

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 25

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Berlin Workers Rise Up Against Stalinist Rulers

By Harry Frankel

With the great workers' demonstrations in East Berlin, a new and most significant link has been added to the remarkable chain of events forged within the nations of the Soviet bloc since the death of Stalin.

The important series of previous events, which included the reversal of a purge process, cuts in Russian prices, a broad amnesty decree and revision of the criminal code, a campaign in the official Soviet press against the "leader cult," and other significant happenings, has now been joined by an action on the part of tens of thousands of East German Soviet-zone workers.

Where all previous events merely enabled one to indirectly deduce the existence of large-scale mass discontent, the June 17 strike-demonstrations by an estimated 50,000 workers in Berlin and the surrounding area fully and directly establish the scope

and intensity of this discontent. The demonstrators, unarmed construction, steel, railroad and other workers, showed the greatest militancy in the face of Russian tanks and troops which were used to back up the thousands of East German police whose loyalty to the regime was cast into doubt by actions of fraternization with the workers. The chief demands of the workers were for lower prices and against a new decree raising production norms by 10% without any pay increase. At the same time, the workers raised demands for free, secret elections, the evacuation of the Russian army, and the unification of the two zones of divided Germany.

The workers' demands do not come as a complete surprise. Actions taken by the Stalinist regime the week before demonstrated the existence of mass hostility and resistance along the very same lines. Further, it was reported not many months ago that the East German workers raised protests over the procedure to be used in shop council elections, demanding the right of a secret ballot.

Reports of demonstrations in Czechoslovakia two weeks ago along the same lines, and of "bread riots" in Bulgaria, show the movement to be widespread. It may be that the reported rebellious acts in other parts of the Soviet zone stirred the East German workers into action and encouraged them with hope of success.

In addition, the first demonstration of June 16 by about 5,000 construction workers, by ending in victory, with the government revoking the order to boost production, probably encouraged the workers to join the renewed demonstrations the next day in far greater numbers.

Despite Stalinist charges that "workers misled by imperialist propaganda" were responsible, it is evident from the basic content of the reports emanating from the Soviet zone that the political character of the demonstrations is non-capitalist and thus a revolt against Stalinism from the left.

In essence, what we now see developing in the Soviet bloc of nations is a proletarian opposition which bases itself upon a fight for better living standards and workers' control in the nationalized industries. Nowhere has the demand been raised that the factories be denationalized and capitalism be restored.

Thus with the demonstration of the heroic East German workers, the whole of world social struggles has been raised by another notch and a new realm has been opened up. The events following the death of Stalin showed that the traditional mode of Stalinist rule had already entered the process of breakup. (Continued on page 3)

Legless Veteran's Appeal Rejected By Loyalty Board

NEWARK, June 13 — James Kutcher, legless veteran, has lost another battle in his five-year fight to regain the clerical job with the Veterans Administration from which he was purged because of his socialist ideas.

Kutcher's tenth appeal against his discharge under the government's "loyalty" program was heard before the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission in Washington on June 4.

The Board made little pretense that it was actually considering the merits of Kutcher's arguments.

Exactly one day later — June 5 — it sent Kutcher's attorney, Joseph L. Rauh Jr., a letter announcing that it had rejected the veteran's appeal and upheld his discharge.

"I didn't expect a favorable decision from this board," Kutcher told The Militant today. "After all, it ruled against me once before. I have become accustomed to star-chamber proceedings from these bodies, but even so I am a little surprised at the cut-and-dried nature of this one. Their indecent haste was very revealing, I think, and characteristic of the injustice of the whole 'loyalty' program."

In 1949 the Loyalty Review Board ordered Kutcher discharged because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, one of the groups arbitrarily included on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Last year the U.S. Court of Appeals upset the board's ruling, declaring that mere membership in the Socialist Workers Party was no proof of "disloyalty."

Kutcher remained suspended while the case was returned for (Continued on page 4)

Government Demands Blood, Court Dooms the Rosenbergs

GIs in Korea Use "Rough Words" At Rhee's Moves to Block Truce

By Art Preis

Fear that once a truce is signed the American GIs in Korea will raise a mighty clamor to come home has been a major reason why the U.S. Big Brass have stalled a cease-fire agreement for so long.

Now that a decision to go through with a truce appears to have been taken, the "high hopes for a Korean armistice are tempered," according to the June 9 Christian Science Monitor, by the "prospect of public pressure to bring the boys home and cut defense costs." The "threat of a clamor for demobilization of manpower and defense" is viewed in Washington as "more dangerous" than any other immediate consequence of a truce, the Monitor adds.

Big Business interests who run the government and have coined fabulous profits out of the Korean war are seeking to discourage anticipated demands here to "bring the boys home." Such demands after the last war, coupled with the GI demonstrations overseas, forced a speedy demobilization against the desires of the White House and Pentagon.

EXPECT BIG DEMANDS

With memories of those past events still green, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson on June 16 added his voice to the already long series of propaganda blasts by U.S. officials both here and in Korea against any campaigns to "bring the boys home." The former president of General Motors, largest beneficiary of war contracts, told reporters he expected a "bring the boys home" campaign, but claimed that "can't be done safely."

In Korea itself, U.S. Eighth Army commander Lieut. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor went on the air June 14 to caution the troops not to expect to go home for a long time. He emphasized that an "armistice does not mean the war is over," but that it "is just a suspension of hostilities — an (Continued on page 4)

Witch-Burners Spurn World Protest, Hasten Political Assassination

JULY 19 — The U.S. Supreme Court, voting 6 to 3, has thrown out the stay of execution granted the Rosenbergs by Justice Douglas and their legal murderer is certain unless they receive last-hour Presidential clemency, already once denied. Justices Black, Frankfurter and Douglas dissented.

By William F. Warde

JUNE 18 — As we go to press the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg remains in doubt. But there is no doubt that the administration is using every trick at its command in a frenzied effort to offer up two burned bodies on the altar of the witch hunt. Whether they live or die depends on the ruling of the hastily-reconstituted Supreme Court which tonight announced the withholding of its decision until tomorrow noon.

Letting the Rosenbergs live would not hurt the U.S. government, which could then claim credit for being merciful, or for showing respect for the opinion of millions all over the world, or even for merely letting the Courts follow their normal procedures. But the Eisenhower administration is deliberately throwing away these advantages in order to serve the political needs of the witch hunt.

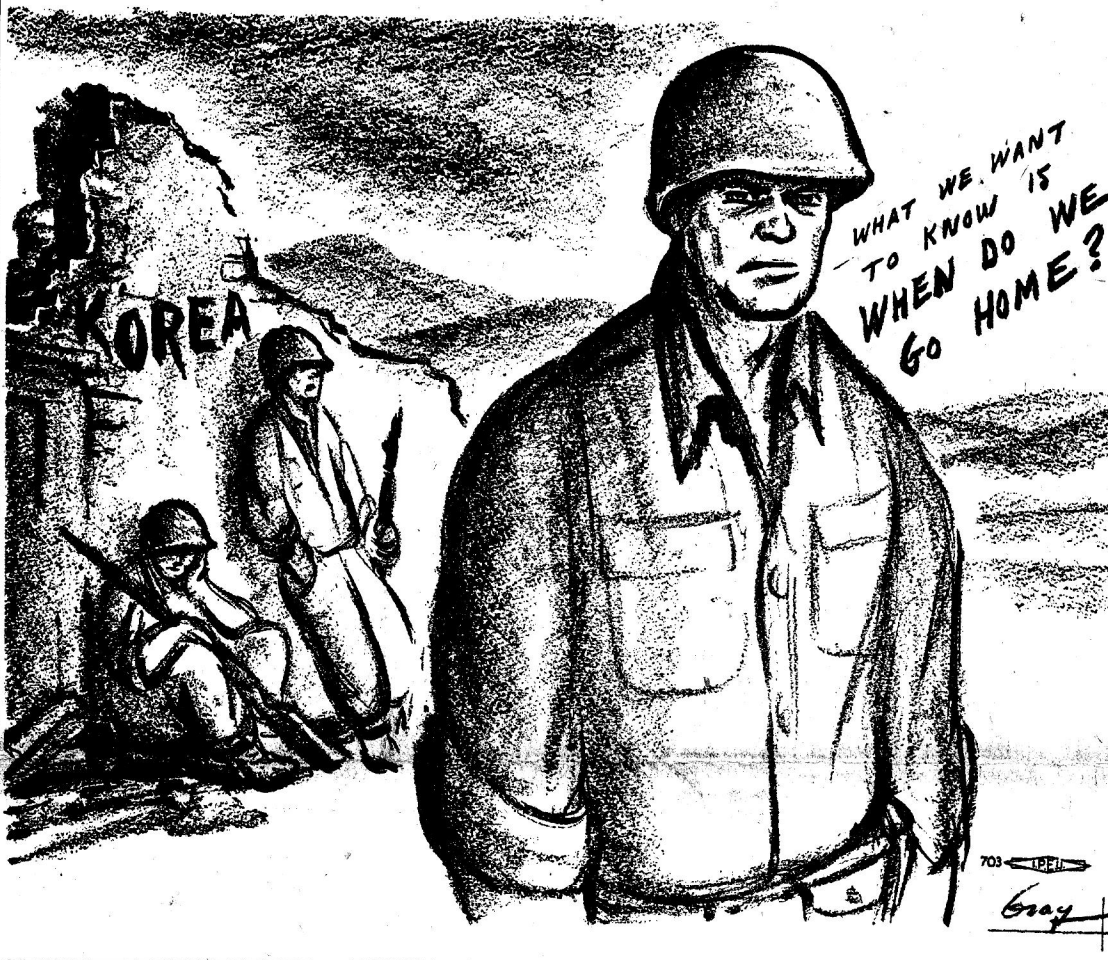
The eleventh-hour fight to save the lives of the Rosenbergs scored a momentary victory 36 hours before their scheduled execution at Sing Sing when Supreme Court Justice Douglas issued a stay of execution. Douglas, a liberal who has often incurred the curses of the witch hunters in this country, halted the execution until a lower court could rule on an extremely vital question: did the judge who ordered the death sentence under a law passed in 1917, and since superseded by the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, have the right to do so without specific recommendation from the jury?

