

THE IMPACT OF THE EAST GERMAN UPRISING

(See Editorial Page 3)

THE

MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 26

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Burnt Offering



Revulsion Sweeps World At Murder of Rosenbergs

By Art Preis

A smell of the auto-da-fe — the burning of heretics — hangs over the land. With the legal murder on June 19 of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the modern Inquisition has sent its first two victims to the stake.

Their inquisitors kept the Rosenbergs on the rack for weeks and months, offering the condemned couple their lives in return for "recantations" and "confessions." The Rosenbergs declared their innocence to the end. They refused to "abjure" themselves and spurned the role of stoolpigeons and perjurers as demanded by the Eisenhower administration, with its Department of Justice and FBI.

Enraged that their odious compact was refused, the witch hunters in obscene haste shoved aside a last-minute stay of execution granted by Justice Douglas and claimed their blood-victims.

The whole prestige and authority of the U.S. government was mobilized to give the odor of legal sanctity to the burnings.

Eisenhower and the Supreme Court themselves, in effect, pulled the electric-chair switch. A cold-blooded six-to-three decision of the hastily reconvened Supreme Court vacated Justice Douglas' stay, granted the day before. A few hours later Eisenhower denied executive clemency, thus sealing the Rosenbergs' doom.

Eisenhower prated about the "fullest measure of justice and due process of law" allegedly extended the Rosenbergs. Only the most glibly really believe that. This was a political assassination. That is how virtually the entire world views it. This is shown by the wave of outrage and revulsion that has swept the globe at the sadistic haste with which the Rosenbergs were rushed to their death.

World-wide protest

The protests were most widespread and vocal precisely in those countries of Western Europe where American influence is reputed to be greatest. All sections of the French union movement — including the Catholic right — called for clemency to the Rosenbergs. All the Italian unions strongly voiced similar demands. Some of the leading conservative British trades unions, most notably the huge Transport and General Workers Union with 1,300,000 members, openly joined the protest movement.

In addition, the closest allies of the American capitalists — from the Pope himself to the president of France — warned against carrying through the execution because of the blow it would deal Washington's already shaky prestige among the masses of Western Europe.

Thousands among scientific, cultural, educational and religious circles here and abroad addressed appeals to Eisenhower for clemency. Some 2,300 Protestant clergymen in America voiced their opposition to the death penalty for the Rosenbergs. Eminent atomic scientists Dr. Albert Einstein and Dr. Harold C. Urey (who, incidentally, ridiculed the notion that the accused and the informer against them could have understood or conveyed atomic information) denounced

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(Continued on page 2)

Must We Die for Rhee? Ask Bitter GIs in Korea

Anti-Stalinist German Workers Wage Independent Class Battle

By John F. Petrone

What was the nature of the great demonstrations and strikes that swept East Germany beginning June 16? The first answer of the imperialist propagandists was that it was a spontaneous "anti-communist" movement that had been inspired by "the ideals of the West."

The Soviet authorities and the German Stalinists admitted that the workers had justified grievances, but they blamed the "disorders" on the activities of spies and saboteurs paid and directed by the imperialists.

Both these explanations are false. It was an independent workers movement, which was both anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist in character. All the available facts confirm this analysis, first stated in *The Militant* last week.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND

On June 16 a number of construction workers in East Berlin, estimated at 5,000, left their jobs and began to parade through the streets toward the main government buildings. They chanted slogans and carried banners expressing a grievance.

Six days before, the Stalinist government had announced a "liberalization" program. In line with the new tactics of the Kremlin, this program was designed to show that the Stalinists are willing to make concessions to promote their bargaining with the West over the unification of Germany.

The June 19 program offered to restore property to small businessmen who had fled out of the Soviet zone, reach an amicable agreement with the churches, ease up on rationing, lower prices, etc. In the next six days the Stalinists released several thousand people arrested for minor violations of regulations, called off the purge of teachers and students in the schools, relaxed travel rules, and promised to modify their five-year plan so that more soft-goods products would be available.

