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Spirit of Revolt Is Still Aflame In East Germany

By Art Preis

Although the heroic East German workers were forced to slow down their revolutionary offensive against the Stalinist regime in the face of overwhelming Soviet military force, their spirit of resistance continues to flame. Reports persist of sit-down strikes and slow-downs in East Berlin and other industrial cities and towns.

On July 8 as many as 100,000 East Berlin workers were reported engaged in an organized "slow-down" that virtually paralyzed industry there. New strikes broke out also in the coal fields, ship yards, steel plants and many factories in Jena, Goeritz, Zwickau, Borna and other cities. These struggles were waged largely in

support of demands for release of the workers arrested in the June 17 great uprising of more than two million workers.

In a further effort to quiet the workers and cover up the oppressive nature of his despotic regime, East German Premier Grotewohl claimed on July 9 through his press office that the "overwhelming majority" of persons arrested had been released. The government had previously given official figures of more than 50,000 arrested. It is estimated that some 10,000 are still being held.

The Stalinist press itself continues to publish accounts of severe penalties meted out to alleged leaders of the strikes in many parts of Germany. On July 4, for instance, the East German papers told of Herman Thieme, of Halle, sentenced to six years in prison for "armed participation" in demonstrations; Erich Mathes, of Chemnitz, got eight years for "inciting riots"; and two men in Halle drew five and three years for helping to storm the jail and free political prisoners. These accounts serve further to confirm previous reports of the scope and nature of the uprising, as well as the severity of the suppression.

BITTERFIELD REVOLT

Further evidence of the revolutionary nature of the struggle, aimed in essence at the overthrow of the regime is contained in Stewart Alsop's dispatch from Berlin in the July 10 N.Y. Herald Tribune. He gives the details of an interview with the leaders "of a revolt which actually seized and for a time exercised power in the city of Bitterfeld."

The workers in the big Bitterfeld electro-magnetic combine had "organized an elaborate cell system" in their plant and on June 10 — a week before the East Berlin upsurge — had closed the whole plant down in protest against the increase in production norms with no raise in pay. The next day, to the workers' astonishment, their first meager demands were met in full and they went back to work.

The workers absorbed the lesson of the regime's uncertainty and weakness and struck again on June 15 with increased demands. Again their demands were met. When on June 17 word arrived of the Berlin general strike, every factory in Bitterfeld struck and the workers filled the streets.

They immediately held a city-wide mass meeting, elected a man named Fiebelkorn, known as a "militant intellectual," as chairman of a "Bitterfeld District Strike Committee" and "the com-

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Beria Purge Reveals Gravest Soviet Crisis Since Thirties

Overcome by Emotion



Mrs. Mary Proscia, 51, collapses on pier in Staten Island, N.Y., after greeting her son, Sgt. Frank Proscia, home from Korea. She is helped by her son and two relatives. She managed to sob, "Frankie it's been so long." That's what mothers of a half million U.S. personnel still in Korea also feel.

RHEE-ROBERTSON TRUCE DEAL VEILED IN SECRECY

By Joseph Keller

Even if a truce or cease-fire is signed in Korea, this does not mean peace. Far from it. It must be emphasized that two giant armies will be arrayed against each other

still and that a mere pistol shot could be the signal for immediate renewal of violent full-scale warfare. Moreover, none of the political preconditions for peace in Korea and the Far East have been achieved. As Joseph Alsop points out in the conservative N.Y. Herald Tribune, "a Korean truce, whatever its merits, will not solve anything either in the Far East or elsewhere."

Naturally, few people — particularly the kin of GIs in Korea and the soldiers themselves — would oppose a truce or anything else that would bring even a momentary halt to the useless slaughter. The American troops are described by N.Y. Times military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin as "eager for peace and unwilling to die to unify Korea."

But it has become increasingly clear that the only way this country can be extricated from the unpopular "police action" into which the American people were dragged against their will is by the prompt withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Korea and the Far East.

Certain facts surrounding the

Liberal Clergy Still Face Witch Hunt

Senator Joseph McCarthy, No. One witch hunter, momentarily appears to have come out second best in the controversy that arose over his appointment of J. B. Matthews as executive staff director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. A tremendous furor was evoked by Matthews' article in the July American Mercury which declared that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen."

So great was the outcry at this attack on the largest religious grouping in America, that Matthews offered his resignation and McCarthy "very reluctantly" and with "deep regret" accepted it. Previously McCarthy had defied a majority of his own committee and refused to dismiss Matthews. Eisenhower himself scored the attack on the Protestant clergy after receiving a telegram from the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference on Christians and Jews which denounced the Matthews article as "unjustifiable and deplorable."

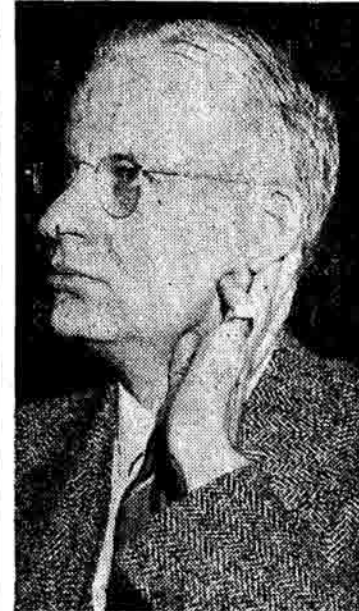
Subsequently, McCarthy won a four to three vote of his committee granting him the sole right to hire and fire its employees and assistants. In protest, the three Democrats on the committee resigned.

