

NAAACP'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 Tallahassee, 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 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 ADDED

The heroic 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 sparking 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.

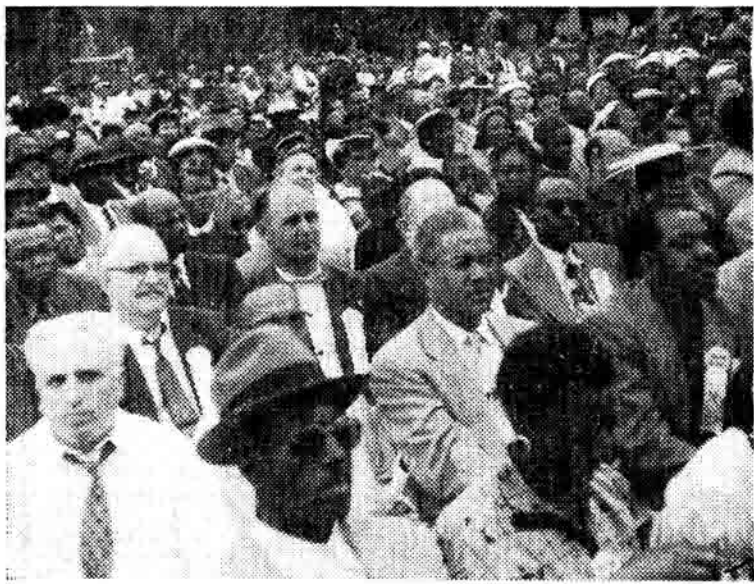
It was a success because for the first time, though it has been threatened many times before, the Negro people called for a march on Washington and then actually carried it through.

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

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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.

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High-Court Decisions Hearten Defenders of Civil Liberties

A-Test Issue Puts Washington on Spot

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

Paris Trotskyists On Trial Defend Algerian Freedom

By John Thayer

Freedom of the press and the right of the Algerian people to independence are being defended by four Trotskyist leaders now on trial in France. The indictment charges overt acts against national security. The alleged acts, however, all consist of articles which appeared in the Trotskyist newspaper, *La Verite*, of which the four accused are editors or writers.

Moreover, all the articles championed the right of the Algerian people to self-determination or reprinted appeals of the Algerian freedom-fighters to the French people.

The trial, which began on June 4 in the Court of Appeals in Paris, thus will determine if the expression of political support to the colonial independence movement and the printing of statements by the Algerians — news essential for public knowledge of the issues in Algeria — can be twisted into overt acts akin to treason.

The defendants are: Pierre Lambert, office worker; Daniel Renard, machinist; Gerard Bloch, professor; and Stephane Just, official of the bus drivers' union. All are leaders of the Trotskyist, Parti Communiste Internationaliste and either edited or wrote the "treasonous" articles in *La Verite*.

In his opening speech to the court, defendant Lambert declared that just that morning he had re-read all the articles cited in the indictment and that he would not retract one line of them. *La Verite's* position on Al-

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nuclear weapons test. The break through for a ban on the tests came June 14 with the proposal by the Soviet Union at the current London disarmament parley that nuclear explosions be suspended for two or three years beginning immediately, and that this period be used for negotiating a permanent ban.

Included in the proposal, as made by V. A. Zorin, chief Soviet delegate to the London conference, is the proviso that inspection posts be set up in the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and the Pacific Ocean testing area to assure enforcement of the ban.

The Soviet offer coincides with a powerful body of world public opinion that elementary human safety cannot permit continuance of the radioactive explosions. The scope of this pressure was evidenced in the quick fashion in which Hugh Gaitskell, top right-wing leader of the British Labor Party, urged acceptance of the Soviet proposal.

URGES START

In a speech, June 16, Gaitskell expressed concern that the British Tory gov't would answer the Soviet proposal by arguing that Britain could not afford to agree to the test suspension until control of nuclear production itself is established. "If everything has to be dependent on everything else," he warned, "there is endless scope for obstruction, delay and confusion."

Since the British ruling class is in no position to do other than trail behind its Wall Street masters, the next move after the Soviet proposal rests in the United States.

Washington, in turn, has made it plain that if it possibly can, it wants to avoid cessation of the nuclear tests even for a limited time. In the face of voluminous scientific testimony as to the danger of the tests, the politicians and brass hats have used

every fake argument in the book to help keep the tests going.

In response to the previous Soviet proposals for banning the tests, the Eisenhower Administration replied with the demand for inspection posts, even though it has been scientifically established that nuclear explosions anywhere in the world can be immediately detected. The demand was simply one that Washington hoped the USSR would not be able to accept.

NEW DEMAND

When the Soviet Union yanked the rug from under the Big-Business politicians with the present acceptance of the proposition, the U.S. government immediately countered with the demand that a halt to the tests be made only on the basis of an agreement that the production of fis-

sionable material be confined to peaceful uses. Coming from politicians and brass hats who endorsed dropping the first bombs on civilian populations and who have since sparked the world nuclear-weapon race, this proposal marks a new high in political cynicism.

American Big-Business politicians are now really hard put to defy world opinion by rejecting the current Soviet offer. On June 18, Harold E. Stassen, the President's special assistant for disarmament, said in London that he is ready to consider negotiating the Soviet proposal. His statement indicated recognition of the heavy pressure to accept but also hinted that the U.S. might seize on the question of the specific scope of the inspection posts as a new device for protracted "negotiations."

PROVIDES LITTLE

The Administration bill itself is so weak that it will bring the Negro people but few practical benefits. Its provisions have engendered so little enthusiasm that the New York Amsterdam News, a leading Negro newspaper, wrote editorially on June 16: "We haven't said too much to our readers this year about passage of civil rights legislation in the Congress, for frankly we have felt it would be a waste of valuable space. Now we are convinced that we are right."

The Administration bill would set up a committee to investigate the suppression of Negro votes

in the South and would also provide for the U.S. Attorney General to ask federal courts for injunctions to enforce voting rights. Where election officials refuse to obey injunctions, they could be punished for being in contempt of court.