The Douglas order did not exonerate the Rosenbergs or even assure them a new trial. All it did was hold up their execution, possibly only for a day. But this setback enraged the witch hunting pack. They were determined not to be cheated of their prey or to have their blood-banquet postponed. A bill was introduced in Congress to impeach Douglas, amid the cheers of the legislators.

Moving with the speed and venom of a rattler, Eisenhower's Attorney General Brownell demanded that the Supreme Court, which had adjourned for the summer, be reconvened within 24 hours for the sole purpose of overriding the Douglas decision in time to permit the execution to take place as scheduled.

Only twice before in American history has the Su- (Continued on Page 2)

The Real Question



Trucks Act Hit By Convention of Michigan AFL

DETROIT — By unanimous vote, delegates to the recent convention of the Michigan Federation of Labor adopted a resolution opposing the Trucks Act, Michigan's contribution to the McCarthyite witch-hunt drive.

This means both state labor bodies are now on record against this police-state measure. The Michigan CIO adopted a similar resolution at its convention last year.

The Michigan Federation of Labor action came on a resolution whose sponsors included James Hoffa, president of the Detroit Teamsters General Council and vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

In addition to the state labor bodies, scores of local unions and labor organizations have voiced their opposition to the Trucks Act by supporting the campaign against this law conducted by the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Act.

An early hearing is scheduled on the court action challenging the constitutionality of the Trucks Act, an action initiated by the Socialist Workers Party in Wayne County Circuit Court.

WHITE HOUSE MARCHERS PLEAD FOR CLEMENCY

By Fred Arens

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 14 — About 15,000 people — white and Negro, Jewish and gentile, young and old — from more than 20 states and Canada, braving the raging witch hunt, converged upon the White House today in a huge demonstration of protest against the approaching execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, scheduled to die next Thursday.

The crowds marching in solid lines around part of the White House and the old State Department, displayed great seriousness and self-discipline. Many seemed to feel that the Rosenbergs were innocent and that the action today extended beyond the demand all over the world to demand that (Continued on page 2)

Socialist Workers Rally Appeals for Doomed Couple

NEW YORK, June 16 — A spirited rally under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party tonight voiced strong opposition to the execution of the Rosenbergs, and demanded that President Eisenhower grant executive clemency to the doomed couple.

In a collective telegram sent to the President, the audience declared: "Failure on your part to act will be interpreted as the signal for a reign of terror in America and a conscious decision to speed up the drive toward world war. The whole world is watching you and awaiting your fateful decision."

William F. Warde, giving the main speech of the meeting, said: "On Sunday President Eisenhower condemned the bookburners and exhorted others to have the courage to stand up against them. It is even more important that the President himself stand up now and stop the burning of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by granting executive clemency to them."

Chairman of the meeting, which was held at the Cornish Arms Hotel, was Michael Bartell, state chairman of the SWP and its candidate for U.S. Senator last year.

WASHINGTON-BACKED BLOC IN ITALY HANDED STIFF SETBACK IN ELECTION

By Fred Hart

U.S. imperialism got a significant setback in the Italian elections this month. The vote for the pro-Wall Street coalition headed by Premier De Gasperi fell from 61.9% to 49.7% as 29 million Italians — 93% of the electorate and a record turnout internationally — went to the polls.

De Gasperi recently pushed through an election law giving a bonus of 15% of the Chamber seats to any party or group of parties receiving more than 50% of the votes. Since his coalition won almost 62% of the votes in 1948, it was considered a sure thing that they would get at least 50% of the votes, and therefore 65% of the Chamber seats.

The left consists of the Communist and left-wing Socialist parties, which are bound by a "unity of action" pact. Together, their vote rose from 31.3% in 1948 to 35.3% this year. In 1948 they ran joint lists of candidates, and their votes were lumped together. This year, when they ran separate slates, the Stalinists received about two-thirds of their combined vote.

After the election, Pietro Nenni, leader of the left-wing socialist Party, who works closely with the Stalinists, offered to support (See editorial, Page 3.)

Einstein Urges Defiance Of Congress Inquisitors

By Joseph Keller

Dr. Albert Einstein, greatest scientist of the 20th Century, has summoned American intellectuals and teachers to defy the Congressional witch hunters even if they must go to jail.

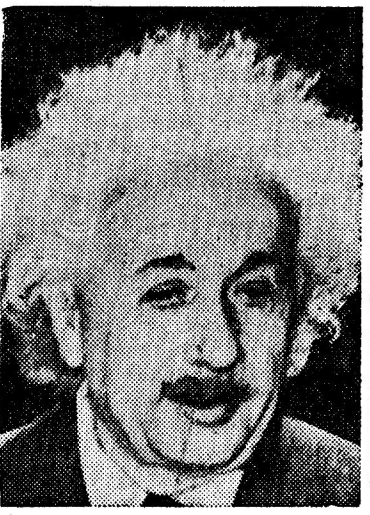
Advising intellectuals on what to do when called before Senate or House committees engaged in "subversive" probes, the world-renowned atomic physicist who was once a refugee from the Nazis stated in a letter made public June 11:

"Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e. he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country."

The 74-year-old professor, discoverer of the basic law for the release of atomic energy, declared that he himself is ready to face prison rather than testify, if subpoenaed before any inquisitorial body which has been hounding free thought and academic freedom.

This bold defiance of the inquisitors, whose smear methods have put a pall of fear over scientific cultural and educational circles, is a magnificent act of personal courage and intellectual honesty. It will serve to inspire the intellectual and academic forces in particular, and labor and liberal elements generally, to new resistance to those who would put the American mind in shackles.

Each generation of modern (Continued on page 4)



DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN

have set up a howl against Einstein. The august N. Y. Times, which pretends to speak for the Bill of Rights in the name of conservatism, assails Einstein for the "error" of his "premise that Congressional committees have no right to question teachers and scientists or to seek out subversives wherever they can find them." The Times finds it especially appalling that Einstein has urged opponents and victims of the witch hunt "to employ the unnatural and illegal forces of civil disobedience."

Sen. Joseph McCarthy snarled that anyone giving such advice as Einstein's is "himself an enemy of America" and that it "is the (Continued on page 4)

Bolivians Organize Workers Militia

The Bolivian Labor Central Organization has voted to organize its own "proletarian armed militias" to defend the present government from counter-revolution. This news is contained in a United Press dispatch from La Paz, Bolivia dated June 11.

A resolution adopted by the Central's assembly warns that the "principles of the revolution of April 9, 1952, are in constant danger." The Bolivian Labor Central Organization is the representative body of the most important sections of the Bolivian workers including the miners and textile workers unions.

U. S. SUPREME COURT STALLS ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION RULING

By David Stevens

The U.S. Supreme Court has ducked the explosive issue of the constitutionality of the Jim Crow public-school system in the South. On June 8 it adjourned until next fall, postponing decision on the five school-segregation cases which have been before it for six months.

At stake are the rights of millions of Negro boys and girls to the best available education, free from a system which rears new generations of white supremacists by inoculating white children with race hatred in separate public schools. These rights, guaranteed by the 14th Amendment, have been brutally violated by sanction of the courts which 57 years ago concocted the hypocritical "separate but equal" formula in order to paste the label of "equality" over Jim Crow. The present challenge to this doctrine in the segregated-school cases is being led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It had to raise tens of thousands of dollars for attorney, court and publicity expenses in order to carry the issue to the Supreme Court.

Now, without giving any reason, the Supreme Court took the unusual step of ordering the school cases to be re-argued next October, after which the nine judges will again study the cases. Thus it will be at least another year before a decision can be expected. The NAACP, which is representing parents of Negro children in the cases, will have to raise thousands of dollars all over again. The postponement is thus a severe blow at the NAACP with its limited resources and an encouragement to the rich Jim Crow forces with their control of mighty state apparatuses, treasuries and propaganda mediums, all of which are used in the fight against the Negro people.

Leading Southern politicians have answered the prospect of Court action against school segregation with threats of opposition — even to the point of violence. Attorney General Almond of Virginia said a decision against the "separate but equal" doctrine would "destroy the public school system in Virginia." He warned that "Negro teachers will not be allowed to teach white children in Virginia should segregation be abolished." Gov. Byrnes, former Supreme Court Justice, served notice that a ruling outlawing segregation would be met by the abolition of the public-school system in South Carolina. Gov. Talmadge of Georgia said "bloodshed, riots, strikes, murders and possibly lynchings might accompany a court ruling against segregation."

The Supreme Court postponement permits these racist demagogues more time to whip up a lynch hysteria against a democratic school system, and to devise means of getting around any decision that might hamper Jim Crow. As the N. Y. Times noted on June 14, "court decisions are circumvented every day" in the South. A favorable court decision will by itself not settle the issue in real life.

One danger in this situation is complacency and reliance on the courts. That is unfortunately the note sounded by the Call, Kansas City Negro weekly, which interprets the delay "as a warning to the South that its way of life is doomed and that it has one more year — at the most — to get ready to meet the challenge of real democracy."