It must not be assumed, however, that McCarthy's witch-hunting powers have been seriously curbed or that the liberal Protestant clergy are now safe from red-baiting attack. McCarthy may have retreated, but it has been a "cool and accomplished retreat," as William S. White puts it in the July 11 N.Y. Times. He is preparing to switch to a new and formidable line of attack designed to bring the "communist" smear close to the White House itself. The offensive against the liberal Protestant clergy is being continued by the House Un-American Activities Committee headed by Rep. Harold H. Velde.

The latter committee has held preliminary closed hearings in New York City at which a crew of well-known professional ex-Stalinist informers vied with each other for publicity by their lurid testimony about alleged "Communists" or "fellow travelers" among the liberal Protestant clergy. On July 21, the full committee hearings will

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Witch Hunter



J. B. MATTHEWS

NAACP Adopts Ten-Year Plan To End Jim Crow

By Jean Blake

The 44th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, meeting in St. Louis, Mo., the last week in June, adopted a ten-year plan aimed at the complete emancipation of colored Americans by 1963, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

This setting of a deadline for the ending of second-class status for Negroes implies a rejection of the gradualist theory on the Negro struggle, which holds that through education and the workings of the "democratic process," equality for all will slowly but surely be achieved.

Complete elimination of Jim Crow, one of the most widespread and deeply-rooted capitalist institutions in the United States, in ten years, would require revolutionary changes in our "American way of life." To achieve such a goal, the NAACP would have to adopt a program radically different from the one the routine resolutions of the 44th convention outlined.

Resolutions adopted by the delegates set up a "Fighting Fund for Freedom" aimed at raising \$10,000,000 in ten years; established a national youth committee; set up procedures for legal action; called for expansion of public relations facilities and approved the calling of a special

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Wave of Repressions Seen as Answer to Rising Mass Discontent

By John G. Wright

The purge of secret police chief Beria discloses that Stalin's successors are gripped by an even graver crisis of their regime than was signaled by the frame-up trials of the Thirties.

For the first four months, Malenkov's directorate sought to consolidate itself by making concessions, or promises of them, to the people while strengthening the repressive apparatus inherited from Stalin. By alternating and combining these two methods they hoped to rehabilitate the dictatorship and make their way through the mounting difficulties assailing the regime from so many directions.

The drastic move against Beria and his associates signifies that their new course has only compounded the difficulties facing the post-Stalin leadership. These have driven them to fall back upon the typical Stalinist method for coping with internal crises — a sweeping purge from top to bottom.

The seriousness of the situation stands out in the public acknowledgment by the new regime that such a mainstay as the secret police is unreliable.

Beria himself, who nominated Malenkov, must be sacrificed. The capitalist press is filled with speculations about the causes of Beria's downfall. One school of prognosticators sees nothing but a naked struggle for personal power. Another sees the clash of conflicting policies behind the walls of the Kremlin.

A third, seeking to probe deeper, singles out the conflict between the secret police, the ruling party and the armed forces. But none of them point to the

basic antagonism in Soviet life — the antagonism between the privileged, arbitrary bureaucratic caste, whose interests the regime defends, and the mass of the Soviet people, fermenting with discontent and growing opposition constitute the basic factor in the unfolding crisis facing the Malenkov regime.

The opposition of the workers is primary. The regime prefers to pass this over in silence in its official declarations. But it has acknowledged (1) the oppositional moods and tendencies within the national minorities who actually constitute the majority of the Soviet population; and (2) similar tendencies among the peasants as reflected in the "difficulties" and "shortcomings" affecting the collective farms.

"NO PANIC"

Over Stalin's corpse, Malenkov, Beria-Molotov pledged collective leadership, close-knit ranks, and monolithism. Calling for confidence and "no panic" or "disarray," the short-lived triumvirate in effect issued a guarantee against the repetition of blood purges that had been heralded by Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign just before the dictator's death.

With the agreement of his colleague, Beria "assured" the Soviet people their civil rights

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Branches Collect \$401 In Campaign for Funds

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party collected \$401 during the week on their quotas in the three-months \$18,000 Party Building and Publication Fund. The score-

board (see page two) shows a national total of \$3,337 contributed — 18%. That's 13% short of being on schedule at the end of the first month.

Eight branches, however, set a fast pace and are on schedule, or ahead of schedule. Newark is leading the way with 49% of its \$500 quota already in.

Akron's initial contribution of \$70 places this branch second on the scoreboard with 47%. The comrades there hope they will be able to go over their quota of \$150.

The Chicago crew didn't let any grass grow under their feet either. Chicago's regular weekly

checks now total \$556 or 37% of their \$1,500 quota. "We sincerely hope," writes Carol Houston, "that we can continue sending in checks over \$100 every week. The Chicago Branch understands the need for the Fund and everyone is making a sincere effort to arrange their finances to meet the need. We are more than certain of going over the top!"