JURY-TRIAL ISSUE

The white supremacists are attempting to cripple the bill completely with an amendment requiring jury trial in any contempt of court action arising under its provisions. Southern juries are notoriously lily white, and their verdicts are based on the racist principle that a white man should not be convicted of crimes committed against Negroes. Such "jury trials" in cases involving denial of voting rights to Negroes would only be another white-supremacist mockery of justice.

For centuries, the right of trial by jury has been a measure of protection against tyranny. The basic idea behind it is that no person shall be convicted of a

Hits Witch-Hunt Methods Of Congress Committees

By Harry Ring

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 contempt-of-Congress conviction

of John T. Watkins, a United Auto Workers organizer, the high court struck a serious blow at the all-inclusive smear activities of Congressional "investigating" committees. In freeing 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 itself is unconstitutional.

The court also branded illegal the governmental practice of ignoring the findings of its own appeals boards. It ruled that Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, wrongfully fired diplomat John Stewart Service as a "security risk" in 1951. Acheson's decision, a direct concession to McCarthyite pressure, had come after Service was cleared six different times by various government appeals bodies.

UPHOLDS KEY ARGUMENT

In the Watkins case, the court agreed that a major argument put forward by civil-liberties opponents of the Congressional witch-hunting committees was valid. This was the argument that these committees did not pursue valid legislative investigations.

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee Hails Court Rulings

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 terror. ECLC calls upon all patriotic Americans to join in support of the Supreme Court's decision and act now for the abolition of the inquisitorial committees of Congress."

but were really agencies that punished for political belief or association.

Watkins had been convicted of contempt for refusing to tell the House Un-American Activities Committee the names of persons he had known as members of the Communist Party. The court's majority opinion, as presented by

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Deportation Threat Coerces Witness in Janosco Hearing

LOS ANGELES, June 12 — The pressure process by which the witch-hunters procure their informers was exposed in its hideous nakedness during cross-examination of the key government witness in the deportation hearings of John Janosco, Western field representative of the United Packinghouse Workers.

Thaddeus Zygmunt, 60, of Detroit, was brought in by the Immigration Service as its "expert witness" to testify that the aims, principles and structure of the Socialist Workers Party were "almost identical" with those of the Communist Party. Janosco is charged with membership in the SWP from 1937 to 1940, an allegation which he denies.

Zygmunt said he became a U.S. citizen in 1918, joined the Communist Party in 1920, was expelled in 1938 because of his opposition to the Moscow Trials, joined the SWP in that year and left in 1940 with Burnham and Shachtman in a dispute over the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Under cross-examination by Janosco's attorney, Marshall Ross, Zygmunt was asked whether he had ever talked with any government official about the possibility of his own denaturalization and deportation under the McCarran-Walter Act. He first

denied any such discussion. On further questioning, he admitted visiting the Immigration office in Detroit in 1949.

Asked what prompted this visit and discussion, Zygmunt revealed: "A fellow went to Poland and he was a Communist. He came back and went to the Immigration people and exposed everyone who was an ex-Communist. A few days later they came to see me and said they want me to testify as a witness in deportation cases. Two weeks ago they asked me to testify against Janosco."

When the defense attorney inquired why he thought he was immune from deportation, Zygmunt said: "There is no reason for my deportation because I quit the CP and besides I helped the government."

At this point the hearing officer took over examination of the hard-pressed witness who threatened to give the case away. The defense attorney protested in vain against such improper interruption of the cross-examination.

Zygmunt had obviously been confronted with the option of helping the government expel the Janosco from the country or risk the same fate himself.

The other side of this dreadful alternative was recalled by the

appearance of another prosecution witness, Henry Harris, 51, a Minneapolis truck driver. He had been a witness in the first Smith Act trial there in 1941.

At that trial, Harris told how he approached Karl Skoglund, president of Local 544, with the offer that the FBI would give him (Skoglund) immunity from deportation if he would testify against his fellow-unionists. After Skoglund refused, he was indicted and imprisoned under the Smith Act and has subsequently been entangled in deportation proceedings.

Harris said at this hearing that he had seen Janosco at several meetings of the SWP but admitted that he had never spoken with him.

Zygmunt's testimony was designed to prove two contentions. One, that the SWP was essentially the same aims, program and structure as the Communist Party. Second, that the SWP advocates the overthrow of the government by violence "and other unconstitutional means." The sole evidence introduced to substantiate the first point were the publications of the SWP and such Marxist classics as *The Communist Manifesto*. The history of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon, in *Defense of*

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Dixiecrats Seek to Kill Civil Rights Bill

By Frances James

JUNE 19 — The Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill was passed by the House of Representatives yesterday. The issue is now before the Senate.

The House by a vote of 251-158 defeated a Dixiecrat amendment to require jury trials in contempt actions arising under the bill. The Senate bill, coming from the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.), already has the trial-by-jury clause in it.

FILIBUSTER EXPECTED

Republican leaders Knowland and Vice-President Nixon today attempted to by-pass the Senate bill by introducing the House bill directly onto the Senate floor. A filibuster by the white supremacists to prevent passage of any civil rights legislation in this session of Congress is now expected.

The scandal of racism is a sore point for the American Big-Business ruling class in carrying through American foreign policy. This is one reason why the Administration is putting on a show of fighting for civil rights in Congress.

Another major reason was revealed in a Republican Party

conference in Washington last week. Rep. Martin, GOP House floor leader, spoke of the necessity to gain votes in the East and Midwest if the Republicans are to regain control of Congress next year. He pointed out that the Negro vote in important industrial areas had shifted from the Democratic Party to Eisenhower in the 1956 elections.

He went on to urge support of the civil rights bill and of a vote against the disputed trial-by-jury amendment. Martin, a practical politician, was talking to other politicians at this Republican conference, in a language they could understand — that is, the language of demagogic vote-catching for the next Congressional elections.

PROVIDES LITTLE

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For centuries, the right of trial by jury has been a measure of protection against tyranny. The basic idea behind it is that no person shall be convicted of a

crime unless by the lawful judgment of his equals. This idea is embodied in the American Constitution and was made explicit by Supreme Court Justice Harlan in a case involving a Negro defendant in 1906. Justice Harlan said, "that in organizing the grand jury as well as in the empanelling of the petit jury, there shall be no exclusion of race and no discrimination against them because of their race or color."

