when the California Amendment forbids Congress to mitted suicide rather than face that some may have to face new group was indicted in 1951. The punish people for talking about the ordeal of appearing before trials. ruling would therefore bar any public affairs, whether or not Congressional inquisitors. future indictments of Communist such discussion incites to action,

legal or illegal." Justice Black's opinion also went to a constitutionally protected public assembly where tween "advocating action lead- they took part in lawful distrasted to "advocating violent and where neither they nor any lethal dose of poison. one else advocated or suggested overthrow of the United States government. . .

tarian government than with

the court decisions.

the law which bears his name, youthful careers." asserted, "I do not recall any Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) of the unsuccessfully to read a state-House Un-American Activities ment branding the committee as

In freeing the five, the high tee, Rep. Schere (R-Ohio) pro- drove my husband to his death, even leadership in the Communist Communists with these deci- the army of devoted men who

LOS ANGELES, June 17 - In a letter to the Los and thereby to force up the in-Socialist Workers Party in this city tonight hailed the

the California Smith Act case Communist Party against any future government persecution. The letter from the SWP said: Socialist Workers Party regards decision reversing the convic-

In a ringing denunciation of

are warring against disease."

the Smith Act until this instrument of oppression is wiped off the statute books."

The Santana Case Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth By Joyce Cowley

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