These measures were widely interpreted as moves to reverse the "Sovietization of East Germany."

ORDERLY MARCH

But apparently they were not what the workers of East Germany wanted. Their demonstration on June 16 began with a demand to cancel a May 28 decree requiring them to speed up their work so that they produced 10% more — with no increase in pay.

The march was orderly. The German Stalinist cops did not interfere, although the workers booted them.

This unusual sight attracted a great deal of attention from people on the streets and at windows in houses along the way. Many of them cheered the demonstrators, who shouted back: "Everyone out of your house!"

As they passed by, the people in the streets stopped and began to discuss and argue what they had seen.

In addition to the protest against the speedup, the workers began to chant other slogans: "We don't want a people's army, we need butter." "We don't want a Volkskammer (the East German parliament), we want free elections." "Away with the interzonal and intersectoral borders (dividing Germany) — let our mothers see their sons!"

And most important of all: "General strike tomorrow! Everybody out for a general strike tomorrow!"

When they reached the government buildings, an official tried to speak to them, but they booted him down.

Finally, they left, and most of them went back to their jobs.

GENERAL DEBATE

Late into the night debates went on all over the city. "Will there actually be a general strike" (Continued on page 4)

Battle-Wearied GIs



Still waiting for the longed-for truce, battle-exhausted American troops in Korea drop wearily to the ground for a much-needed rest after the bloody fighting for Vegas Outpost. Soldiers like these are voicing "bring us home" sentiments and are bitter about truce-stalling.

Light Shed On Origins Of the War

By Joseph Keller

Are American GIs to die in Korea because of Syngman Rhee's refusal to accept a truce? Will the South Korean dictator, with the connivance of his U.S. backers like Sen. McCarthy and Gen. Van Fleet, maneuver this country into a bigger and bloodier war in the Far East?

These are the questions burning in the minds of the U.S. troops in Korea and of their folks here at home. And there is a growing conviction that nothing less than the complete withdrawal of the American armed forces from Korea will prevent eventual involvement, regardless of any present cease-fire, in further warfare in the Far East.

Severe censorship prevents our knowing fully the ferment going on among the troops. But there has been more than one hint of the powerful tide of "bring us home" sentiment sweeping the GIs. Rhee's efforts to blow up the imminent Korea truce has embittered them even more at the prospects of remaining in that ruined, blood-drenched land.

FRONT LINE REACTION

Some idea of their sentiments is indicated by Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times military analyst, in his June 23 column. He reveals:

"... The front-line reaction, even though undoubtedly muted by censorship, has been bitter. The fighting soldier wants the war to end and Dr. Rhee and the Koreans now bear the blame in his mind for its continuance. This hostile feeling is shared in the United States by the kinsmen of United States prisoners of war and by many of those with relatives in Korea who have been hoping for months for the end of the war."

Rhee has been built up to his present position by Washington and some of the very elements who now express themselves as most "shocked" by his moves to torpedo a Korean armistice and to trigger a new explosion of warfare. Moreover, there are strong indications that Rhee's actions are being encouraged by influential elements among the military Big Brass and by the "Pacific Firsters" in Congress.

MCCARTHY BACKS RHEE

Sen. Joseph McCarthy hailed Rhee's action in releasing 27,000 prisoners of war (most of whom are being impressed into the South Korean forces) in violation of the agreement reached between the U.S.-U.N. negotiators and the Chinese-North Korean representatives. The nation's No. 1 witch hunter urged the world to "applaud the action of Syngman Rhee."

Similarly, Gen. James A. Van Fleet — former Eighth Army commander who complains he could have pushed the Chinese back to the Yalu at the cost of a mere 50,000 more casualties — said of Rhee's move: "I don't think Rhee could have done anything else." He likewise recalled that Rhee was carrying out what the U.S. command itself had threatened to do only a few weeks ago: "It had been considered... to release these prisoners and present the Reds with a fait accompli."