Boston, ahead of schedule with 35% of its \$550, "hopes to continue as well throughout the campaign."

Cleveland, high on the scoreboard with 34% of its \$350 quota already fulfilled, comments: "As always, we'll try to beat it." Comrade Seton made this prediction early in the campaign for the Philadelphia comrades: "It is very likely that we will go over the 100% mark, but we hesitate to predict how much." Having already sent in \$135 — 34% of their \$400 quota — she says, "I am confident we'll be picking up steam shortly." Your prediction, Comrade Seton, sounds to us like a sure bet.

Buffalo's steady pace has piled up a total of \$493 toward their \$1,500 goal. They are ahead of schedule with 33%.

Comrades Jean and Chester, in charge of the Minneapolis - St. Paul fund campaign, have been shooting in enough money each week to keep the Twin Cities ahead of schedule. They have completed 32% of their \$1,200 quota.

Some of those branches behind schedule have expressed their de-

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The Basis for Sound Unity of the CIO and AFL

The secession of ten locals of the CIO Brewery Workers to Dave Beck's AFL Teamsters and the angry complaint by CIO President Walter Reuther that this might damage the merger negotiations between the CIO and AFL, have focused attention on the whole question of AFL-CIO unity.

Unity discussions have been taking place under increasingly unfavorable conditions for the CIO. These make for pressure on the CIO leadership to yield maximum concessions to the more conservative and craft-minded AFL top bureaucracy in any eventual unity agreement.

In the mid-Thirties the CIO industrial union movement spearheaded the struggles of American workers. It smashed the power of the open shop in the hitherto impregnable mass industries, like steel, auto and rubber. It unleashed a tremendous dynamism that brought millions of unorganized workers into the union fold. The aggressive, militant march of the industrial CIO thrust the backward, craft-ridden AFL into a relatively minor role.

By the end of World War II, the CIO with well over six mil-

lion members was fast approaching the numerical strength of the AFL. By virtue of its strategic position in basic industries, the CIO played the dominant role. It reached its zenith in the 1945-46 strike wave when CIO steel, auto, electrical and other industrial workers to the number of more than two million were on the picket lines at one time. So mighty in action was the CIO that the corporations and their government didn't dare try to smash picket lines. The CIO stood firmly united as a power in the land.

AFL HAS RECOUPED

Today, the AFL has more than recouped its position in relation to the CIO. It has gained substantial numerical superiority over the CIO and has greater cohesiveness. It is even threatening to pull the CIO apart a piece at a time. Individual affiliates of the CIO, specifically the pack-houses, brewery and utilities workers, have engaged in their own separate merger talks with AFL national unions. Whatever the immediate outcome of these talks, they are cutting across the formal AFL-CIO unity discus-

sions and are impairing the position of the CIO.

Within the CIO there are evidences of division. The power struggle between the cliques headed by Reuther and by David J. McDonald, who inherited the Steelworkers' presidency following the death of Philip Murray, was settled only in a formal sense with Reuther's election as president of the CIO. Recently it was revealed that McDonald had been conferring with John L. Lewis of the independent United Mine Workers. It is generally believed the subject of their talks was labor unity and it is doubtful that McDonald represented the official views of the CIO.

REUTHER'S ROLE

Reuther's own conduct as head of the CIO has served to deepen its internal crisis. He has committed dictatorial provocations that have aroused deep resentment among CIO affiliates. An example is his threat to place a dictator-receivership over the CIO Packinghouse Workers because its leaders, Reuther falsely alleged, hold "communist" views.

The unprincipled clique fight-

for power, based on no real differences of program, have heightened the danger of CIO disintegration.

But the fundamental cause of the CIO's internal crisis is the false policies of its whole leadership under Philip Murray in the entire period following the 1945-46 strike wave. Reuther represents a continuation of these policies.

GOVERNMENT BLOWS

The great victories won by the CIO through fighting actions on the picket lines were snatched away by the government. Truman opened the way for tremendous inflation when he yielded to the price demands of the steel and packinghouse bosses. The workers' wage gains were speedily wiped out by price rises. In June 1947 the infamous Taft-Hartley Act was passed with the support of a majority of Democrats in Congress.

The growing reactionary tide cried out for a bold new course of independent political action through the launching of a Labor Party.

But the CIO leaders clung to the corrupt and reactionary Dem-

ocratic Party machine. With Reuther taking the lead through the auto union, the CIO officials capitulated in the fight against Taft-Hartley by agreeing to its yellow-dog, non-Communist oath. And they turned the energies of the CIO into support of the State Department's cold war and witch hunt against "communism."

A major blow was struck at CIO unity and strength, when, at the behest of the State Department, the Murray-Reuther leadership engineered the expulsion of ten Stalinist-influenced affiliated unions. This lopped hundreds of thousands of good union workers off the CIO rolls.

LONG-TERM CONTRACTS

Combined with the red-baiting witch-hunt policy, which was quickly turned against all militant workers and any who disagreed with the top leadership's policies, went an increasingly conservative approach to the economic problems of the workers and their shop conditions. This was symbolized by the notorious five-year auto contracts signed by Reuther which have saddled the auto workers with speed-up and other bad shop con-

ditions and set in motion a CIO trend to long-term contracts which have a gravely debilitating effect on unions.