Juries in the South are usually selected by a clerk and a jury commissioner. They write to "key" men and ask them to suggest jurors. Another method is to limit jurors to registered voters under conditions where Negroes have been prevented from registering. According to a law passed by the 80th Congress, juries for federal cases are selected on the same basis as juries for state cases. Thus it is trial by lily-white jury that the Dixiecrats propose as an amendment to the civil rights bill. It is the exact opposite of the jury-trial protection supposedly guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

The liberals in Congress have split on this question. Some of them, Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.) for example, lined up with the Dixiecrats and voted for the amendment.

NEVER MOVED BEFORE

Kefauver's apologists say that his desire was to protect the

democratic right of trial-by-jury. But this is a hollow excuse. For not one of these "friends of labor and of the Negro people" have ever introduced measures toward desegregation of Southern juries. As a matter of fact, the federal government could legally take over the election machinery in the South under the power given it by the 15th Amendment. Congressmen who were really interested in democratic rights would propose actions in this direction as well as measures toward desegregation of the jury system.

The truth is that among liberals in Congress — whether Democrat or Republican — the Negro people have not a single dependable friend in the fight against the white supremacists. The only way that a serious fight can take place is through a break with both the Democratic and Republican parties — break with their vote-fishing, demagogic political line as well as with the party machinery that keeps them in office.

Congressmen elected by an independent labor party based on the mass strength of the Negro people and the labor movement would fight for a real civil rights program. Such Congressmen would see to it that a civil rights program is enforced. The formation of an independent labor party and the election of its candidates is the most urgent task facing the American workers today.

IN THIS ISSUE:

The Fight Against Housing Bias in New York

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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 Leninism 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 trail-blazer 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 of man" and "the cause of so-called 'culturalism.'" This act of solidarity with writers being jailed and executed by the Kadar regime is in direct conflict with the policy of Polish ruler Gomulka. While no action has been taken against the Polish Writers Union, government censorship has kept news of the resolution out of Polish newspapers.

THE LOG OF TERROR

An idea of repression now going on in Hungary, where death sentences for political offenses are a daily occurrence, may be glimpsed from the following news items culled from the world press. Sources are indicated in parentheses following the items.

April 3: "Factory managements must reestablish 'personnel departments' directed by party functionaries who will keep up to date records of all available information on the professional, family and political situation of each employee." These departments, dissolved by the revolution, are to be reestablished "in order to keep management current in information about the 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 Budapest two leaders of the revolution in the region of Győr have been condemned to death and six others to prison." (Arbeiter Zeitung, Vienna, a Socialist newspaper.)

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

the government." (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Swiss newspaper.)

April 8: "Student Ilona Toth has been condemned to death in Budapest along with her two principal co-defendants. . . . Journalist Gyula Obersowsky and playwright Jozsef Gali have been sentenced to prison. (Radio Budapest.)

April 11: Declaration made by a leader of the new youth organization: "We are not independent, we work under the direction of the party." (Nepszabadsag.)

April 12: "A big trial of 20 inhabitants of Miskolc has opened in Budapest." The accused are charged with "having organized an armed uprising to overthrow the regime and having killed several police officers during a riot." (Agence France Presse, principal French news service.)

"A group of 'counter-revolutionaries' has been arrested at Ormosbanya for preparing a new armed insurrection, possessing arms as well as a radio transmitter." (Reuters, principal British news service.)

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 Jozsef Benzik, condemned to death on March 25 for illegal possession of firearms, have been executed. . . . Budapest police have arrested 'a dangerous band of counter-revolutionaries.'" (Figaro, Paris daily paper.)

April 22: "A communique of the Ministry of the Interior has announced the arrest of writer Tibor Dery for 'acts against state security,' as well as the dissolution of the Union of Hungarian Writers." (Agence France Presse.)

COMMUNISTS IN PRISON

"There are more Hungarian communists in Kadar's prisons than were imprisoned under Horthy," states the June 15 Newsletter, edited by Peter Fryer in London.

"They include such veterans of the Hungarian working class movement as Zoltan Vas and Geza Losonezy; the communist intellectuals Tibor Dery and Gyula Hay; the young novelist Tardos; the journalists Harazsti and Gimes; the young communist Gabor Tanozos, secretary of the Peto Circle; the communist officers Maletor and Kopasz; the communist student leaders Markus, Janos Varga and Pozsar.

"Hundreds of Communists have been executed by Kadar's AVH. Among them are the communist journalists Gabor Folly, the communist poet Istvan Eorsi, Maletor's lieutenant Praszemeyer and Kabalacs, Istvan Angyal, leader of the revolutionary youth of the Ninth District of Budapest, Balint Papp, leader of the party's youth organization in Dunapentele. . . .

"Kadar's police have, however, at last found a real live White Terrorist, whom they have put on trial for killing progressive people. He is 70 years of age, and his crimes date from 1919. Why he was not punished between 1945 and 1956 has not been explained."

The Chinese Communist Party and the Hungarian Revolution

By Michael Banda
Pioneer Pocket Library No. 6
22 pages 25 cents

Order from:
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A Document from Hungary — Part II

We publish below the second and concluding installment of 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-Gero 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.

But it could not have done otherwise. Here are a few selected quotes giving the view Lenin held in his last years about the life led by the army communist office-holders: "We must confess," he said in 1922 "that 99 out of 100 responsible communists are not filling the position where they are most fit. . . ."

"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 office-holding communists, and if we take into account as well the huge bureaucratic machinery, that labyrinth, that mass, who is leading whom? Can we say that the labyrinth is being led by the communists? I strongly doubt that. To tell the truth, they are not leading, they are being led. Here is 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 matter is otherwise, then it happens that the defeated people forces its own culture on the conqueror. Isn't it something similar to that which is going on in the Russian Socialist Federated Republic? And are not these 4,700 communists coming under the influence of a foreign class culture?"

FIGHTING AND BUILDING

Here we are in a certain sense dealing with a tragic case. The communist apparatus so strikingly characterized by Lenin, in 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 another. . . . And again we arrive at the bottom: as a consequence of the Russian backwardness, the party at the head of the masses could summon enough strength to topple the Tsar and even the bourgeois-democratic power, but could not measure up to the slow, step-by-step systematically progressing economic work.