This refers to the fact that on April 30, Lieut. Gen. William K. Harrison, head of the U.S. truce mission at Panmunjon, threatened to release inside South Korea, before any agreement, some 50,000 North Korean prisoners of war whom the Communist spokesmen were insisting should be returned. Moreover, it was the U.S. command which first raised the phony issue of "voluntary repatriation" and forcibly separated

(Continued on Page 2)

OHIO BILLS THREATEN BASIC CIVIL LIBERTIES

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, June 22 — The Ohio House of Representatives last Wednesday passed two bills providing for the subversion of the 150-year-old civil liberties of the citizens of this State.

Both measures were included in the recommendations of the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission which, for two years, has been conducting a witch hunt to lay the groundwork for passage of police-state bills and studying "anti-subversive" bills of other states in order to make this a composite of all their most reactionary features.

The first measure, known as the Devine Bill, after its introducer and chairman of the Un-American Activities Commission, provides a fine up to \$20,000 and 20 years imprisonment for advocating or committing any act intended to overthrow, destroy or alter the constitutional form of the government of the United States or Ohio by revolution, force or unlawful means. It also bans participation in "subversive" organizations, which are declared illegal, and prohibits destruction of books or records of "subversive" organizations or hiding their funds.

Membership in such organiza-

tions is punishable by fines up to \$5,000 and imprisonment up to five years.

Witch hunting is put on a permanent basis, with a special assistant attorney general in charge and county grand juries assigned the responsibility for indicting persons and organizations charged with any of the new "crimes" established under the proposed law.

TWO DARED VOTE NO

Indicative of the state of intimidation the Ohio McCarthyites have already created here is the fact that despite official opposition to the bill by the State CIO and the Ohio branches of the American Civil Liberties Union, only two representatives, Joseph H. Avellone and Michael J. Crosser, of Cleveland, had the courage to vote against the measure.

The second bill would make the refusal of a state employee to answer the question of an in-

(Continued on page 4)

Methodist Church Conference Hits Mich. Trucks Law

The Detroit Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting at Albion, Michigan, took a strong stand in defense of civil liberties. Its resolution, passed with but two dissenting votes in a gathering of over 300 ministers and laymen, singled out for specific condemnation the Michigan Trucks Law.

"On this question the resolution stated: 'We record our opposition to the Trucks Law as an attempt to control subversion, because of its loose wording and definition of terms, and because there are already adequate legal safeguards on the Federal statutes to control subversive activity. We urge our ministers and laymen to give sober and considerate thought to what has happened in other countries when orderly democratic processes of protest and change have been replaced by political authoritarianism and hysterical reaction to those who advocate change in economic, political or social life.'"

The Michigan Federation of Labor at its May convention describes the law as "a totalitarian measure... desecrating the ideals of democracy."

NMU Seamen Get New Contract After 4-Day Strike

A four-day "no contract, no work" tie-up of 125 Atlantic and Gulf coast vessels which threatened to paralyze half the nation's fleet of 1,500 merchant ships, ended last Saturday with slight wage gains for the seamen. The settlement, signed by the CIO National Maritime Union leaders and the ship owners, gave pay increases ranging from six per cent down to two per cent instead of the original seven to five per cent demand put forth by the union.

After postponing the June 15 deadline for a new contract for 24 hours at the request of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the union heads declared that there was no strike but that individual seamen were declining to "sign on" in the absence of a contract. During the four-day strike union leaders permitted seamen to sign on for coastwise and inter-coastal voyages.

The giant United States, fastest ship in the world, alone was prevented by the union from making a projected coastwise voyage to Newport News. The United States Lines, operating the superliner, kept its entire deck and engine crew on "stand by" at time-and-a-half pay pending the settlement.

WIDENS DIFFERENTIAL

The six to two per cent wage increase finally agreed upon last Saturday further widens the gap in pay between skilled and unskilled seamen. This is another expression of the trend to reverse the process of narrowing the difference that was taking place throughout the country after the end of the second world war by across-the-board wage settlements.