The CIO is facing the hazards of the future with a loss of strength, cohesion and perspective.

There have been several moves in the past to reestablish labor unity. They got nowhere because the objective conditions were not altogether favorable. The present move toward AFL-CIO unity gets its basic impulse from the election of Eisenhower and the Republican sweep last November. This destroyed the Democratic-labor alliance of 20 years and promised intensification of anti-union reaction all down the line.

Direct control of the government is now vested in Big Business and High Finance, signified by Eisenhower's cabinet of millionaires and one labor lieutenant occasionally to have his picture taken with the other cabinet members. The most sinister anti-labor elements have been pushed to the forefront; the influence of the McCarthys and Tafts looms ever larger.

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Letters to a Stalinist

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF GERMAN REVOLT?

Dear Phil,

What do you think about the Daily Worker line on the general strike uprising of the East German workers? In all our past discussions you told me that you knew the party leaders had committed many mistakes and even crimes. You even felt that they were guilty of organizing frame-up trials in Moscow. You disagreed with the war-time policy of the American Communist Party, with its strike-breaking and betrayal of the Negro struggle for civil rights.

I remember how disgusted you were when the Communist Party used its influence in the Longshoremen's Union to break the Montgomery Ward strike during the war. It took you a long time to get over that betrayal, but in the end you swallowed it.

You always came back to one point: Despite all these crimes and mistakes, events showed that the policy of Stalin was getting results, the Communist Parties were leading socialist revolutions and gaining victories all over the world.

Now what about East Germany? Knowing you as I do, I expect your reaction was, "Yes those East German workers have their grievances and misery all right, and it's a shame the Red Army had to be used against them, but weren't these workers playing into the hands of western imperialism by their revolt?"

To bolster your argument, you will probably refer me to such sources as the editorial in the June 24 Daily Worker which says, "The facts about the 'riots' and 'revolution' are that with very few exceptions the persons arrested by the authorities were from West Berlin, or were criminal elements who came out of hiding during workers' demonstrations for unity and tried to turn these demonstrations into anti-Soviet demonstrations. And the guilt of these elements cannot be buried by the fact that some East Germans were sucked into these provocations and participated in the rioting."

As you no doubt know, this is lifted from the Stalinist International newspaper For a Lasting Peace, etc., which describes the leaders of the general strike as "Nazi killers," "American gangsters" and "fascist cutthroats." This paper says that the movement failed "because the broad sections of the population in the democratic sector of Berlin and in the German Democratic Republic did not support it."

I disagree. The Stalinist leaders are carrying on a world-wide campaign of slander against the East German workers. Crushing the East German general strike was a direct blow at the world anti-capitalist revolution. You can't be for the world revolution and the Stalinist counter-revolutionary repressions in East Germany at the same time.

Who participated in the movement? Is it true that "broad sections" of the East German people opposed the general strike? In a country of 18 million people, 2,000,000 workers in every branch of industry joined the general strike. The movement involved over 40 major cities in East Germany. Piecing together numerous admissions of the Stalinists, the fact emerges — the whole of the East German working class rallied to the struggle. Even Deputy Premier Otto Nuchke had to admit that the "bitter events of June 17" had grown out of "considerable discontent in many sections of the working classes in Berlin and industrial areas of East Germany."

Who led the movement? The Stalinists claim that it was "provocateurs" in the pay of Washington. They attempt to prove this by the further claim that "with very few exceptions" those arrested were such provocateurs. But according to Max Fechner, East Germany's Minister of Justice, 50,000 people were arrested. Were these 50,000 workers provocateurs and Nazi killers? Isn't it obvious that this is the kind of "explanation" police-minded strike-breakers always give to smear a genuine workers' action?

What were the aims of the movement? Despite all the Stalinist slanders, the East German workers were fighting to rid themselves of the bureaucratic stranglehold of the Kremlin without making the slightest concessions to capitalism. All the slogans raised by the demonstrators prove this. End the speed-up! Free elections! Remove the troops of the Kremlin! These were the demands of the East German workers and they are in complete harmony with the march of the world revolution against capitalism.

The most astute capitalist commentators are fully aware of this anti-capitalist character of the East German workers' revolt. Walter Sullivan of the N.Y. Times wrote on June 19, "The Western powers themselves indicated they considered the Berlin situation to have dangerous potentialities." He tells how meetings in West Germany were called off because "the present situation (is) too explosive to allow such meetings now."

The Kremlin hurled 300,000 troops at the East German workers. Tanks, machine guns and firing squads were the weapons of the Stalinist counter-revolutionaries. Neues Deutschland, East German Stalinist newspaper "explained" why the Red Army was used. "Of course, it would have been better if the German workers had repelled the provocations themselves in time. The workers did not have the high sense of responsibility."

Here you have it in a nutshell. The haughty bureaucrats, placed in power by the Kremlin over the workers, are momentarily saved from the workers' wrath by the Kremlin's "blood and iron" repressions, and then, they deliver pious sermons about the workers' lack of "responsibility."