The Supreme Court drew up five points to be argued by the attorneys of both sides. These points question whether the Court actually has the power "to abolish segregation in the schools" even if it is unconstitutional. Evidence is requested that the 14th Amendment framers and ratifiers understood that it would abolish segregation in the public schools or contemplated that future Congresses or courts would take this action. If after six months of considering the cases the Court raises these basic questions for rearguing, it can only be understood as an attempt to confuse the issues in a welter of historical and legalistic reservations.

The Court also asks the attorneys to argue what kind of decree it should issue if it decides that Negroes should be admitted to white schools "forthwith" or should it provide for "an effective gradual adjustment" to mixed education? If the Court represented the interest of the people it would proclaim the simple truth that the southern Jim Crow school regime is and has been in clear violation of the Constitution and is to be altered "forthwith." It would not even hesitate to urge the President to enforce this by dispatching troops to the South to prevent the use of force and violence against Negroes.

The fight against Jim Crow is much more than a court fight. That is why the stand of the NAACP must be particularly welcomed when it states that "the battle of public opinion must be continued and the country won over to our side. . . Much more work needs to be done outside of the courtroom than in it."

Labor Leaders' Own Witch Hunt Obstructs Anti-McCarthy Fight

By Murry Weiss

If you answer "yes" to McCarthy's Number One question, you become trapped in his basic witch hunt formula, forced on the defensive, and are in no position to fight McCarthyism. This is the point made in the June 13 issue of the Nation in its second article on "The Present Danger and McCarthy's Tactics."

The Nation, a liberal weekly, cites a recent editorial in Hearst's N. Y. Journal-American as typical of the McCarthyite trick questions:

"We should like to ask the 'liberals' a few questions. 1. Do you consider communism a danger in the United States? (If you don't so consider it, skip the remaining questions.) 2. If it is a danger shouldn't it be exposed and removed? 3. If it should be exposed and removed, isn't that the rightful task of responsible legislative committees?"

The Nation says, "McCarthy's opposition unthinkingly and uncritically says 'yes' to question one. . . Having foolishly answered 'yes' to question one above, his opponents then find themselves forced to argue, first, that they are as violently opposed to communism as he is and then that their methods of fighting it are more effective than his."

VITAL WEAKNESS

The Nation puts its finger on a vital weakness in the position of the anti-McCarthy liberals and labor officials. But it tends to regard this weakness as primarily a tactical blunder rather than a basically false line. It doesn't go into the problem deeply enough.

Isn't the McCarthyite Number One question an integral part of the policy of both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations? Isn't their question the rhetorical formulation of the domestic and foreign

planks in the program of both the Republican and Democratic parties and all wings of these parties? Once the premise of Big Business' foreign policy, the menace of communism, is granted, McCarthy's foot is in the door. And if you want to close the door to McCarthy the Big Business line about the "red menace" must be rejected.

The fact is that the liberal and labor officials have accepted the "red menace" formula of Big Business and McCarthy. That's why they fall so easily into McCarthy's trap. Let us recall that the labor officials have been conducting a witch hunt of their own within the unions.

It is, becoming clear, even to the labor bureaucrats, that the red scare will be used not merely against a few radicals but against the labor movement itself. McCarthyism is the instrument Wall Street is using to lay the groundwork for destroying the unions so that the anti-labor war on a world scale can be waged without fear of opposition from a militant and free labor movement in the United States.

Moreover the waging of such a colossal war requires drastic downward revisions in the standard of living of the American workers. The unions stand in the way of this program and according to Wall Street's way of thinking the unions must be shoved aside. They couldn't do it by direct combat with the unions, but they hope to do it through McCarthyism.

OWN WITCH HUNT

The union bureaucrats have been hounding and purging militants in the labor movement precisely on McCarthy's formula of "fighting communism at home and abroad." How many labor officials use the witch hunt to rid themselves of opposition and to silence criticism from the rank and file? How many of them hold regular conferences with the FBI "labor specialists" on inner union affairs, exchange blacklists with the FBI and permit these anti-labor cops to meddle in union matters in the name of "national security"?

Many workers have been bewildered and confused by the witch hunt in the unions. They don't like to see union democracy destroyed. But they don't know how to answer the argument of the bureaucrats that communism must be fought. The answer to this argument can be found in the experience of every worker in this country. Against whom was it necessary to fight to form unions, and against whom is it necessary to fight every day of the year to defend these unions? Isn't it the very capitalists who invent the "red menace" who confront the workers as their enemy at every turn?

WHY THEY SHOUT "RED"

These capitalists live off the labor of the workers in this country. The laws of the capitalist system of exploitation have driven them to attempt to foist their system of exploitation on the working people of the entire world. When the workers and peasants in Asia, Africa, Europe and South America

The American Way of Life

The Tornado and GM's Power

FLINT, June 10 — Flags are flying at half mast in Flint in memory of the dead victims of the terrible tornado that struck the north metropolitan area of this city last Monday night.

The working-class heart of Flint is heavy with grief and anguish. Practically every worker was touched directly by this tragedy. Friends, shopmates or relatives are lying in the Flint Armory turned into a huge morgue, or lying unconscious or in pain at one of the crowded hospitals or the big IMA Auditorium. The city is under martial law with hospitals and other shelters roped off to allow only frantic relatives through.

The tornado struck at 8:30 P.M. in a strictly working-class section. The homes were small — most without a basement. Those who had a basement and reached it in time attributed their being alive to this fact.

Characteristic of a city of workers, the response to radio calls for help was immediate. Workers lined up all night to donate blood, carried cots and bedding to the IMA Auditorium, donated flashlights and flares, rushed with their trucks and automobiles to volunteer for transporting the dead and dying, opened their homes to surviving victims and their children, and worked throughout the long and rain-soaked night in rescue squads.

It was expected that the all-night radio reports would announce that the GM plants would shut down the following day to allow this help of brother by brother to continue. But no such announcement was forthcoming from this profit-seeking corporation. At 6:30 A.M. it was broadcast that Chevrolet Manufacturing Division could not operate first shift because of power shortages; this was followed by a similar announcement for Buick. But Fisher Body No. 1 and No. 2 and A.C., Chevrolet Assembly and Buick Tank plant workers trudged in to work — tired, bleary-eyed and excited. GM's disciplinary action for absenteeism is a power challenging that of a tornado disaster.

It was a long day for Flint GM employees in those plants — shut in from further news of death announcements and waiting in fear and nervous tension for the day to end. In one women's department at AC there were five shopmates who would never be seen again at their work benches, and the whereabouts of their families was not known. The women were upset and bitter at being called in to work when they'd "feel better carrying bed-pans just to relieve qualified nurses to better tend the victims."

Today the Flint Journal triumphantly announced: "Although countless relatives and friends of employees were killed, injured or made homeless in Monday's tornado, all General Motors plants in Flint resumed work on normal schedules this morning."

"Absenteeism — no greater than normal. Buick and Chevrolet plants were closed on the first shift Tuesday and worked only partially on the second shift. Plant officials were highly commendatory of all employees who returned to work today, with no greater absenteeism than normal, despite the tragedy that had struck so many."

These words speak volumes on the five-year contract between GM and the CIO United Auto Workers, and the disciplinary power it turned over to the corporation.

The working class heart of Flint is big and warm and full of human compassion when such catastrophes occur. But the heart of General Motors and its directors is a stone of flint carved in the shape of a dollar sign.

General Motors "generously" contributed \$100,000 to the Relief Fund — a fraction of the profits they made on that Tuesday of work from their unwilling and unhappy slaves. And for this they got a million dollars worth of national publicity and deduct it from their income tax!

Flags are flying at half mast in Flint in memory of our departed relatives, friends and shopmates. At present the death toll stands at 113, the maimed and injured at over 700; the homeless at nearly a thousand. But what is death and destruction where GM profits are concerned? Only an economic and political tornado can curb the power of this brutal corporation.

— Genora Dollinger

Catholic Party Vote Declines



Even the bed-ridden, as above, were carried to polls to cast votes in the crucial Italian elections (see article on Page 1). Premier Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic (Catholic) party lost strength and his bloc of center parties got only the barest majority. The Nenni Socialist and Communist parties gained, as did the neo-fascists.

Government Demands the Rosenbergs' Blood

(Continued from Page 1) The Supreme Court has been called back after its adjournment. Truman's appointee, Chief Justice Vinson, promptly complied and the court reconvened in Washington the next day. The Attorney General insisted that the Court once more affirm its refusal to review the many legal irregularities in the case.

What induced Douglas to issue his stay was undoubtedly the tremendous worldwide cry of protest against this political murder and the growing doubts and uneasiness among millions of Americans about the justice of the verdict. Not since the days of the Sacco-Vanzetti executions has there been so powerful a wave of indignation abroad against capitalist injustice in the United States.

The voices of protest from all over the world came from two opposite class camps. The most vigorous came from the millions of workers, peasants and exploited peoples who viewed the drive to electrocute the Rosenbergs as a manifestation of imperialist brutality and war-mongering. On the march against a world dominated by Wall Street, these masses understood that death for the Rosenbergs would give new impetus to the forces preparing to make war upon them.

Thousands of organizations of European and Asian workers took a forceful stand on behalf of the doomed couple. Last week the Transport and General Workers Union, the largest in Great Britain, came out for clemency.

ANOTHER SOURCE

Another source of pressure from abroad upon the witch-burners here came from some of the best friends of American Big Business, like the Pope in Rome, Catholic dignitaries in France, French deputies, Edouard Herriot, speaker of the French National Assembly. In addition thousands of liberal scientists, educators, clergymen and writers warned President Eisenhower that the terrible hatred of American imperialism would only be intensified by the judicial murder of the Rosenbergs.

In the United States the movement to save the Rosenbergs steadily gained strength. A giant picket demonstration of 15,000 before the White House last Sunday was its most dramatic expression.