Higher skilled seamen like electricians will get the six per cent pay boost. The middle ratings which include able bodied seamen will get four per cent while the lower ratings will receive only a two per cent increase.

EXAMPLE FOR ALL LABOR

Work on the docks, the sugar and pineapple plantations came to a standstill for four days. After its members returned to their

SWP CANDIDATE TO RUN FOR MAYOR IN DETROIT

DETROIT, June 18 — Frank Lovell, Michigan State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, announced here today his candidacy for Mayor in the fall elections. He pledged to campaign for the defense of civil liberties in this country.

As SWP mayoralty candidate, Lovell will also bring to the hundreds of thousands of Detroit unionists the party's program calling for the building of an independent labor party and withdrawal of American troops from Korea.

Lovell will conduct a vigorous campaign against the Trucks police-state law, passed last year by the state legislature and used first against the SWP in an attempt to bar its candidates from the state ballot last November. He will urge militant union action by all labor and liberal forces to secure repeal of this repressive legislation.

The SWP is now seeking action in the Michigan courts to test the constitutionality of the Trucks law, which bars "communist" or

"communist front organizations" from the ballot. The Attorney General has arbitrarily labeled the SWP "subversive" and subject to the Trucks law. Lovell pointed out yesterday in a press statement that the SWP is in no way connected with the Communist Party.

He declared that arbitrary rulings by government bodies against the Socialist Workers Party and actions taken against its members are a measure of the extent of the Big Business reaction, which is preparing a broad attack on the union movement.

"The most shocking action of the government to date in its general attack upon civil liberties and its determination to strike fear into the hearts of all who dare to criticize is the conviction and death sentence meted out to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg," said the SWP candidate.

HAWAII LABOR FIGHTS FRAME-UP OF LEADERS

In the greatest strike in Hawaii's history, 26,000 dock and plantation workers walked out in a four-day protest against the witch hunt conviction of longshore union leader Jack Hall and six others under the Smith "Gag" Act. The protest strike started an hour after the Federal Court jury verdict became known.

The Honolulu and Hilo waterfronts were almost completely shut down by the stop-work action of the members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The stevedores broke union precedent by refusing to load military cargo on Korea-bound ships.

Through their mass walkout the Hawaiian workers have recognized that the witch hunt is aimed against organized labor and have shown the way to resist the witch hunters through independent class action. Here is an example for the rest of American labor.

Subscriptions: \$3 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canada: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies for 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 5-7468

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XVII - No. 26 Monday, June 29, 1953

How Stalinism Will Be Ended

By George Breitman regime has instituted a decisive break with Stalinism? Deutscher seems to think so, although he states this view cautiously.

Impact of the East German Uprising

The resurgence of the East German workers is a colossal event. Despite fearful defeats and betrayals — the hell of Nazism and of war, the partition of their country, a fresh disillusionment with Stalinism — these workers have displayed a heroism, initiative and militancy unmatched in recent years.

with intrigues of rival cliques in Moscow. Regardless of what is happening behind the Kremlin walls, the defiance of the German workers has gravely damaged the prestige of the post-Stalin directorate and tends to inflame the frictions within the leading circles.

Their example will surely inspire their fellow workers in West Germany who have already begun to assert their power through their trade union organizations and protests against re-armament.

The uprising which has exploded in East Germany is part of a vaster working class movement against Stalinist monolithism and despotism which has been gathering momentum throughout the Kremlin-dominated territories, especially since Stalin's death.

Chancellor Adenauer hastened to Berlin in an effort to utilize the uprising to further his design of chaining Germany to the imperialist war machine.

Up to now there have been two notable instances of resistance to Kremlin domination stemming from the pressure of the revolutionary masses in countries within the Soviet orbit.