— Murry Weiss

Malenkov Regime Rocked by East German Upsurge

By John G. Wright

The Malenkov regime was caught by surprise and rocked to its heels by the East German events. The regime is especially fearful of repercussions inside the USSR resulting from the massive reappearance of the German working class as an independent force on the political arena. This is clearly shown by Pravda, chief mouthpiece of the post-Stalin regime. Within six days of the uprising of the East German workers, Moscow organized an All-Union propaganda campaign to hide the truth about East Germany from the Soviet workers, a campaign still going on by early July.

On June 17, Pravda carried nothing about the East German insurrectionary movement. On June 18, it published a Tass dispatch from Berlin, headlined: "Adventure of Foreign Hirelings in Berlin Crashes." It contained brief extracts from two statements issued by the East German government on June 17, blaming "fascists and other reactionary elements of West Berlin," appealing to the population to maintain law and order, and claiming that the "adventure" had crashed because it "ran up against the resistance of large sections of the population and of the organs of state power."

A brief explanatory paragraph read as follows: "Yesterday (i.e. June 16) there took place stoppages in certain enterprises, particularly among construction workers, in the democratic sector of East Berlin. The pretext for work stoppages was the 10% increase in labor norms introduced in recent days in some enterprises, an increase, however, which had been revoked by the government on June 16. However, the higher norm served merely as a pretext for provocateurs among foreign agents planted in West Berlin to stage stoppages in the enterprises and sallies on the streets of Berlin."

The next day, June 19, under the headline: "Newspaper Neues Deutschland Exposes Foreign Hirelings," Pravda involuntarily informed the Soviet workers that not only Berlin but the whole of East Germany was involved; that Soviet troops and tanks had been

employed to crush the insurgent German workers; and that the Stalinist German regime admitted "serious oversights."

"It is shameful," stated Neues Deutschland's leading editorial reprinted by Pravda, "that Berlin workers did not themselves terminate this disgrace, and that only the occupying power by declaring martial law with necessary resoluteness defended the living interests of the German people as well as of all other peoples," and then added that:

"... A certain section of the Berlin working class, indubitably honest people and of good will, were seized by a mood of distrust toward the German Stalinist party, the USPG, which had committed 'indubitably serious oversights.'"

The same issue of Pravda carried other brief items headlined: "Berlin Population Condemns 'Adventure of Foreign Hirelings.'" These dispatches affirmed that "foreign provocateurs" had no support among "broad layers of the population" and that everything was back to normal. "All Berlin enterprises, including government and municipal institutions, have resumed normal work."

STEP UP LIES

The following day, June 20, Pravda stepped up its lies, informing its readers that "All of German Society Is Indignant over Adventure of Foreign Hirelings in Berlin." A Tass dispatch stated: "Broad layers of society in the German Democratic Republic express their indignation over the adventure of foreign fascist agents, the threads of which lead to the American sector of Berlin." Another item reported the execution of the West German unemployed worker Willi Goettling, the only killing, incidentally, admitted on Pravda's pages.

On June 21, Pravda devoted half of page four to East Germany, featuring the "confessions" of the "West Berlin Provocateur (Werner) Kalski."

On June 22, half of page four was again devoted to Germany, with the same central theme: "Population of German Democratic Republic Condemns Fascist Provocateurs."

The next day Pravda printed



MALENKOV

its first editorial comment, taking up half of the front page, entitled: "The Crash of the Adventure of Foreign Hirelings in Berlin." Its central theme is the linking of the "provocateurist acts of the Syngman Rhee clique in South Korea." At the same time, most of page three of the same issue was devoted to the text of the resolution adopted by the USPG Central Committee at its June 21 plenum.

This resolution, while hewing to the main Stalinist line of "fascist provocation," contains several admissions to the effect: (1) that "the tranquility [in East Germany] is still by no means final. The enemy continues his undermining work"; (2) that "in many enterprises, in which strikes took place and which are now working, a section of the workers is embittered. They think the party and the government have deserted them"; and (3) "The present moment demands deeds, and the party will not play into the enemy's hands: it will not waste its forces in debates over how matters could have reached such misunderstanding among a section of the toilers. The need is now to act. For this reason the Central Committee declares in this decisive moment only one thing, namely: If the masses of workers do not understand the party, then the party is to blame, and not the workers."

To this is appended a list of concessions made by the East German regime to the insurgent German workers. Such damaging admissions have never before appeared in the Moscow press. What their effect has been upon the Soviet workers, we can only guess. But there is no question about the fears of the Malenkov regime.

A big propaganda campaign was opened inside the Soviet Union in every large factory through out the country meetings have been held. Thus, on June 26 Pravda's entire second page was devoted to a report of such meetings held in Moscow, under the banner headings: Soviet People Express Angry Indignation Against the Adventure of Foreign Hirelings in Berlin — Raise Higher the Vigilance of the Peoples — In the Struggle for Peace!

APPEALS MADE TO ORDER

Other issues of Pravda have featured similar meetings in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Stalingrad, Sverdlovsk and other cities. A typical meeting is that of the Moscow Automobile Plant, named after V. I. Stalin, which "unanimously" sent an appeal to the Berlin workers, denouncing "foreign hirelings," and "fascist provocateurs," greeting "with joy that the toilers of the German Democratic Republic, despite the sallies of foreign hirelings" are "actively supporting the actions of their government and the USPG," and appealing to them to "rally still more firmly" around this government and this party.