These men felt instinctively that they were not adequate to the task which awaited them in

the event of the Opposition's victory. This reminds us of Hungary: when the "new type of economic work" was placed on the agenda following the 20th Congress, what a wild uproar the apparatus by and large put 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 functionaries.

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, year-out 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.

BASIS OF THE TERROR

Stalin did not murder because he was a sadist, although we cannot dismiss the possibility that such a trend later developed in him. Stalin was defending the whole, including the bases of the party regime. The cause of the terror was not some peculiar, freakish cause "in contradiction to the system," but the very down-to-earth, everyday



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.

reason that any system which 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 already annihilated it "ideologically." What was introduced ideologically was required to lay the groundwork for the mass exterminations. Terror was the essence, the ideological "discipline" 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 considered] a potential spy and traitor, every independent thought, evidence of being a traitor under the enemy's influence.

When the Trotskyists were being thrown by the thousands into prisons and when, even ten years after Trotsky's exile they turned up more and more, Stalin explained that the Trotskyists were "no longer a political current, as they had been seven years before, but spies." That meant that the Oppositionists

"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 [were obtained], such is Stalinist logic. We can read it in Hungaricus also under the heading, "On shortcomings in party work and regulations covering the liquidation of Trotskyite and other double-dealers." What a title!

A RULING CASTE

. . . Compared to the horrible backwardness of Tsarist Russia, the workers' standard of living improved, even if 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.]

The socialist caste system is the product of Soviet communism, the necessary consequence of forced [industrialization?], the proper finishing touch to the "building" of Socialism in eight-to-ten short years in an Asian country, hardly emerged from the Middle Ages. . . . We can speak of dependence in this sense, that the leaders are dependent on the caste ruling over socialism.

. . . We cannot agree with those who, in their blindness, for-

get the fundamental principles of historical science. The results of the four decades of Soviet development have been such that could never have been achieved in any other way: Soviet industry, shaped through force outside of the economy has overtaken the most developed capitalist countries in several fields, in consequence of which Soviet technical-scientific development had taken first place in the world in 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 years ago on the level of an Asiatic country, has today almost 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 there remains a certain contradiction between the preceding sections and the conclusion. But this contradiction exists in reality. . . .

So far, it has not become clear where these changes [rumblings in Soviet society] are leading to. But we have seen enough so far to be cause of anxiety [anxious expectations?]. The 20th Congress showed manifestly enough the unevenness of these changes, the fact that there is no serious scientific analysis or program behind these changes. The events that have unfolded since the Congress, the temporarily "secret" Yugoslav-Soviet debate in the summer of '56, . . . the military provocations against the Poles, and above all the bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution—all this showed that the real break has not yet arrived, the conservative forces in the system still play the decisive role.

ALTERNATIVES

The unevenness of the 20th Congress, which is most clearly manifested in the internal contradiction housed in the primitive evaluation of Stalin, can level out along two variants: either backwards, with some camouflage, toward the consolidation of the Stalinist system, or toward a radical break. This latter does not unconditionally demand an immediate decisive change, but, in any case, it does demand serious public analysis. Then it calls for a serious determination—to work out a long-range reform program that is put up for debate. All this will have to be tackled in order to restore confidence.

Some individuals, with whom I for one cannot sympathize—ex-communists among them—hope for the downfall of the Soviet

system. They look forward to the formation of some kind of capitalist democracy. I am at a loss to understand how they can arrive at such conclusions.

There are not enough spawn of [pro-Tsarist, pro-capitalist] emigres that could be scraped up out of all the brothels and roadhouses of Europe and Asia to fix up a tolerable capitalist democracy [in Russia]. Aside from that, have the Soviet people 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 ten-thousand 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

Aptheker Says He Would Debate the SWP on Hungary

CHICAGO, June 18 — Herbert Aptheker, a leading spokesman for the Communist Party, addressed a meeting of about a hundred here tonight on the subject "The Truth About Hungary." He presented a summary of his new book of the same title.

With only half an hour available in the discussion period, there was little time for a full discussion of Aptheker's thesis that the Hungary revolution was imperialist-inspired and organized. However during the discussion, Howard Mayhew, Chicago organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, took the floor to indicate the viewpoint of the SWP and of the Militant that the Hungarian revolution was a progressive movement for workers' democracy and national independence. He then asked Aptheker if he would debate the issue with a spokesman for either the SWP or the Militant. Aptheker replied that he would be willing to accept such a debate.

DAILY WORKER REVIEW

Aptheker's book and viewpoint is apparently receiving a divided reception within the Communist Party itself. This fact is indicated by the review of the book by Robert Friedman in the June 19 Daily Worker.

Friedman writes, "Aptheker, despite his searching examination of the failings of the Hungarian Communist government, places prime responsibility for the unruly at the door of imperialism."

"I do not believe either this book, or life itself, sustains this judgment. Nor do I believe the evidence bears out his hopeful assertion that the present Kadar government is ending the repressions which Aptheker condemns and which the Hungarian people abhor."

"For this reason, despite much that is thoughtful and illuminating, 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 from the past. I am not so sanguine. 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 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 grandiose identification of self with state that marked the rule of Joseph Stalin."

Hungarian Writer Nails Togliatti's Lies

We reprint below a reply to Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist Party chief, by George Palocz-Horvath, a Hungarian revolutionary writer. Togliatti had attacked Hungarian writers for participating in the October uprising last year. Palocz-Horvath's answer was printed in the May 31 Tribune, weekly newspaper of the Bevan wing of the Labor Party. — Ed.

The leading revolutionary writers of Hungary are at present mostly in jail or in exile. Those colleagues of ours who are at present in the torture chambers of the Security Police jail in Budapest were pronounced "incorrigible" by their inquisitors for refusing to "confess" that they organized a counter-revolution in order "to restore capitalism and Horthy fascism."

You, Signor Togliatti, claim to believe after reading some of our writing, that our weekly, the Literary Gazette, "played an extremely important part in the tragic events in Hungary during last October and November."

You conclude that the Hungarian writers "destroyed the Communist Party in a demented frenzy and have thrown the people into a hopeless situation."

RAKOSI PERSECUTED?

You charge us, in effect, with being insincere cowards for not daring to declare that we really preferred the Horthy epoch to that of people's democracy. We must be most curious people indeed.