But the profoundest repercussions will be felt in the Stalinist world. The sight of Soviet troops and tanks shooting down unarmed workers with justifiable grievances will provoke deep disquiet among Communist workers of France and Italy.

The East German workers have gone a step further. For the first time the workers have undertaken direct nationwide mass actions deliberately aimed against the Kremlin and its satraps.

The strikes, meetings and demonstrations have proved so persistent and widespread in East Germany that the Stalinist rulers couldn't crush them by force alone.

The Kremlin's stooges in East Germany engaged in subduing the insurgent workers are also defaming them as "agents of imperialism."

This is the first significant retreat before the onset of the masses by the Stalinist overlords in the satellite countries.

To mobilize their forces for a definitive settlement with their oppressors, the German workers need our help.

Speculations have been published tying up the beginning of the East Berlin events

They Would Not Turn Stoolpigeon

Nothing about the current witch hunt is more repugnant than its system of informers and extorted "confessions."

turers demanded. They were offered their lives if they would only name some "accomplices."

The whole case of the Department of Justice against the Rosenbergs was built on the testimony of informers and "confessions" extorted either with threats of dire penalties or promises of favors.

Millions of people watched with anxiety the terrible pressure upon the Rosenbergs and wondered if they would "squeal."

The Rosenbergs were first convicted on the unsupported testimony of a single stoolpigeon acting under extreme compulsion.

The reactionaries and witch hunters of American capitalism present as hero the sneaking FBI agent or the cowardly, venal informer.

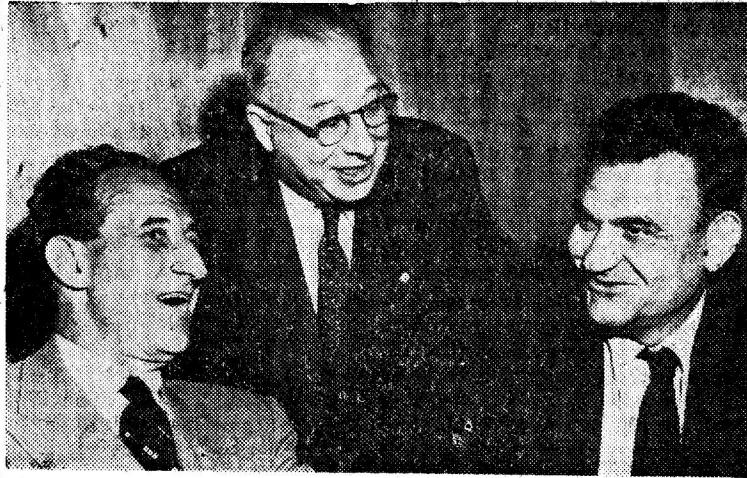
It is to their everlasting glory that they did not play this vile game as their tor-

regime has instituted a decisive break with Stalinism? Deutscher seems to think so, although he states this view cautiously. He recognizes that the government was more or less forced, after Stalin's death — for reasons explained in our article last week — to conciliate the Soviet people with measures to satisfy some of their aspirations and to keep them hoping for more concessions.

designed not to weaken the dictatorship but to strengthen it? A dictatorship cleansed of some of its more repressive and irrational features might secure a broader base of support or tolerance than it did under Stalin, especially during the first stages, when the people are hopeful of change and the regime has a desperate need to consolidate its position.

had not yet reached its fully totalitarian form in the early 30's, when Trotsky thought it was still possible to reform the Comintern;

Celebrate Bridges Victory



Wearing victory grins, three west coast longshore union leaders congratulate each other on U.S. Supreme Court decision throwing out perjury conviction against them.

SEES TUG OF WAR A tug of war has been going on inside the bureaucracy for some years. One section wants to "liberalize" and "rationalize" Stalinism; at home it wants to offer some concessions to the people to keep them from getting out of hand; abroad, it wants to offer some limited concessions to the imperialists in order to avert war, which it thinks can be postponed for a relatively long time.