The same June 26 issue of Pravda devoted half of page three to reports from East Germany where the "party and government leaders" came "before the toilers" at meetings which "are, as a rule, demonstrations of the unity of the government and the people." There was, in addition, a special dispatch headlined: "Berlin Construction Workers Condemn Provocateurs." Pravda has carried accounts of similar meetings and denunciations from West Berlin and West Germany and from the countries of "People's Democracy."

They Feared Spread of Uprising

By Art Preis

Washington and Bonn have tried to make what propaganda capital they can out of the workers' uprising in East Germany. But their efforts are noticeably lacking in any attempt to encourage a continuation of the same type of revolutionary struggle. As the July 1 Wall Street Journal noted, the American capitalist leaders want the East German and East European peoples to resist their Kremlin overlords "short of open revolution."

The reaction of the political spokesmen of Wall Street and their puppet rulers of West Germany has not been one of un-mixed elation at the terrible blow dealt the oppressive rule of the Kremlin and its East German galleys by the independent action of the workers. Indeed, the "liberation idea, talked about for East Europe," drily comments the July 17 U. S. News and World Report, "was forgotten when revolt opened the way to some gesture. Officials froze into silence, inaction."

That is true up to a point. They were silent and inactive only insofar as giving any aid or guidance to the insurrection was concerned. But they did speak and act, actually, to dampen the revolutionary fire. Their enjoyment at seeing the apartment of a detested neighbor upstairs on fire was greatly tempered by their realization that they live in the same inflammable building.

At the start of the uprising, according to an eye-witness account in the pro-imperialist New Leader, the officials in West Berlin — "German and Allied" — were "completely nonplussed" and "speechless." "No news paper and no radio station [in West Berlin] was capable of giving guidance to the people. Only a few newspapers even mentioned that the demonstrators had issued a call for a general strike." The battle, complains the Social Democratic New Leader, was launched "without a single signal having been given by the western side."

URGENT "CALM"

When the "western side" did manage to speak, it was to urge "caution" and prudence on the revolutionary proletariat of East Germany. A Paris report revealed that one of the very first messages broadcast by the Adenauer regime was an address by the West German Chancellor's Minister Kayser to the insurgent workers to maintain "calm."

The fearful attitude of Adenauer, "described as passive, has struck a serious blow to the unity of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's coalition as the general election

nears," reported the June 28 N. Y. Times from Bonn. Certain right-wing critics of both the western capitalist allies and the Bonn government bitterly asserted that the uprising "produced only a series of overly cautious statements and appeals to the East Germans to be prudent and half-hearted demarches [notes to the Soviet command] by the Western commandants in Berlin."

These same critics "pointed also to the action of the Western commandants restraining West Berliners from demonstrating near the border and the six-hour delay in bringing Mayor Ernst Reuter [West Berlin Socialist] back from Munich to help organize a countermove to Soviet attempts to suppress the uprising."

The Germans were also aware of the fact that during the night of June 16-17 the American-controlled RIAS radio station did not receive any directives on how to play the news.

Spirit of Revolt Continues To Flame Inside E. Germany

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According to Alsop, "the Communist [Stalinist] mayor was quietly evicted from his office. The workers took over the headquarters of the Communist party, the secret police, and all public buildings. Eighty-six political prisoners were freed from jail, while six criminals were firmly re-locked in their cells. The workers took over the telephone office, where Fiebelkorn drafted and dispatched two remarkable telegrams."

The first telegram was addressed to the Grotzwohl government with headquarters in East Berlin. It contained a list of "eight urgent demands" that included free elections, release of all political prisoners, dissolution of the "so-called people's army" and of the government itself.

The second was sent to the Soviet General Semenov. It respectfully requested him to "lift the siege in Berlin and proclaim your solidarity with the workers in the Eastern zone." It even included space for a pre-paid reply, a mark of respect which did not prevent Soviet tanks from shortly entering Bitterfeld, crushing its workers' government and forcing its leader Fiebelkorn to flee into exile.

Undoubtedly there were other manifestations of this type throughout East Germany at the height of the uprising. But it may be a while before the information breaks through the censorship on both sides of the East German border.

When Mayor Reuter did hastily return to Berlin, "the Western powers themselves indicated they considered the Berlin situation to have dangerous potentialities," reported Berlin correspondent Walter Sullivan in the June 20 N.Y. Times. And, in a move that incidentally revealed just how much "freedom" exists in West Berlin and who runs the show there, "they advised Dr. Ernst Reuter that no public meetings were to be held without the au-

thority of the Allied Kommandatura."

In short, the first official reaction of the U. S.-British-French command in West Berlin to the East Berlin uprising was to put a ban on workers' meetings in West Berlin.

The U. S. spokesmen have continued to put a wet blanket on open mass struggle by the workers in East Berlin. On July 8, three weeks after the big street battles, when there was talk again of a call for a general strike in East Berlin, "RIAS, official United States radio station in Berlin, broadcast a special commentary several times during the night advising the workers not to demonstrate on the streets..." (Walter Sullivan, N. Y. Times, July 9.)