But this movement has been handicapped by the absence of the strength of organized labor and weakened by the treacherous silence of the top union officials. Only a few labor leaders have spoken out. The most notable has been Hugo Ernst of the AFL Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International who acted individually and signed a clemency petition.

FOUR MOTIVES

The administration has been in such a mad rush to carry through the execution because it wishes to head off the mounting opposition to its action. This Big Business government has been impelled by four major political motives to go through with the execution as fast as possible.

1. It seeks to strike terror into the hearts of radical critics of its imperialist policies and police-state methods. The fate of the Rosenbergs is to serve as a grim threat to all present and prospective opponents of Washington's war plans.

2. It aims to place a tighter gag on those who are troubled by its encroachments on American liberties. Not only can jobs be lost if the loyalty purge. Not only can reputations be ruined through false accusations by Congressional witch hunters. But the Rosenberg precedent can prove that even lives can be forfeited.

3. It wants to buttress the system of stool-pigeoning which has become one of the girders of the FBI inquisition. Greenglass, the chief witness against the Rosenbergs, saved his neck and spared his wife by turning state's evidence against them. The Rosenbergs themselves were offered commutation from death if they would admit their guilt and become informers against others. This is one of the most important

reasons for the deadly pressure exerted upon them.

4. Finally, Eisenhower's administration hopes to appease and strengthen the McCarthyite currents, preparing them for future attacks upon the most vulnerable sections of the labor movement.

Thus death for the Rosenbergs means one of the greatest triumphs to date for the warmakers, witch hunters and enemies of labor in this country.

LABOR'S DUTY

That is also why the labor movement has had the duty to be in the front line of the fight. The sinister forces hastening to exact their blood vengeance from the

Rosenbergs, in defiance of world public opinion and the best traditions of American democracy, are not going to stop there. After their first taste of blood, they will be on the prowl for more.

Emboldened by the inactivity and cowardice of the labor leaders, the McCarthyites will reach out for bigger prey in the trade unions. They will not show any gratitude to the labor leaders later for their refusal to defend the Rosenbergs.

Whatever the Supreme Court decides in this case, the labor movement must realize that in defending all victims of the witch hunters it is defending its own interests and its very existence.

Marchers Make Clemency Plea

(Continued from page 1) American people. Others were opposed to a protest against the warmongers and witch hunters who engineered this frame-up in their drive to terrorize the posed to the death sentence on humanitarian or religious grounds or felt that the evidence was insufficient to warrant the extreme penalty.

Chartered trains, buses and motorcades provided transportation for the participants. Two trains brought 3,000 people from the New York area. The turnout exceeded all expectations. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case was responsible for the well-organized demonstration.

Many who joined the demonstration did so as considerable sacrifice, rising while it was still dark on their day of rest to make the trip to Washington on time. Numerous parents had to bring babies and small children. There

were invalids on crutches and in wheelchairs. Young people could be seen studying for examinations on the train. All traveled under crowded conditions.

It was evident throughout the day that the participants were well aware of the witch hunt atmosphere which has enabled the government so far to push its planned persecution. As is usual with a crowd that rallies around a common cause, food, beverages, magazines and papers were freely shared, borrowed or exchanged. Rare, however, were those who revealed their names; nor did anyone ask for them.

New Yorkers arriving in Washington's Union Station on the Clemency Train were greeted by cheering and singing thousands who had arrived previously, and proceeded to the White House in chartered buses.

FIGHTING SPIRIT

Quite a few seemed to have struck up an acquaintance at previous Rosenberg meetings and rallies, for as the picket lines kept swinging around, people greeted or nodded at each other. The general spirit was one of fraternity, militancy and hope, rooted in intense indignation and awareness that they are part of a swelling world-wide protest movement, and invigorated by the courageous and uncompromising conduct of the condemned couple themselves.

The demonstrators carried hundreds of placards, some of which

read: "Don't Let Them Die on the Word of a Liar." "The Electric Chair Can't Kill the Doubts in the Rosenberg Case." "Old Nazi Crimes Forgiven, New Rosenberg Evidence Ignored." "Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose Got Ten Years for Helping Hitler and Tojo, Why Death for the Rosenbergs?" "Canadian Youth Asks for Clemency." "Boston Warns! No More Sacco-Vanzetti Case."

UNIONS ABSENT

The one voice which was absent, but which if vigorously lifted could surely halt this monstrous frame-up, was that of organized labor. It is to be hoped that the thousands of trade unionists who participated as individuals because they were unable to rouse their leaderships will be encouraged by this demonstration to intensify their efforts to impel the labor movement onto an independent political course free of all ties with the bi-partisan gangsters.

As one New York garment worker, who is also a local Rosenberg Committee activist, put it to me: "I just had to be here, but how I wish that my fellow workers had turned out in force! But most of them are victims of vicious propaganda and the union leaders won't lift the Iron Curtain."

Following the picketing, the crowds marched in two immense files across a good part of the city to an open-air prayer meeting at Ninth and Constitution

Avenues. Some Negro soldiers who were quietly listening slowly walked away after Military Police spoke to them for a few minutes.

In the course of the afternoon ten year old Michael Rosenberg, accompanied by his brother Robert, six, and their grandmother, Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, appeared at the White House gate to deliver a letter for Eisenhower, urging him not to let "anything happen to my mommy and daddy."

As the crowds began boarding trains, buses and automobiles on their way back to all parts of the country, some going as far as Florida and Colorado, a group remained to start a round-the-clock vigil of the White House.

DEATH HOUSE LETTERS

Copies of "Death House Letters" of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, just off the press, were bought by almost all and widely read on the return trip. The book contains a history of the case, the moving letters exchanged by the couple, excerpts from their own petition for clemency, and samples of the thousands of messages on their behalf that have poured into the White House from virtually all parts of the world. This volume sells for \$1, with all profits destined for a trust fund for the couple's two young sons. "Death House Letters" may be obtained from the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.

Letters from Readers

Shop Talk About Layoffs

Editor:

We've had a little flurry of seasonal layoffs in Chicago which provoked some interesting conversations in my shop. Ford, GM and Harvester workers have been hit in the past period.

Some of the older workers began recalling the depression days when layoffs ran into years rather than weeks and months. It was the general fear that those days are coming back. One machine operator commented, "These young fellows don't know what it's like, but they'll learn."

"The main thing wrong with this country," said another, "is over-productiveness. Who's going to buy all this stuff we're making?"

"The trouble is that those big industrialists have taken over the government."

rounded. He couldn't do anything if he wanted to."

"They're out to break the unions."

"Sure, Wilson didn't give up his job with General Motors for nothing. Those boys want something."

"I think the big boys planned to have these layoffs come together in order to hurt labor."

"I don't think the true is going to come off. Wall Street is making too much money on this war."

And so it went. I suggested to one young worker who is facing a layoff soon that we'd all be better off working 30 hours a week instead of having these layoffs every year. He readily agreed, saying, "You know, my wife and I were talking about the same thing the other night. With all this machinery we ought to be able to work six hours a day and still make enough for everybody." It was my turn to agree with him.

B. D. Chicago, Ill.

Subscriptions: \$3 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Single Copies: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7400
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Vol. XVII - No. 25 Monday, June 22, 1953

Why the Soviet Bureaucracy Is in Crisis

By George Breitman



STALIN

What has been happening in the Soviet Union since Stalin died? Why? What lies ahead? Isaac Deutscher's new book (RUSSIA: WHAT NEXT? Oxford University Press, 1953, 230 pp., \$3) provides a convenient framework for examining the answers to these vital questions. We have many profound differences with Deutscher, some of which were expressed in this paper's review of his Stalin biography in 1949. But it must be recognized that he stands out conspicuously among the writers who are able to get books about the Soviet Union printed by capitalist publishers.

For one thing, Deutscher, who was expelled from the Polish Communist Party as an oppositionist in 1932, generally knows what he is writing about. He has a good grasp of Soviet history, fortified by a careful study of Leon Trotsky's writings. His conclusions and interpretations are sometimes in conflict with the facts he presents, but he does not consciously hide or distort the facts. That alone makes him superior to most of the mob of present-day commentators on the Soviet Union.

Moreover, he does not pander to the prejudices of capitalist opinion, often expressing views regarded as "subversive" in Washington, and he deals with serious questions, including some of Marxist theory. These positive qualities are displayed in his latest book, even though it was written hastily in the first few weeks after Stalin's death.

Stalin himself contributed to the changes that spelled the doom of Stalinism.

Stalin came to power because of two important factors: (1) the economic and cultural backwardness of the Soviet Union, aggravated by ruinous years of war and civil war; (2) the isolation of the first workers state as a result of the delays and defeats of the revolution in Europe, which the Bolshevik leaders had expected to link up with and strengthen the revolution in Russia. Trotsky explained many times how and why these conditions led to the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party and its eventual destruction by the privileged bureaucratic caste which opposed the revolutionary-internationalist, proletarian-democratic policies of Lenin.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy was beset by many contradictions. Russia's poverty enabled Stalinism to come to power, but to remain in power and to preserve its privileges, which were threatened on one side by imperialism and on the other by the possibilities of revolt by the Soviet masses, it needed a strong economy. This meant industrialization.

Although a section of the bureaucracy tended toward the restoration of capitalism in the 20's, Stalin knew that the Soviet people would never tolerate it, and after some wavering he set out to industrialize the country through the extension of nationalization and planning, the economic foundations of the workers state created under Lenin.

Deutscher realizes that Stalin's methods were brutal and costly, and vitiated part of the results (he wrongly attributes the overall results to Stalin's "historical function"). It evidently does not occur to him that Stalin's methods delayed rather than promoted the process as a whole. Deutscher does not appreciate the decisive part played by the firm

social foundations of the Russian revolution, but he is correct in noting that under Stalin's regime great transformations took place.