According to your accusations we were merciless enemies of Rakosi and his clique. We persecuted the poor dictators who had at their disposal only their army, their Security Police, their huge

party apparatus, the two MVD brigades and four Soviet divisions permanently stationed in Hungary.

Some twenty-five writers are in the hands of the Security Police. Up till now these cowards have not made the confessions expected of them.

And do you think that a handful of feeble, insincere and cowardly 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 restoration of Hungarian capitalism?

Surely 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 that that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that, wherever 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 know. It is called democratic Socialism.

If you took the trouble to study all the various 7, 8, 10 and 16-point programs, editorial articles, and the various party resolutions published during the Hungarian revolution — when there was freedom of speech and thought — then you would learn

that all political parties, newspapers and groups were unanimous in wanting democratic Socialism.

The second accusation is that we wrote and spoke in a language too harsh. If you troubled to read the official party daily, Szabad Nép, during the period we were fighting against terrorism, 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 Peto Circle as opponents of free discussion and as people intolerant in their attitude towards minorities. This charge has its comic aspect. We were intolerant with the Security-Police representative, literary dictator Sándor Geregye, 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 Zek, 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 their arms before final victory. True enough. We were uncertain and distrustful on November 1, when I wrote the article.

We distrusted the Kremlin leaders and were not certain that they would keep their solemn promise, given on the previous day, to evacuate Hungary. Read the official announcement of October 31, broadcast from Moscow

and published in Pravda and in the world-press. Think of the events of November 4. Was our uncertainty and distrust unfounded?

The last accusation — often repeated in Moscow and by the Budapest stooges — is that our revolt would have turned later into counter-revolution and white terror.

WANTED OPEN TRIALS

No doubt there were counter-revolutionaries in Hungary, too. No doubt, some sixty or seventy Security Police thugs were unfortunately lynched.

We would have preferred to

try them at open trials with international legal experts present. We even fought to defend them with this purpose in mind. But the workers and peasants and students of Hungary had arms in their hands.

Do you think that some elderly Horthy-officers, retired bankers and a sprinkling of cardinals and duchesses could ever have beaten us when it was not so easy for twenty Soviet divisions? I think it will be appropriate if I quote Marx in conclusion: "The workers have been beaten, but they have not been defeated. History will prove that it was others who suffered defeat."

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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 clearly-defined 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 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 decision is that, at least implicitly, it explodes the frame-up thesis that the Communist party is a "conspiracy" rather than a legal political body with constitutional rights.

The reversal of Paul Sweezy's New Hampshire conviction gives ammunition to those fighting thought-control on the campuses. The witch-hunters will derive little comfort from the court's declaration 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 rights.

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 throughout 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 that which Lexington and Concord held in the minds of the generation which made the American Revolution of 1776. Workers of Poland 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 oppression by the Kremlin bureaucracy, the working classes of all the Soviet orbit countries feel and respond to shocks and 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 Ollenauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of the West German Federal Republic launched his party's election drive to oust the right-wing coalition regime of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Addressing an unexpectedly large rally of 23,000 supporters in the industrial city of Dortmund, Ollenauer 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 religion.

OLLENHAUER PLATFORM

Ollenauer called for the abolition of conscription, international disarmament, the absolute renunciation of atomic weapons by all troops stationed on German 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." To underscore the last point, he pointed out that, since the Chancellor's assumption of power in 1949, the purchasing power of low income groups had declined by 20%.

The rally which was held in a large hall, was introduced by a parade of the socialist youth organization, the Falcons, who displayed a forest of red flags.

Banners called for "Atoms Only for Peace," "More Homes Instead of Barracks," "Reduce Prices" and "No Conscription." Ollenauer, still smarting at the chilly reception accorded to him on his recent pilgrimage to Washington, made clear that Adenauer was the candidate favored and supported by United States imperialism.

The political atmosphere in West Germany is heating up as the September election date draws nearer. The two major parties competing for allegiance of the voters are Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of West Germany. The smaller parties 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

If the results of the local elections 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: Social Democratic Party) leaving it the largest of the parties in West Germany.

Public sentiment against rearmament coupled with growing anxiety over the nu-

clear implications of NATO for West Germany, a mounting inflation, and Adenauer's arrogant unwillingness to deal directly with the East-Germans in reunification matters—these are undoubtedly some of the factors that accounted for the sweep of public opinion in the direction of the SPD. It remains to be seen however if the SPD will lead a militant attack on the bankers, magnates, militarists and clerical reactionaries, now staging a strong comeback in open alliance with the cold-war foreign policy of the United States.

While Ollenauer has just opened the election campaign with a formal political rally, the staging for the September electoral struggle has been going on for weeks and the SPD leadership has permitted itself to be pushed into shamefully defensive positions on several occasions.

This happened, for instance, in 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 national executive committee of his party 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 victory.

FORMER CP MEMBER

Wehner became a Social Dem-

ocrat in 1944. Before that he had been a member of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in fact before 1933 he had been secretary to Thaelmann, leader of the KPD murdered by the Nazis. Wehner claims to have attempted a reorientation of that party along the lines of ideas derived from Rosa Luxembourg. During the years of Hitler's rule in Germany up to and including during the war, Wehner was responsible for directing some of the KPD underground work in Germany. This work was carried on with Sweden as his base of operation.

Wehner has been a favorite target of reaction because of his aggressive debating technique in the Federal Parliament. In the course of one such debate in April, he demanded, in line with a growing public sentiment in West Germany, that the Government 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.

The general motivation for Wehner's sentiment does not spring from sympathy for the quite small, disorganized and discredited 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 movement for amnesty by linking its organizers to supposed KPD "front organizations." Wehner

promptly replied: "One is reminded of the amalgams of prosecutor Vyshinsky" (in the Moscow Trials) and the session of Parliament broke up in disorder.

SMEAR ATTACK

Since then a flood of articles on Wehner's wartime anti-Hitler activities as an alleged Soviet espionage agent has flooded the sensational right-wing gutter press of West Germany. Among the authors are government supporters with a long history of fascist activities. The political significance of this attack on the SPD, conducted through the attack on Wehner, is the brazen identification of anti-Hitler with anti-German activities.