REVEALING COMPLAINTS

The real attitude of the capitalist leaders in Washington and Bonn toward the revolutionary upsurge in East Germany is indicated indirectly in the complaints of certain liberal and Social Democratic elements about the failure of the "west" to take advantage of the situation. These critics have to keep up the pretense that American imperialism is interested only in "liberating" the people under "communism" and not in exploiting them for Wall Street profits. Therefore like N. Y. Post columnist and history-book writer Arthur Schlesinger Jr., they profess great concern that Washington doesn't aid and encourage a working-class struggle against Kremlin rule.

Schlesinger, for instance, berates the Republicans for talking about "liberation" and doing nothing about it. Then he charges:

"There is a particular reason... for the Republican paralysis now that their liberationist dreams might be coming true. The uprisings thus far have been working-class affairs. About the last thing the Eisenhower administration is capable of doing is to release the energy of the workers of Eastern Europe."

The last thing any capitalist government wants to do is to encourage independent mass action by the working class anywhere. The capitalists are against any political struggle they cannot control, any struggle waged in the interests of the workers themselves. All the evidence points to the fact that the anti-Stalinist uprising in East Germany was a class battle conducted by socialist-minded, anti-capitalist workers. That is enough to render it mortally dangerous in all capitalist eyes.

\$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 500	\$ 245	49
Akron	150	70	47
Chicago	1,500	556	37
Boston	550	193	35
Cleveland	350	120	34
Philadelphia	400	155	34
Buffalo	1,500	493	33
Minneapolis - St. Paul	1,200	380	32
Flint	250	65	24
Youngstown	450	105	23
Pittsburgh	30	5	17
San Francisco	1,000	150	15
New York	4,500	608	14
St. Louis	75	5	7
Los Angeles	2,500	92	4
Detroit	1,500	33	2
Albany	60	0	0
Albany	400	0	0
Oakland	250	0	0
Seattle	450	0	0
General	385	82	21
Total through July 13	\$18,000	\$3,337	18

BRANCHES COLLECT \$401 IN CAMPAIGN FOR FUNDS

(Continued from page 1)

termination to complete their quotas in full and on time. Ralph Martin writes from San Francisco: "This \$150 is a down-payment on our \$1,000 pledge to the Party Building and Publication Fund. We now have only 12 more installments to go. We hope to be on time all the way through. It will be a hard job, but we will do our best."

Louise Manning, Acting Organizer of Los Angeles Local, says: "We were slow in getting started, but we plan to speed it

up by getting the comrades to pay their pledges sooner and by other activities, such as rummage sales and socials."

Two Socialist Workers Party supporters in the south have pledged \$100 to the fund. Their initial contribution came with this note: "Our friend, R. D., has pledged and already given \$5, with a promise of more."

Our thanks to the following readers of The Militant who have joined with us to help make this campaign a 100% success: West Virginia \$12; New York \$22, Ohio \$3, Massachusetts \$5.

RHEE-ROBERTSON TRUCE DEAL VEILED IN SECRECY

(Continued from page 1)

hastening to Seoul to "pacify" the chief ally of Washington. Like all imperialist diplomacy, the conferences between Rhee and Walter S. Robertson, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, were conducted in strict secrecy behind the backs of both the American and Korean peoples. We have not the slightest means of knowing the full facts of what Rhee and Robertson cooked up between them. But the fate of hundreds of millions of people may rest upon their secret accord.

This much is known, however Rhee gave no binding assurance of any kind that he will abide by an armistice for more than six months — if that long. There is no indication that Rhee will do more than tolerate a truce — which he may not sign, however — until he feels it opportune to renew military activities, which he would do, naturally, under the guise of "resisting Communist aggression."

At any rate, Rhee could sign a thousand statements that he will unqualifiedly accept a truce and they still wouldn't be worth the paper they are written on. The July 14 Christian Science Monitor pats Robertson on the back for "coming to agreement with President Rhee," but adds that "we are also frank to admit that we still wonder how the agreement can be enforced in the event of a change of mood by Dr. Rhee in the weeks that lie ahead."

We have grounds for the utmost suspicion about what Rhee and Robertson contrived between

them. First they issue a joint statement that did not say a word about Rhee accepting the truce terms. Then Robertson told the press that he had assurances that President Rhee was going to "collaborate" in an armistice. Immediately, Rhee told reporters "that he would not accept an armistice with the Communists, but that he would not obstruct it for three months." Later Rhee explained that he meant three months after the beginning of the political conference that will start three months after the armistice is signed, or a total of six months.

The next day the Associated Press in Tokyo issued a dispatch quoting the usual "competent source" to the effect that Robertson had actually "won sweeping concessions" from Rhee, but didn't want to publish the fact in order not to "embarrass" Rhee after the dictator's big campaign of opposition to a truce. The July 13 N. Y. Times carried in one and the same issue the reports of "sweeping concessions won in writing from Dr. Syngman Rhee" and of "important concessions made to South Korea."

All that emerges clearly is the fact that there is lying and double-dealing all around and this is being done to deceive the people.

We have to cut through this ravel of lies and deception. We must finish once and for all with the Korean mess by getting out of there. The sentiment is growing every day to "bring the boys home." Let's get this sentiment organized and make Eisenhower listen to reason.