From an industrially backward country the Soviet Union became the second industrial power in the world. Soviet Chicago, Pittsburgh and Detroit sprouted into all corners of a vast land. Tens of millions of peasants were turned into industrial workers. Small farms were broken up, and more tens of millions became collective farmers, torn out of conservative self-sufficiency and thrust into awareness of their dependence on government policy. A large part of the population was urbanized, practically all of it was made literate. New habits were formed, new patterns of culture evolved. The superiority of planned economy was proved in practice (and Deutscher correctly emphasizes that planning rather than Stalin's forced-labor system was the dominant factor in industrial progress).

What effects did all this have on the social and political consciousness of the Soviet people? Obviously, big ones. The soil out of which Stalinism grew was being destroyed. Technology, planning, urbanization, and industrial expansion are the deadliest enemies of Stalinism. A nation of 160 to 200 million was driven, in 25 years time, "to jump the chasm which separated the epoch of the wooden plow from that of the atomic pile. The jump is not yet completed. . . All we know is that the process is in a very advanced stage. Russia may still be mired up to her ankles or to her knees in the epoch of primitive magic; but she is not plunged in it up to her neck and ears, as she was a quarter of a century ago."

"SELF-CONTAINMENT"

During the same time that the backwardness of Russia, in which Stalinism had its roots, was being overcome, drastic changes on the international scene were further altering the relations between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Soviet masses.

Stalin began his regime by announcing the doctrine of "socialism in one country." Among other things this signaled the abandonment of Lenin's internationalism and in the course of time the adoption of an actively counter-revolutionary policy in which Stalin sought to ward off imperialist attack by striving to prevent revolution abroad. Using current formulations, Deutscher calls Stalin's foreign policy "self-containment" as opposed to Lenin's policy of stimulating "liberation" of other countries from capitalism.

Stalin tried to maintain the international status quo. The world Stalinist movement served as border guards to promote the Kremlin's foreign policy and diplomatic maneuvers, regardless of their disastrous effects on the interests of the workers in the capitalist countries.

THE GREAT SABOTEUR

Deutscher knows and reviews all this. He is definitely not a Stalinist and would think it unjust to be called an apologist for Stalinism, but objectively that is what he shows himself to be when he discusses this phase of history. "Was Stalin then the great saboteur and betrayer of world revolution, as Trotsky saw him?" he asks. And his answer is:

"Yes and no. He certainly did his best to destroy the potentialities for revolution abroad — in the name of the sacred egoism of the Russian revolution. But how real and important were those potentialities between the two world wars? Trotsky saw that period as one sequence of great but missed revolutionary opportunities. The historian of the period cannot be so sure about its latent possibilities. He can gauge only its actuality, not its potentiality. Stalin worked on the assumption that there was no chance of a communist victory in the West or in the East. If that was so, then he was sacrificing to the selfishness of Bolshevik Russia the shadow, not the substance, of world revolution. He believed that by building up the Soviet 'citadel of socialism' he was making the only contribution toward world revolution that could be made at the time. This conviction allowed him to treat the labor movements of the world with boundless cynicism and contempt."

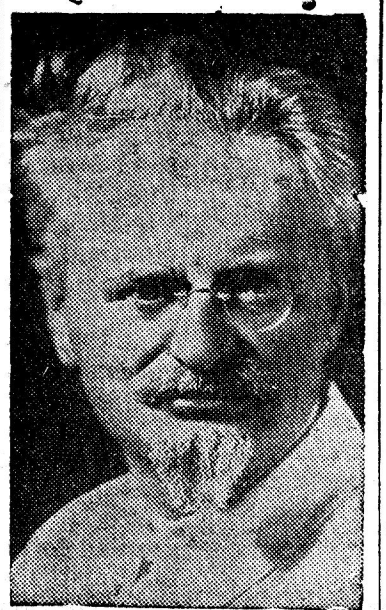
But a historian who declines to examine and pass judgment on the potentialities is not gauging the full actuality. Were the revolutionary possibilities real and important in Germany in 1923 and 1932, in China in the 1920's, in Spain in 1936, etc.? Trotsky not only saw but showed the possibilities. Stalin saw them too, in his own way, and he sabotaged them. Wasn't Stalin's intervention actively against these revolutions — a major part of the actuality? Wasn't his counter-revolutionary intervention more real than Deutscher's hypotheses about what Stalin was thinking? Else-

where Deutscher has praised Stalin for leading the war against Hitler to victory, but isn't it just as important that Stalin's policies helped Hitler to come to power and later to launch the war?

However, this basic flaw in Deutscher's historical method does not prevent him from making a generally correct evaluation of the reasons why "in the last decade of his life Stalin struggled desperately and unavailingly to save his policy of self-containment, or what remained of it, from the tempest of the time."

Stalin wanted and expected to keep Eastern Europe capitalist after the war. His policy of reparations and pillage in those countries during the first postwar years was certainly inconsistent with their later incorporation into the Soviet social system. But the imperialists offered him no choice, and after the Truman Doctrine of 1947 he was driven to take over Eastern Europe definitively to prevent it from being used as a base for war against the Soviet Union.

Elsewhere in the world, "Stalin gravely underrated the revolutionary ferment which was to engulf Europe and Asia toward the end of the war and after." He thought he could control it through the Communist Parties, and he did in some countries. But in others, his "pawns" began to move on their own — in Yugoslavia, in China — and he was in no position to stop them. He tried to restrain Mao Tse-tung and Tito, but they were under pressure from the masses in their own



TROTSKY

countries as well as the Kremlin, and they went ahead to lead revolutions against regimes Stalin had directed them to collaborate with.

"He stared with incredulity and fear at the rising tides of revolution which threatened to wash away the rock of 'socialism in one country' on which he had built his temple. This so-called prophet of Marxism and Leninism appears at this moment as the most conservative statesman in the world. . . Stalinist self-containment was subsequently wrecked, partly by forces beyond Stalin's control and partly by Stalin himself."

These revolutions changed the international relationship of forces. The Soviet Union's isolation, a cause of Stalinism and a pretext for its continuation, was ended. The threat of imperialist attack, while still real, appeared in a different light when the Soviet bloc encompassed one-third of the world's population.

DISCONTENT GREW

All this stored new dynamite under the Kremlin, and new discontent spread among the Soviet masses, who could see that the reasons which led them to tolerate the rigors of the Stalinist dictatorship before the war no longer obtained after the war.

This discontent could not be expressed in clear political terms while Stalin was alive, but Deutscher shows that it was expressed indirectly during the last two or three years in the debates over the alleged imminent "transition from socialism to communism" and the theory of the withering away of the state. Stalin didn't intend these debates for that purpose, but they were utilized widely to express the desire of the masses and a part of the bureaucracy for an end or relaxation of the dictatorship, for an improvement of living standards, protection against the political police, etc. Deutscher sees these disguised forms in which the masses raised their demands as signs that an explosion was brewing before Stalin died.

Deutscher's explanation of the background of the present situation are the best parts of his book. Next week we will discuss other parts, especially his reasons for thinking that the Soviet Union is headed toward "an orderly winding up of Stalinism and a gradual democratic evolution" under the leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy.

EAST BERLIN WORKERS BATTLE KREMLIN RULE

(Continued from page 1)

With the Berlin demonstrations the working class has intervened directly into that process.

The fundamental causes of the tremors in Stalinism are: the spread of the world revolutionary process to embrace new tens of millions whose revolutionary sentiments and militancy are breaking the bounds of the conservative bureaucracy of the Kremlin clique; the great successes of Russian and East European nationalized and planned economy, which undermine the regime of scarcity from which the bureaucracy drew strength; the change in the world relation of forces to the disadvantage of imperialism, which enables the Soviet masses to turn their attention to the bureaucratic usurpers of power at home; finally, the enlargement of the Soviet bloc of nations to include China and Eastern Europe, thus forming a heterogeneous grouping with various sections having independent aspirations in conflict with the Stalinist dictatorship.

Stalin's death did not create these forces, but merely gave an opening to them. The Kremlin clique, having lost its arbiter and its single figure with mass prestige (Stalin himself had seen to that), no longer appears so formidable to the lesser bureaucrats, to Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, and to the masses as well.

In its search for a secure mass base, the Kremlin overlords have initiated a series of reforms; but as is usually the case in such situations, the masses tend to interpret these reforms as a sign of weakness, and increase their pressure upon the regime. That is what has been happening, particularly in Eastern Europe, since Stalin died.

The mass oppositionist movements now in prospect in the Soviet zone will not voluntarily give an opening to the American capitalist restorationists who want to turn the wheel of history backwards in the Soviet zone. As a matter of fact, any indications that the imperialists can take advantage of this situation, or any attacks by imperialism, would probably temporarily slow this process down, and mobilize the people, for the moment, behind

The East Berlin Demonstration

The heroic strike demonstrations in East Berlin on June 17 point to the only progressive way in which Stalinism can be destroyed — the independent action of the working class, fighting militantly for their own economic, political and social interests.

Some people who used to understand this allowed themselves to be hypnotized by the seeming stability of the Stalinist dictatorship, which appeared to them to be growing stronger and stronger with every extension of the Soviet bloc. With the pretense that they wanted to help in overthrowing Stalinism, they became supporters and apologists for the war preparations of the imperialist rulers, whose real aim is to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The truth is, as we have insisted, that the more the Soviet bloc grew, the more unstable and untenable became the position of the Stalinist dictatorship inside and outside the Soviet Union. Each expansion of Stalinism added new contradictions, new forces of opposition, new tinder boxes ready to explode. The explosion in East Berlin will not be the last; the independent action of the German workers will set an example that will inspire repercussions in other countries.