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 activity, instead of aggressively attacking the impudent reactionaries for their war guilt and 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 the right and that every hesitancy by the SPD only serves to embolden reaction.

The Poznan Trial



Pictured above are some of the youthful 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 Negro people's determination to wipe that infamous system off the map.

The effectiveness of the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington must be measured in these terms, for it did not aim at forcing 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 actions, not only will it step up the tempo of the fight against Jim 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, 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 which the civil-rights and labor struggles now find themselves is through the formation of a new political party — a Labor Party — based on labor, the Negro people and the working farmers. 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, industrial workers — all have been fighting for many months against the spread of U.S. camps and air-strips in that country. This opposition erupted on a nation-wide scale just two weeks ago.

An American soldier, William S. Girard, had killed Mrs. Naka Sakai, a 46-year old mother of five. Mrs. Sakai was "scavenging" the empty brass casings of used machine gun shells after gun practice. Girard fired empty cartridges from the grenade launcher on his carbine — not necessarily with intent to kill — but obviously to inflict pain. He hit Mrs. Sakai in the back at a distance of 27 feet. She was instantly killed.

TAIWAN DEMONSTRATION

The reaction in Japan has been a delayed one, since the incident happened on Jan. 30. But last month a similar event resulted in a great anti-American demonstration on Taiwan (Formosa). This had a decided effect on the Japanese people. The masses demanded a Japanese trial for Girard instead of a U.S. Army court-martial.

For the same reason that the 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 performance of duty. The "status of forces" agreement with Japan provides for Japanese trials for all offenses by American servicemen while off duty. President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles promptly agreed with Wilson.

KISHI WORRIED

The Japanese ruling class is no less worried than the American. It fears the militancy of the Japanese masses. The Japanese foreign Ministry hailed the American decision as a "manifestation of sound judgment by President Eisenhower."

In the United States, meanwhile, there has been a hue and cry for Girard. Politicians like Sen. Bricker (R-Ohio) and Rep. Carl Vinson (D-Ga.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, are demanding new restrictions on the executive branch of the government.

JAPANESE ANGER

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 the minds of a great many of his countrymen, when he told a reporter, "The Americans who insist on an American trial of my wife's killer do so because they regard the Japanese people as subhuman and no more than dogs. . . . We Japanese are civilized people." (New York Times, June 9.)

On June 18, a Federal Judge, Joseph C. McGarraghy enjoined the U.S. government from releasing Girard to the Japanese courts. Dulles and the Administration will now quickly take the case to the Supreme Court for a reversal of McGarraghy's injunction. Dulles warned that such an action as McGarraghy's would "give rise to serious difficulties in our relations with the Government 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 personal fate of Private Girard. The top policy makers are determined in this case, however, to show how sincere they are about respecting Japan's new sovereignty, since this affects relations with other U.S. allies as well.

But the real question for the Japanese masses is not whether Girard is tried by the U.S. or Japan. The real question is the permanent stationing of U.S. troops there against the will of the population. If Girard is finally tried in a Japanese court, this will be an important victory in the bigger battle of the

Japanese people to get the U.S. government to remove its troops. In this battle, the working people of the U.S. should ally itself with the Japanese people.

... 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 Algeria.

By quotation from the accused articles he showed that both La Verite and the Algerian National Movement (MNA) whose statements had been reprinted, had from the first called for ending the bloodshed in Algeria through opening negotiations between the French government and all the Algerian parties, through a cease-fire, and through the free election by all inhabitants of Algeria—Arab, French and Jewish—of a Constitutional Convention which should determine Algeria's form of government and relationship to France.

Lambert's speech was a devastating exposure of the hypocrisy of French imperialism about Algeria and the right of self-determination. It was also the means of speaking by proxy for imprisoned independence leader Messali Hadj, whose true position Lambert stated to the court.

ALGERIAN WITNESSES

Witnesses called by the defense included two Algerians imprisoned in France. They were Abderrahmane Bensid, a young leader of the Union of Algerian Workers (USTA), and Mohamed Maroc, a leader of the MNA. 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 indisputable truth 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 themselves with the views which the prosecutor said should be punished "with all the rigor of the law."

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... Janosco Hearing

(Continued from page 1)

Marxism by Leon Trotsky, and the Program and Statutes of the Third International were brought in as additional exhibits.

The character of the testimony offered by the government's key witness to prove that the SWP taught overthrow of the government by unconstitutional means may be judged by the following excerpt. Asked whether he had any personal knowledge of the advocacy of sabotage by the party, Zymont answered: "Yes, I talked with several people in the SWP headquarters and they told me that the gas and electricity had been turned off in the apartments of some unemployed people and they were going to turn it on again."

Asked what would happen "if Janosco should be branded a Trotskyite and deported to Hungary or Czechoslovakia," Zymont replied: "Since the Red Army controls both countries, such a person would be persecuted and there would be a good chance of his execution."

At the conclusion of its presentation, the Immigration Service lodged further charges against Janosco on the ground that the SWP and the Fourth International taught "the economic, international and governmental doctrines of World Communism." The hearing was suspended for several months to give the defense time to prepare its rebuttal of the allegations.

Lest We Forget



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 now serving a 30-year term at Alcatraz. Every serious study of his case has demonstrated that Sobell, like the Rosenbergs with whom he was tried, was framed up.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg cannot be returned to their children. But Morton Sobell can. On the occasion of the anniversary of the legal lynching of the Rosenbergs, all who love truth and justice should vow to redouble their efforts to win Morton Sobell's freedom. This will be the most meaningful of tributes to the memory of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Residents in the New York area can pay this kind of tribute by attending the Rosenberg Memorial Service at Wellwood Cemetery at Pinelawn, L. I., Sunday, June 23, sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell.

...High-Court Decisions

(Continued from page 1)

Chief Justice Warren, declared, "There is no general authority to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the functions of the Congress . . ."

"Investigations conducted solely for the personal aggrandizement of investigators or to 'punish' those investigated are indefensible," Warren continued. Stating that "First Amendment 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 sake of exposure."

Charging Congress with the responsibility to "spell out the jurisdiction and purpose of its committees, Warren assailed the charter given the House Un-American Activities committee as "excessively broad" and suffering from the "vice of vagueness."