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION But Deutscher knows that toward the end of Trotsky's life, and especially after the Moscow Trial purges, he never tired of advocating an "unlimited" political revolution against Stalinism.

CLERICS HERE OPPOSE AFRICANS' OWN SCHOOLS

By Robert Vernon One of the greatest accomplishments of the Kikuyu people, now defending their right to live and govern themselves against British terror in Kenya, has been the wide network of grass-roots schools

Their opponents, Deutscher continues, are the die-hard Stalinists, who draw their strength from the political police (bitterly against any changes in the status quo at home) and from the army (whose leaders think war is inevitable and refuse to yield any concessions that might be of strategic value to the imperialists in the coming war).

In fact Trotsky went so far, in the 1938 Transitional Program, as to call on the workers "to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the Soviets" in the same sense that capitalist representatives were excluded from the original Soviets.

The Tablet, American official Catholic weekly, June 6, reported with approval the chauvinistic statements of Archbishop Owen McCann of Capetown (Malan's Union of South Africa) and Teodosio Gouveia of Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa). Both expressed the identical view that there would not be the "real menace" of nationalism and the Mau Mau if all education had been kept under missionary control and "secularization of the native schools" suppressed.

Deutscher thinks the "liberalizers" in the form of the Malenkov regime, now have the upper hand. He admits that Malenkov, because of his Stalinist training, may not want to go too far; that he does not want to destroy the police, but only to tame and control them; that he may reverse his path, or be overthrown by the die-hards, if the masses get out of hand or if there is a war, etc.

Anybody who equates such a revolution, which the bureaucracy would fight tooth and nail, with the "liberalization" measures taken by Malenkov and Co., is losing touch with reality or adapting himself to Soviet Bonapartism.

British Commit Atrocities Against People of Kenya

The latest reports of the British "white supremacy" war in Kenya reveal a pattern of terror reminiscent of the Nazi exterminations or a mass lynching in southern United States.

Deutscher's illusions and runaway speculations even lead him to write: "In the 1930's Trotsky advocated a 'limited political revolution' against Stalinism. He saw it not as a full-fledged social upheaval but as an 'administrative operation' directed against the chiefs of the political police and a small clique terrorizing the nation. As so often, Trotsky was tragically ahead of his time and prophetic in his vision of the future, although he could not imagine that Stalin's closest associates would act in accordance with his scheme."

SOCIALIST REGENERATION The reality is this: The Soviet dictatorship is in the throes of a deep crisis. As a result, the bureaucracy has offered certain concessions to the workers to keep them from moving on their own.

The independent schools, according to Archbishop McCann, are "sheer hotbeds of Communist doctrine, ungodly patriotism, and ugly gangsterism." (What twisted mind could expect Africans to be soundly "patriotic" to their imperialist overlords?)

Deutscher thinks this is possible because of the generals' demand for a tough policy in foreign affairs. He does not consider it probable unless the Malenkov regime proves unable to keep the people in line, and does not believe it would mean the restoration of capitalism.

CIVIL WAR casualties in Kenya now include 1,000 natives killed by the British and their auxiliaries, while the rebels have killed 411 Africans, 17 Europeans and four Asians. These figures are all from white ruling-class sources.

The Mau Mau movement, which has been misrepresented as a "weird terrorist cult" by the British and American capitalist newspapers, is in actuality an expression of a mass revolutionary uprising of the people of Kenya against the rule of foreign landlords and capitalists who have robbed them of their lands and subjected them to ruthless exploitation for many years.

Some of Deutscher's arguments in support of this view are based on speculation pure and simple, which we can neither accept nor reject at this time. But we must reject his major conclusion, which flows from fatal defects in his analysis of Stalinism.

YUGOSLAVIA has accepted a Soviet offer to exchange ambassadors for the first time since 1949. It also agreed to let 26 Soviet war vessels pass through the Yugoslav section of the Danube River on their way to the Black Sea for repairs.

Their Morals and Ours By LEON TROTSKY 64 pages 25 cents PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