The American capitalists may momentarily feel some satisfaction at seeing the Kremlin in trouble, but it is not the kind of satisfaction that will long endure. For there was no sympathy for the imperialists

in the East Berlin demonstration, no trace of a desire to restore the evils of capitalism. The German workers hate Stalinist despotism, but they have no wish to replace it with imperialist despotism. What they want is a socialist form of economy and a working class form of democracy.

Those who support the imperialist war preparations can only retard the development of the profoundly progressive process disclosed to the whole world by the East Berlin demonstration. In fact, this process would have unfolded even sooner if not for the imperialist war danger. By blocking or removing that danger, the American labor movement can hasten the day when the workers will settle accounts definitively with the Stalinist bureaucrats throughout the Soviet bloc.

The East Berlin demonstration marked a new turn in the crisis of Stalinism that has been developing since the end of World War II. It is still in its early stages, and there will be many battles and some defeats ahead. But in the process of these struggles, the working class forces will have the chance as well as the need to develop new leaders and new organizations, imbued with the revolutionary Marxist goals and methods of Lenin and Trotsky. These are the forces that will end Stalinism in the Soviet bloc — not by reform, but by political revolution — just as these are the forces that will end capitalism in the rest of the world — not by reform, but by social revolution.

Einstein's Inspiring Example

Millions of people who have only a hazy idea about Dr. Albert Einstein's theory of relativity will hold the elderly scientist in profound respect and admiration for his brave defense of civil liberties. His latest challenge to the Washington witch hunters (see Page 1) should inspire every defender of the rights of the American people.

We especially commend his uncompromising and principled stand in calling for unconditional non-cooperation with Congressional committees seeking to tear up the Bill of Rights. It is only in this spirit of unflinching resistance, yielding nothing in principle, that the deadly menace of McCarthyism will be met and defeated.

Dr. Einstein, of course, was not attempting to prescribe a full program of action against the evil he has so boldly challenged. What he has done is to proclaim the need for action and set the example for resistance and defiance. It is up to us — all of us — to hammer out the program and carry it through.

Individual sacrifice and resistance on the part of the intellectuals, such as Dr. Einstein urges, can be an important factor in rallying a wider fight against the witch hunt. This broader struggle, involving masses of people, is what will make the sacrifices he calls for significant and not mere ineffective, if brave, gestures.

There already exist the organized forces

to combat the McCarthys, Jenners, Veldes and their ilk — if these forces were set in motion in the proper direction. The 17,000,000 members of the American trade unions — the ultimate target of the anti-labor witch hunters — can become an insuperable obstacle to the inquisition. Together with all other sections of the population — the Negro people, the liberals, the intellectuals — whose rights and liberties are under assault, the labor movement could crush McCarthyism.

The intellectuals to whom Einstein has appealed have an important part to play in helping to make clear the issues and inspire the labor movement and its allies to act. The individual intellectual on whom Einstein has called to make a stand will thereby link his action to a big and immensely powerful movement capable of destroying the witch hunt altogether.

Dr. Einstein has performed an extremely valuable service for the cause of civil liberties. We hope the honest and uncorrupted intellectuals, who have been overshadowed in the recent period by those who have sold themselves and their talents to Big Business reaction and the war machine, will heed his words and accept their responsibilities. We hope, above all, that organized labor will be moved by Dr. Einstein's advice and example to assume its duty in organizing for a showdown struggle against McCarthyism.

After the Italian Election

In Italy general elections were held in 1948 and 1953. By coincidence, this roughly spans the period of the Marshall Plan, under which about \$3½ billion were sent to Italy "to save the country from communism." This amounts to about \$240 for each and every vote secured this month by Washington's puppet, Premier De Gasperi. In a country which has an average per capita income of no more than \$340, this is a flood of dollars. Yet the elections showed that it is becoming more and more difficult for U.S. imperialism to buy the results it wants.

The "bulwark against the left." De Gasperi's center coalition, despite the Pone's blessings and Washington's dollars, dropped from almost 62% of the vote to less than 50%. Gains were scored by both the right and the left parties. The gains of the monarchist and fascist groups were large in percentage terms, although they represent only 12% of the total today. Meanwhile the left, consisting of an alliance between the Communist and left-wing Socialist parties, gained 4% and has the support of more than one-third of the people.

This means that at the beginning of the Marshall Plan the U.S. government could count on much stronger support from its Italian puppets than it can today. No wonder there is a feeling of futility in the U.S. State Department.

The dollar "aid" has been a failure because, under the conditions in which Italian capitalism must function, it is impossible to restore any soundness to the economy. There are today two million unemployed in Italy, and another two million

partially unemployed — together fully 20% of the Italian working class.

Great steel works are producing at less than half of capacity; the same is true of many other industries. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that Wall Street's propaganda that "capitalism is superior to communism" leaves so many Italians unconvinced.

De Gasperi's Christian Democrats led Italy into the present morass. It is only natural that more and more people want to get out of it, and that they should turn for an alternative to the opposition parties — on the right or the left.

The fascists and monarchists will be the main beneficiaries of this new trend — unless the working class parties are oriented around an uncompromising anti-capitalist program designed to convince the Italian people that socialism is the only road to economic recovery and health.

The left-wing Socialist Party's offer to support and enter De Gasperi's capitalist government, if it will follow a neutralist foreign policy, is not a step in this direction. It disorients Italians who are becoming fed up with De Gasperi; it muddies up the real issue in Italy, which is, "Who should rule — the capitalists or the workers?"; and therefore in the long run it plays into the hands of the fascist demagogues, who thrive on demoralization and confusion.

The weakness of the Italian capitalist regime gives the workers a new chance to come to power and solve their country's problems. They can do it if they follow a firm and aggressive anti-capitalist policy, free from class collaboration and compromise.

Purge Removes High Officials in Ukraine

By John G. Wright

On June 13 Moscow released the news of a sweeping purge of the Ukrainian central party and government apparatus. The most prominent victim is L. G. Melnikov,

third alternate to the top ruling body in the Soviet Union, that is, the Praesidium of the Russian Communist Party. As first secretary of the Ukrainian CP, Melnikov has been, since 1950, the unchallenged dictator of the Ukraine. Of the government figures purged with Melnikov the most prominent thus far is Ukrainian Deputy Premier V. Bondarchuk.

Melnikov's downfall is explained officially as due to his self-admitted "gross errors" and "malpractices" in administration and in selection of "the leading personnel"; his violations of "Leninist-Stalinist national policy"; and, finally, his "profound mistakes" with regard to the "collective farm system in Western Ukraine."

Melnikov and the other officials fallen from grace are merely scapegoats for the consequences of the Kremlin's own policies and method of administration. The two main factors behind the purge are Ukrainian working-class discontent and peasant opposition.

The Moscow press has been "signaling" for some time now "shortcomings" in the domain of mechanization and of raising the productivity of the mines, plants, farms, etc., in the Ukraine. Official accounts of Melnikov's dismissal contain no reference to Ukrainian working-class opposition, but they do confirm that there is a collision between the Malenkov regime and the restorationist elements in agriculture.

This is confirmed by the charge leveled against Melnikov that he failed to "strengthen the collective farm system." It is further confirmed indirectly by recent orders to rural propagandists to lay particular stress on the need to struggle against the restorationists.

"Political agitation [in rural

areas] must be directed against the survivals of capitalism in people's minds; it must be directed against violations of labor and state discipline; against the pillage of socialist property, against a sloppy attitude toward the public economy of the collective farms." (Pravda, April 12.) This speaks for itself.

Moscow censors cleared a special cable on June 13 to the N. Y. Times which stated that "a large number of party changes in the Ukraine were expected" as an aftermath of Melnikov's downfall. The purge, in plain language, affects the whole party.

LIST IS GROWING

When in the middle of May news came of the sudden rehabilitation of Petrovski, an old Bolshevik and former head of the Ukrainian government who was purged by Stalin-Khrushchev 15 years ago, we said that this move "is connected with the post-Stalin regime's domestic problems, in this instance, the Ukraine in particular." Pointing out that such a rehabilitation could conveniently serve as a cover for a purge, similar to those in other national Soviet Republics, we concluded: "The Ukraine, in our opinion, has either been or is about to be added to this growing list." (The Militant, June 1.) There can be no doubt about it now.

The current Ukrainian purge is a component part of an All-Union operation. A similar purge has just been reported from Turkmenia, previously unaffected, where the head of the Turkmen CP has been removed ostensibly "because of illness."

The Komsomol (the Soviet Young Communist League) has likewise come under fire. Two youth secretaries have been purged, on the pretext of being "transferred to other work."

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No "Magna Charta"

By Jean Blake

In a letter to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York, who had complained that high authorities in three agencies — veterans' hospitals, Navy shipyards and schools on army posts — were guilty of insubordination in refusing to end segregation policies, President Eisenhower replied on June 10:

"I have made inquiries of the officials to whom you refer and learn that they are pursuing the purpose of eliminating segregation in federally controlled and supported institutions. . . There must be no second class citizens in this country."

Powell wired back that Eisenhower's reply was a "Magna Charta for minorities and a second emancipation proclamation."

If we look around at the news events of the past few weeks to see what basis Congressman Powell has for such exaggerated optimism, these are the hard, cold facts about government policy on segregation as demonstrated by actions:

1. Secretary of the Navy Robert B. Anderson informed the White House in a letter that the Navy will continue to practice segregation in naval shipyards and other installations in the South.

According to a Negro Newspaper Publishers Association report published June 6, he said the Navy policy established Jan. 23, 1952, is that "common facilities should

be provided on naval stations unless the station is subject to the laws of the community which require segregated facilities or where the use of common facilities would conflict with local customs and mores and result in 'impediment of productive effort.'"