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 Act ruling.

SWEETZ ALSO WINS

The court also reversed the conviction of Paul Sweezy, co-editor of Monthly Review. He had been convicted of contempt in New Hampshire for refusing to answer the snooping questions of a state "subversive"-hunting committee. Like Watkins, he had stood on his rights under the First Amendment. The high court ruled that Sweezy had been deprived of due process of law. As in the Watkins case, the decision is generally interpreted as

upholding use of the First Amendment in such cases.

In ruling on the California Smith Act cases, the court ordered the following acquitted: Henry Steinberg, Rose Chernin Kunitz, Frank E. Spector, Philip Connelly and Al Richmond. The nine who won a new trial are: Oleta O'Connor Yates, Frank Carlson, Dorothy Healy Connelly, Ben Dobbs, Ernest Otto Fox, Carl Rude Lambert, Albert Jason Lima, Loretta Starus Stack and William Schneiderman.

The court majority struck down the conviction, in the first instance, in relation to the section of the Smith Act which penalizes "organizing" a group for the purpose of "conspiring to advocate forcible overthrow." The defendants had been convicted in part on the ground of "organizing" the Communist Party.

The present ruling now limits the concept of "organizing" a group as meaning literally to help bring it into being. Since organization of the Communist Party could not be established as later than 1945, when it was reconstituted, the court held the three-year statute of limitations had expired when the California group was indicted in 1951. The ruling would therefore bar any future indictments of Communist Party members under the "organizing" section of the act.

MEDINA USED AS MODEL

The second point rested on the failure of the trial judge to specify to the jury a difference between "advocating action leading to violent overthrow" as contrasted to "advocating violent overthrow" in the abstract. The court contended that in this respect the charge to the jury differed 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 jurors.

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 into action whenever they decided the time was ripe to employ violence against the government. In reaffirming the procedure followed by Medina, the court majority in effect told the government that it had grown careless in its Smith Act frame-ups and must display a greater concern for legal proprieties in any future prosecutions.

In freeing the five, the high court, may now have ruled, however that mere membership or even leadership in the Communist Party is insufficient grounds for

conviction. The judges declared that since the Communist Party of California as such was not proved to be a criminal conspiracy and since no substantial evidence apart from membership in the CP was presented against any of the five, they should be acquitted outright.

In the case of the other nine for whom the court majority ordered a new trial, the reasoning seems to boil down to the contention that if every benefit of the doubt were given the prosecution, there might be a theoretical basis for finding them guilty of belonging to a special "underground" apparatus within the party.

FOR FREE SPEECH

In a vigorous separate opinion, Justice Black, supported by Justices Douglas, argued eloquently for the freeing of all 14 defendants. Declaring that the Smith Act runs counter to constitutionally-guaranteed democratic rights, Black declared: "Under the court's approach, defendants could still be convicted simply for agreeing to talk as distinguished from agreeing to act. I believe that the First Amendment forbids Congress to punish people for talking about public affairs, whether or not such discussion incites to action, legal or illegal."

Justice Black's opinion also emphasizes that, "The only overt act which is now charged against these defendants is that they went to a constitutionally protected public assembly where they took part in lawful discussion of public questions, and where neither they nor any one else advocated or suggested overthrow of the United States government. . ."

"I fear that the present type of prosecutions are more in line with the philosophy of authoritarian government than with that expressed by our First Amendment," Black declared.

Meanwhile it became quickly apparent today that the Congressional witch-hunters will do all in their power to circumvent the court decisions.

Rep. Smith (D-Va.) author of the law which bears his name, asserted, "I do not recall any case decided by the present court that the Communists have lost." Rep. Walter (D-Pa.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee said "It seems the court leaned over backwards to make it more difficult for our committee."

His associate on the committee, Rep. Scherer (R-Ohio) proclaimed, "We have just turned the country back over to the Communists with these decisions."

Calendar Of Events

Chicago

Militant Labor Forum. Friday, June 25, 8:15 P.M. "The Atom and Your Future." Speaker: Ray Follett. 777 W. Adams.

New York

American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion. On Tuesday, June 23, E. Owens will lead the discussion on Marx vs. Keynes.

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Committee Acts to Block Attack on Foreign-Born

By Lillian Kiezel

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. The organization has been ordered to register as such or stand in violation of Art. 10-A of the Social Welfare Law.

According to the recent decision of New York State Supreme Court Justice Steuer the Committee is subject to this law because they solicit funds to se-

cure legal defense for victims of the witch-hunt.

While the appeal from this decision is being prepared, New York Attorney General Lefkowitz has secured a temporary injunction to prevent the committee from soliciting funds or from carrying on any other activities pending a hearing for a permanent injunction. The hearing, slated for today, has been postponed.

Court Upholds Henry Rhine in Louisville Case

JUNE 15 — A fresh victory in the Louisville "sedition" case came yesterday when the Kentucky Court of Appeals upheld Henry Rhine in his refusal to answer questions during a grand-jury investigation of the Wade-Braden case. Rhine was among those persecuted along with Carl and Anne Braden for their efforts to help Andrew Wade IV, a Negro, obtain a home in a segregated neighborhood.

The State's high court said Rhine properly invoked a section of the Kentucky state constitution equivalent to the Fifth Amendment and that the State's Attorney General had no power to offer him "immunity" from prosecution.

Rhine, a former union organizer, was called to testify after the Wade home was dynamited by racists and the authorities had responded by arresting Braden and others on a sedition charge. These charges were dismissed last fall.

The decision in the Rhine case 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 Wade home have not been apprehended although the Louisville police chief publicly named an "excellent" suspect a year ago.

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, Walter-McCarran law repeal, and self-defense—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 decision."

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 is a vindictive attack that should be vigorously opposed by all defenders of the Bill of Rights.

Los Angeles SWP Letter To CP Hails Court Victory

LOS ANGELES, June 17 — In a letter to the Los Angeles County Committee of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party in this city tonight hailed the

Scientist Driven To Suicide by House Committee

On the very day that the Supreme Court condemned the witch-hunting activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee, a talented young San Francisco scientist committed suicide rather than face the ordeal of appearing before Congressional inquisitors.