2. On June 3 by a bi-partisan vote of 78 to 15 the House of Representatives decisively defeated an amendment by Powell to end Jim Crow in District of Columbia schools by denying federal funds to district institutions permitting segregation.

3. On June 6 the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People complained to the White House: "We are gravely concerned that the Department of the Army is actually making new arrangements with local communities to continue segregation in schools on military posts."

From these facts it seems apparent that only wishful thinking could lead Congressman Powell to see a "Magna Charta for minorities and a second emancipation proclamation" in Eisenhower's letter.

A much more fruitful policy for Powell and other Negro leaders would be a Declaration of Independence from capitalist political parties and a call to the labor movement to join in fighting against Jim Crow and the rest of capitalism's evils as an independent political force.

Lieutenant Durkin

By Harry Ring

When Martin P. Durkin of the AFL Plumbers union was appointed Secretary of Labor this paper expressed the view that it was solely for the purpose of "window dressing." This now appears to have been a somewhat hasty judgment. Contrary to the expectation that he would simply warm an overstuffed chair, and in the process of doing so, make the Eisenhower administration look a trifle less anti-labor, Durkin is really in there pitching with all he's got — for the bosses.

In his first important ruling, Durkin let loose with both feet against some 400,000 fiercely exploited food cannery workers. At the request of the Defense Department, Durkin has granted fruit and vegetable canners working on government contracts exemption from overtime and child-labor provisions of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

The act requires that employers filling government contracts pay time and a half for overtime after 40 hours a week, and prohibits them from hiring girls under 18 years of age.

Durkin's ruling, which was issued over the protests of the AFL, CIO and welfare groups, permits the cannery bosses to pay straight time for a 14 week period, regardless of the number of hours worked in a week. For an additional 14 weeks they are required to pay time and one-half only after 56 hours. This 28-week period covers

the bulk of the canning season. Needless to say, there isn't much of an overtime problem when the season is over.

To do a dirty job up right, his order also permits the hiring of girls at the age of 16.

Durkin's action was taken after the Defense Department explained to him that the canners would not contract to supply the armed forces with canned fruits and vegetables so long as the Walsh-Healey overtime and child-labor provisions remain in force. In anticipation of the extremely remote possibility that Durkin might suggest that they simply buy their canned goods on the open market after processing, the information was volunteered to him that this was not feasible because they need a special large-size can not ordinarily available!

Special dispensations of this kind were granted to the cannery operators through most of the war years despite the consistent opposition of organized labor. This opposition appeared to have culminated in victory last year when Secretary of Labor Tobin refused to renew an exemption previously in force. Durkin's action reverses Tobin's decision and restores the canners' right to more intensely exploit their workers while filling government orders.

If one of Durkin's kids should ever come across the definition of a labor bureaucrat as "a lieutenant of capital in the ranks of labor," he can nod his head and say, "That's my pop."

Notes from the News

HARRY BRIDGES, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, won a major victory in his long fight against deportation. The Supreme Court on June 15 dismissed an indictment for perjury against Bridges and two co-defendants, Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson on the grounds that the three-year statute of limitations had run out at the time the indictment was issued.

The court ruling voided a five-year prison sentence against Bridges and two-year sentences against Schmidt and Robertson. It blocked the government's deportation moves for the time being. However, there are indications that the Justice Department will seek new legal devices to continue the persecution of Bridges.

This is the third time Bridges has defeated deportation attempts based on his alleged membership in the Communist Party. An important factor in frustrating the plans of the witch-hunters has been the splendid solidarity of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in backing Bridges to the hilt despite all inner-union differences on political or trade union questions.

PROFITS for 585 leading manufacturing companies rose 9% for the first three months of 1953, totalling \$1,531,258,205, as compared with \$1,401,139,836 for the first three months of last year. Industrial production now stands at an all "peacetime" high.

WAGE INCREASES averaged just over seven cents an hour for the first five months of this year, as unofficially reckoned by government statisticians, according to the June 15 Wall Street Journal. The average worker, however, received far less than seven cents while skilled workers made the greatest gains. The trend since the end of World War II of a narrowing percentage spread between pay rates for skilled and unskilled workers is now apparently being reversed. As examples, New Jersey diaper factory workers suffered a two-cent hourly wage cut, box makers in Georgia received no wage increase and toothbrush makers in Massachusetts gained only five cents, while tool and die makers in Chicago got a 30-cent an hour raise.

A **CHICAGO FIRM** has instituted a plan providing one year vacation with full pay, every ten years. In New Jersey a union won a contract providing for a year's vacation with pay, every five years. These provisions are substitutes for pension plans.

NEARLY 170,000,000 pounds of butter, more than one pound for every American, jam the warehouses of the government, which is daily buying up 2,000,000 lbs. under the price support

program. It is feared that there will soon be no room left for additional butter storage as butter-churners are turning out more butter than ever before while consumers are using about half as much as in 1943.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT has spent an estimated \$50-billion in the destruction of most of Korea and the desolation of millions of its people. President Eisenhower opened an "Aid to Korea Week" with an appeal for \$5-million.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the Advancement of Colored People will hold its 44th annual convention in St. Louis on June 23 to 28.

SECRETARY OF LABOR Martin Durkin, former head of the AFL Plumbers, is said to be considering resignation from the Eisenhower "millionaires' club" cabinet. According to reports Durkin has already agreed to write an article in a national magazine explaining why he quit, if and when he does.

SEN. MCCARTHY is scheduled to go on a weekly nation-wide TV program next fall, according to a story in the N.Y. Post. Marquis Childs, columnist, claims that a secret deal has been made between the notorious witch-hunter and a group of Texas oil multi-millionaires to finance the program which will reach millions every week. Involved in the deal is said to be one of the three or four richest men in the world, H. L. Hunt of Dallas, whose income after taxes is reputed to top \$20-million a year.

RATS BIT a ten-month-old girl, Milagra Burgos, as she slept in her crib in a crowded Harlem tenement. Her father Felix had previously complained to the landlord about the holes in the walls of his apartment. Hospital records reveal this is only one of many such cases in the area. According to the N. Y. Health Department, 261 rat bites have been reported from January through May of this year, substantially higher than the 221 case for the same period in 1952.

"RICE-PADDY LEGS" are the latest contribution of the American "liberators" to Korea. This new artificial leg is described by its inventor, William Tausberg, as "light-weight, easy to manipulate and suitable for rough terrain and muddy fields." The first shipment of fifty legs will be sent to Korea soon, but the plan to set up a hospital with 900 beds, to take care of Korean amputees indicates the extent of the problem. According to Dr. Howard Rusk of Bellevue Hospital many of the 15,000 amputees in Korea are unable to leave hospitals for lack of artificial legs. The "rice-paddy" leg costs \$10 to \$20 compared to \$300 or \$400 for standard artificial legs.

THE MILITANT

Dockers Boo Gov. Dewey



Thousands of demonstrating members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association in New York booed Gov. Thomas E. Dewey (arrow) as he arrived for hearings on proposed plans to end waterfront corruption. The dock workers were angered by the proposition that they be required to register with a state agency. Dewey's plan hits at victimized workers, protects politicians and employers responsible for gangsterism.

GIs IN KOREA USE "ROUGH WORDS" AT RHEE'S MOVES TO BLOCK TRUCE

(Continued from page 1) interruption of the shooting." He told the GIs that "there must be no thought of going home until a permanent peace and stability have been restored in Korea."

WHAT GIs WANT
But there are clear indications that the desire of the GIs in Korea to come home is universal and intense — and may become overwhelming. An Associated Press dispatch from the Korean Western Front, dated June 12, reports the "sharply impatient" reactions of U.S. troops to South Korean dictator Syngman Rhee's proclaimed opposition to a truce. They had "rough words" for Rhee.

"I'd like to take the old so-and-so along with me on patrol tonight and give him a taste of their mortars," one rasped. Others spoke against remaining in Korea after an armistice is reached. "Thirty seconds is too long to stay in Korea," said one private from Hattiesburg, Miss. A corporal from Binghamton, N. Y., said: "I don't think the boys doing the fighting now should

have to do occupation duty — not for six months like I heard might happen, anyway." A private from Zenia, Ohio, observed, "Some guys have been here too long, including me."

To which a corporal from Newfane, N. Y., put the period: "Everybody's been here too long."

KOREANS TOO

If the American troops, who were dragged to Korea against their will, are so anxious to get out, the Korean people are even more anxious for them to go. Dictator Rhee's demand that the war be continued reflects in large part his fear that a truce might lead to withdrawal of the U.S. troops. They have been his main protection from the Korean masses in the civil war that has developed into the present conflict.

The propaganda about how anxious the Korean people are to fight "communism" is being given the lie now that Washington appears to have decided to make a truce despite Rhee's objections. Commenting on the staged anti-truce demonstrations in Seoul

under the direction of Rhee's police, the N. Y. Times on June 12 reported:

WOULD CHOOSE PEACE

"The Korean people are tired of war. In the opinion of those who have been close to the ordinary citizens . . . if a secret ballot were taken tomorrow on a choice between war and peace, the people here would choose peace."

"Even officials of the Rhee government at the center of the strong movement to get a more favorable truce agreement or to continue the struggle alone, are aware that at this stage most of their people are apathetic. In fact, the people of Korea have been so beaten down by the hardships they have endured that most Government officials think that if Communist representatives should be allowed to come into the country, as they will under the terms of the projected truce agreement, the South Koreans would feel in their simplicity that the war had been lost and such Communist agents had come as victors."

AT ANY PRICE

The true sentiments of the Korean people are summed up even more succinctly by the Times' Tokyo correspondent Lindsey Parrot: "Surveys appear to show that most of the Korean people want peace more than anything else, no matter at what price."

Why shouldn't the Korean people be only too glad to be rid of "liberators" whom they blame for the almost total destruction of their country and the slaughter and maiming of millions? Greg MacGregor, of the Times, wrote from Seoul on June 13 of the havoc created by U.S. bombs, shells and napalm:

"Since the war began about 700,000 homes have been destroyed [in South Korea] . . . Between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 civilians have lost their lives. . . About 100,000 infants and children have been orphaned, entire cities have been leveled, industrial developments as well as hospitals wiped from the face of Korea in a single night. . . At least 2,000,000 persons here of the 4,000,000 who — often with infants strapped to their backs — walked through the wind-swept valleys and scaled frozen ridges, dragging the sick and dying, are still homeless and wandering."

U.N. RESPONSIBLE

"Almost the entire direct responsibility for the physical destruction to South Korean properties and industries," MacGregor admits, "lies with the United Nations command. . . the areas ranging from just north of Taegu all the way to the Yalu river have been hammered unmercifully by the hard-hitting United Nations artillery and bombed many times over by the Air Force. Burning and pillaging by the Communists accounted for only a fraction of the total losses in lives and properties."

The Korean people did not ask us to come into their country. The great atrocity committed by the U.S. military and political leaders against these people will be an everlasting mark of shame on this nation. We can lay the basis for peace in Korea only by withdrawing the U.S. troops. They don't want to stay; the Korean people want them out.

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EINSTEIN CHALLENGES CONGRESS INQUISITION

(Continued from page 1) same advice that has been given by every Communist lawyer that has appeared before our committee."

Dr. Einstein is not only a scientific giant, but he towers above most of the prominent intellectuals in his social conduct and moral courage. Some intellectuals have even turned on Einstein and offered apologies for the witch hunters. Dr. George S. Counts of Columbia Teachers College and Dr. Sidney Hook, professor of philosophy at New York University, have attacked Dr. Einstein's proposal to refuse to testify in red-baiting investigations as "ill-considered and irresponsible." They claim it "only aids the camouflage of the Communists."

Their slanderous statements were issued in the name of an organization which calls itself the "American Committee for Cultural Freedom," an example of real camouflage if ever there was one.

ORIGIN OF LETTER

Dr. Einstein's declaration of resistance to the witch hunters was contained in a letter to William Fraenglass, New York high school teacher of English. Fraenglass told the scientist that he had been called on April 24 before the Jenner committee as a result of lectures made six years earlier on "Techniques of Intercultural Teaching," which some informer had said were "against the interests of the United States."

"On principled constitutional grounds I refused to answer questions as to political affiliations," Fraenglass wrote, noting that he now faced dismissal for refusing to answer official questions by pleading protection of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. He told Dr. Einstein that "a statement from you would be most helpful in rallying educators and the public to meet this new obscurantist attack."

EINSTEIN'S MESSAGE

Dr. Einstein's reply, containing the postscript, "this letter need not be considered 'confidential,'" is stated in part: "The problem with which the intellectuals of this country are

confronted is very serious. The reactionary politicians have managed to instill suspicion of all intellectual efforts into the public by dangling before their eyes a danger from without. Having succeeded so far they are now proceeding to suppress the freedom of teaching and to deprive of their positions all those who do not prove submissive, i.e., to starve them."

"What ought the minority of intellectuals to do against this evil? Frankly I can see only the revolutionary way of non-cooperation in the sense of Gandhi's. Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country."

"This refusal to testify must be based on the assertion that it is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition and that this kind of inquisition violates the spirit of the Constitution."

"If enough people are ready to take this grave step they will be successful. If not, then the intellectuals of this country deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them."

This is the spirit and tone of a great and free mind. More important than the practical suggestion in this letter — for certainly Dr. Einstein does not intend the proposal in his letter as a fully rounded program of struggle — is its fighting spirit. This is the true voice of freedom America needs and should heed.

Joseph Urges Public Aid to Church Schools

Speaking at a dinner of the Jesuit Seminary Association, New York City's Comptroller Lazarus Joseph supported the Catholic hierarchy's opposition to the democratic doctrine of the separation of church and state by proposing church financial aid to parochial schools. He claimed that it would relieve congestion in the public schools. Why not use the money for more public schools instead?

Steel Companies Yield to Union On Pay Demand

By Thomas Raymond

The 8½-cent general wage increase and the wiping out of the Southern differential, just won by the CIO United Steelworkers of America under the wage reopening

clause in its two year contract, were gains won by the threat of strike. The companies were evidently unwilling to face a long shutdown of their profitable production, and they knew that the steelworkers, although reluctant to strike, would have solidly followed any union strike call.

In total, the new agreement provides a package that will cost the steel companies a little better than 10 cents an hour per worker. The 8½-cent general increase becomes the new base upon which all incentive and tonnage plans shall be calculated. Everybody will get it, and in addition, the companies have agreed to negotiate this same raise for salaried workers, plant guards, iron ore workers, and all others represented by the United Steelworkers.

ENDS DIFFERENTIAL

The agreement wipes out once and for all the Southern differential of 5 cents an hour; a differential which is as old as the industry, and which has been whittled down by the union in 17 years of struggle. A 2½-cent wage increase will be given the Southern workers over and above the general increase on Jan. 1, 1954, and another 2½ cents on July 1, 1954, after which all basic steel workers throughout the nation should be receiving equal rates of pay.

The company offer when negotiations opened was only 4 cents an hour. The fact that they came all the way up to 10 cents in order to avert a strike may be attributed to a number of factors:

1. The companies face no problem at all in getting a price increase, since price controls were removed by the Eisenhower administration some months ago. Already the basic steel companies are in the process of raising prices

many times more than they need to cover the wage hike. Steel markets are not so strong as they were two years ago, but apparently still strong enough to carry this increase. With price controls off, the steel industry didn't need to carry on a drawn-out campaign designed to squeeze government agencies for the last possible penny in price increases.

EYE ON MACDONALD

2. The steel companies were evidently motivated, at least partly, by a desire to make things easy for David J. MacDonald, new union president replacing Murray. A squeeze on MacDonald at this time would have made it very hard for him to consolidate his shaky position, and a fiasco for MacDonald might have opened the way for a more militant wing to grow within the union. Of all the nebulous factions and groupings in the union, the companies prefer the MacDonald wing by far.

3. The steel companies may have wished to present to the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. In other words, where the steel industry was anxious, in last year's pre-election negotiations, to whip up the biggest strike crisis it could muster, this year it may have been anxious to show the labor movement and the country that when the Republicans are in office things go easier. In any event, they were under no similar compulsion to create a crisis.

Basically, however, nothing could have been won without the adamant strike threat which the union put to the company in negotiations, and without the knowledge, on the part of the companies, that the workers were ready to make good on that threat.

CIO Packinghouse Workers Map Plans for Wage Fight

CHICAGO — Six hundred stewards and officers of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America, meeting here to discuss the union's demands in coming wage negotiations, voted to fight for a 20 cents an hour increase in wages to bring the earnings of packinghouse workers up to the level of workers in other CIO unions.

To strengthen the union's hand in the negotiations, the meeting also adopted the following program:

1. Set up a strike strategy committee.

2. Neighborhood committee to solicit funds and other support for a strike.

3. Recommend that all locals increase their dues and put the increase in a strike fund.

4. Joint wage conference with the AFL.

5. Intensify processing of plant grievances during negotiations.

6. Special committee to appeal for strike funds from the CIO.

7. Use the negotiations to organize the unorganized.

8. Local strike committees.

9. Publicity committees.

LEGLESS VETERAN'S APPEAL REJECTED BY LOYALTY BOARD

(Continued from page 1) a new decision by the Veterans Administration. When the VA ruled against him earlier this year, he appealed to the Loyalty Review Board again on the ground that no effort had been made to show that either he personally or the SWP was "disloyal."

The Loyalty Review Board offered no new evidence against Kutcher or the SWP, saying only that "on the basis of all the evidence" it "came to the conclusions (a) that there are reasonable grounds to believe that Mr. Kutcher is disloyal to the Government of the United States, and (b) that there is a reasonable doubt as to Mr. Kutcher's loyalty to the Government of the United States. . . Accordingly, the decision of the Administrator of the Veterans Administration is in all respects affirmed and Mr. Kutcher's separation from the service has been requested."

NEXT STEPS PROBED

Kutcher told The Militant today that the Kutchur Civil Rights Committee, the nonpartisan group aiding him, is conferring with its attorney about legal avenues for continuing the fight to regain his job.

He said the whole situation has been complicated because the Truman "loyalty" order under which he was fired has been replaced by the Eisenhower "security" order for government employees. Under the Eisenhower program, employees like Kutcher can be

fired not only for their beliefs and affiliations, but also for not measuring up to the government's "standards" with respect to morality, sobriety, good reputation, etc. The Eisenhower program also abolishes the Loyalty Review Board, effective next August.

Murder of Tresca Is Still Unsolved

NEW YORK, June 10 — There is no evidence in the District Attorney's office that Carlo Tresca, anti-fascist editor, was killed "by a Communist thug, who, in turn, was murdered in the Balkans," as was recently claimed by a New York publisher. Nor has that office any evidence that Tresca was "killed on Mussolini's orders by the Mafia, with \$300,000 being paid for the murder," a version shown on a TV show last month.

Norman Thomas, head of the Tresca Memorial Committee, announced today that he had received this negative but specific information from Alexander Herman, assistant district attorney in charge of the Homicide Bureau. It came because of a letter sent by Thomas to District Attorney Frank S. Hogan asking confirmation or refutation of these opposing charges about the still-unsolved ten year old murder of Tresca.