The scientist, William K. Sherwood, who was working on cancer research, was slated to be grilled in San Francisco this week by the House Un-American Activities Committee. He wrote an explanatory letter to a colleague and then took a lethal dose of poison.

In a ringing denunciation of the Walter Committee he declared, "My life and my livelihood are now threatened by the House committee. . . I will be in two days assassinated by publicity. . . I would love to spend the next few years in laboratories and I would hate to spend them in jail." In a statement he had prepared for submission to the committee, Sherwood said, "The committee's trail is strewn with blasted lives and the wreckage of youthful careers."

When the committee opened its hearing, June 18, the widow of the young biochemist tried unsuccessfully to read a statement branding the committee as responsible for her husband's death. The statement declared: "You have helped to kill my husband and make my four children fatherless. . . When you drove my husband to his death, you destroyed a man of bright promise, a talented fighter in the army of devoted men who are warring against disease."

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Cowley Demands City Council Act On Housing Bias

NEW YORK, June 18 — At an open session today of the New York City Council's Committee on General Welfare, the Socialist Workers Party took a vigorous stand in support of the Sharkey-Isaacs-Brown bill to ban discrimination in New York's private dwellings. A statement by Joyce Cowley, the party's candidate for Mayor, was read to the committee by Lillian Kiezel speaking for Mrs. Cowley. The statement declared:

N. Y. Council Ducks On Really Bias Bill

JUNE 19 — Consideration of the bill to ban discrimination in New York Housing was indefinitely postponed yesterday by the City Council's Committee on General Welfare. This major concession 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 previously posed as a champion of the measure. The powerful real-estate gang received further solace with an announcement from City Hall of a cut in the real-estate tax.

"On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I would like to make a statement on the proposed law to ban discrimination in New York City housing. The Socialist Workers Party puts human rights above property rights and joins the leading civic, labor, religious and community groups who are supporting the anti-bias law."

"This is clearly a fight of the big real estate interests against 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 houses with circulars designed to whip up race prejudice."

"We must combat the racist propaganda of New York landlords with the same determination that has characterized the inspiring struggle to desegregate schools in the South."

"The Socialist Workers Party



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist 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 national origin be made an offense punishable by a prison sentence.

"If the real estate lobby succeeds in stalling the passage of this law, I intend to make the fight to ban discrimination in housing a major issue in my 1957 campaign for Mayor of New York City."

Refinancing of National Debt Helps Inflation and Bankers

By Vincent Copeland

The huge banking corporations of the United States are now engaged in forcing up the rate of interest to the highest point since the famous Roosevelt "bank holiday" of 1933.

They are able to use their strategic positions as money suppliers to the U.S. government to force up the interest rates on government bonds (of which they are the principal buyers) and thereby to force up the interest rate in general.

In the first week in May, the U.S. Treasury Department had to refund \$4 billion in short-term, 1% notes which it owed to the bankers. The Treasury did not have cold cash to pay this money. So it offered new short-term notes at 3%.

Despite the higher interest rate, when the May deadline arrived, the banks had accepted only 72% of the new notes. This was the greatest percentage of "no takers" for U.S. government securities since 1933.

The Treasury, of course, might step up its campaign to sell more government bonds to the general public—including the workers—at, say, 2% as it did 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 are buying them.

LONG-RANGE EFFECT

If the Treasury does not sell bonds to the general public, it must sell many billions of dollars worth of bonds to the bankers in order to pay off bonds that are now maturing. If the bankers take the same attitude they have just taken on the short-term notes, the Treasury will have to raise the interest rate on the bonds in order to induce bankers to buy them.

This would have a long-range effect on the rate of interest generally. For Treasury bonds are still the safest bond investment in the country. Even the bonds of the biggest corporations are not considered to be as good "risks" as those of the Federal government. The corporations thus would also have to offer a higher interest rate in order to compete with the Treasury.

What motivates the bankers in their pressure for a higher interest rate on Treasury offerings is the steady inflation of prices in the country. From 1946 to 1956, the "value" of the dollar has fallen an average of about 2.9% a year, according to the March 3 New York Times. The bankers seek to cover themselves and protect their own in-

terests. They seek to make sure that their investments will not decline in real value because of a decline in the value of the dollar. If the real value of the bonds they purchased does decline, they want a higher interest rate on the bonds to make up the decline.

The pressure of the bankers for a hike in the interest of Treasury short-term loans goes hand-in-hand with the increase in the discount rate ordered about six months ago by the Federal Reserve Bank. This discount rate is the rate at which the FRB loans money to member banks. They in turn have to loan this money to customers at a higher rate in order to make a profit.

Supposedly, the Federal Reserve Bank raises or lowers the discount rate to control inflation or deflation, and to regulate the "business cycle." Thus the procedure can supposedly be utilized to slow down a speculative boom by making money harder to borrow, or to pump-prime a business recession by encouraging business men to borrow for expansion at attractively low interest rates.

THE REAL REASON

Supposedly, again, the Federal Reserve Bank raised its discount rate six months ago to check a credit inflation. But it is now clear that the discount rate is not going to go down appreciably again on the basis of a simple administrative decision. Commercial-bank interest, savings-bank interest, government-bond interest—all are going up. The "price of money" is going up. The Federal Reserve Bank, is only a complex link between the Treasury and the wealthiest private banks. The attitude of the bankers is reflected in both the Treasury and the Federal Reserve. The raising of the discount rate, therefore, is not a cause but an effect. It is not a means to prevent inflation as much as it is a result of inflation.

Meanwhile the boom in the country is slowing down as may be judged by the following indications. Home building has gone down from 1,300,000 new starts in 1955 to 1,118,000 in 1956 to an estimated 900,000 for 1957. Railroads are only holding their own. Steel production is off. Auto production is not doing as well, this year as expected. Worst of all, the expansion of U.S. industry is slowing down. It is expected to be 6 1/2%—at best, 9%—higher than last year, whereas last year's expansion was 22% higher than that of the year before. In

addition, according to the AFL-CIO Fact Sheet for April, bankruptcies are expected to set a record for this year, rising above even the 1932 depression years. (Despite these indications of a slowing down of the boom, first-quarter profits in 1957 were at an all-time high.)

According to the theory upon which the Federal Reserve Bank 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.

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