BOOKS MAKE FINE GIFTS

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Living Thoughts of Karl Marx	1.00
My Life (Yiddish) two volumes, rare	5.00
Bolsheviki and World Peace, rare	2.50
Stalin's Frame-Up System and The Moscow Trials — foreword by J. Hansen	1.00

R. GINGER:

The Bending Cross (special price)	1.50
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E. V. DEBS:

Writings and Speeches (special price)	1.00
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J. P. CANNON:

History of American Trotskyism	2.50
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A. LEON:

The Jewish Question — A Marxist Interpretation	1.00
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J. BELDEN:

China Shakes the World	5.00
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E. PINCHON:

Zapata the Unconquerable, rare	2.50
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The "Crimes" of Dr. Bergman

On April 23 in Copenhagen, Denmark, a Detroit educator and his wife who were studying in Europe were called to the American Embassy and asked to hand over their passports. The State Department's action was presumably taken because the names of the couple had been found listed in some black book of the witch hunters.

Dr. Walter G. Bergman and his wife searched their memories but came up with little. Dr. Bergman had been active in the Socialist Party since 1931 and ran as its candidate for mayor in Detroit. He had twice served as president of the Michigan Federation and once as vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers. After being investigated and cleared by the Counter-Intelligence Corps, he served in the Allied Military Government in Germany and in UNRRA.

"Entering the third week of our incarceration in Denmark," the educator wrote on May 7, "neither we nor our attorney nor any of our friends have been able to get a single specific definite charge of any action, any speech, any letter, any membership in any way with the Communist Party or any of its affiliates, either in the period under question, 1942-1952, or at any other time."

After vigorous protests, Mr. and Mrs. Bergman were granted a limited passport confining them to certain countries in Europe. Last week they were back in Detroit where they were interviewed by the press.

"It was the most harrowing experience of my life," Dr. Bergman said. And his wife added, "An experience I would wish only on my worst enemy."

They still did not know definitely why their passports were taken away. Dr. Bergman could think of only two possibilities:

- (1) Some 20 years ago he "spoke at a meeting against Fascism and Hitlerism."
- (2) Recently he "helped in a fight to re-

peal the Trucks Act, along with some 200 other professors, labor leaders and liberals."

Like Dr. Bergman, we do not know the mysterious charges. Under the McCarthy-McCarran criminal code which holds the accused guilty until proved innocent and which refuses to disclose either the identity of the accuser, the alleged evidence or even the charges, it is not easy to discover what prompted the State Department to act.

It is quite likely, however, that Dr. Bergman's suspicions are well founded. By the canons of McCarthyism, he is damned on either charge, bell, book and candle.

First of all, he committed sacrilege in attacking the European models of government held in reverence by the Wisconsin and Nevada senators.

Secondly, he associated himself prominently with the protest movement in Michigan against the unconstitutional Trucks Act — one of the numerous laws fostered by the witch hunters to take away our civil liberties and democratic rights. Clearly, that makes the Detroit educator guilty of actively defending the Bill of Rights. What could be more criminal than that?

The witch hunt, as we have pointed out many times, tends to widen to ever new circles besides the members of the politically unpopular tendencies who are first selected as victims. It also increasingly tends to convert the exercise of civil liberties and democratic rights into crimes. We hope that the case of the Bergmans will help bring this fact home to new layers of people concerned about defending freedom.

When you can't speak against fascism or protest enactment of a fascist-like measure without becoming a victim of the witch hunters through government reprisal, we say it's high time to wake up. Don't let it happen in America!

Six Plumbers, One Millionaire

"Six plumbers and one millionaire" would make a better cabinet than "six millionaires and one plumber." This idea was advanced by James A. Brownlow, President of the AFL Metal Trades Council, in a speech at the Cleveland convention of the Office Employees International Union. "Such a cabinet," he said, "would better understand the needs of the people."

The main theme of Brownlow's speech was that the Taft-Hartley law will be repealed "not by begging Congress to do so" but by electing people to Congress who will repeal the law. He also warned that "You cannot depend on the government to do your collective bargaining. Only one thing can do that — good strong militant unions."

Now all these ideas are very good (although we think that a cabinet of six plumbers wouldn't have any use for a millionaire) but

the question arises, when and how do we get going on some of these militant proposals we hear from the labor officials nowadays?

If labor is going to prepare for the 1954 elections, if there is to be an end to the ruinous policy in the political field that led to the election of the Eisenhower regime, if the menace of McCarthyism is to be met, if Taft-Hartley is to be repealed — then the time to act is now.

We agree with Brownlow that begging Congress won't help. But neither will it help to beg the Republican and Democratic parties or any "wing" of these parties. When Brownlow says that only "good strong militant unions" can bargain successfully with the employers, we must agree. However, we must add: A good strong militant labor party based on the unions and independent of the employers on the political as well as the economic field is needed to win labors' political demands.

Joseph Porgie's Secret

The other day in New York, biggest and richest city of the capitalist world, a 74-year-old worker got in trouble. Someone, perhaps a "disgruntled" relative or stoolpigeon on the job turned in his name to the Municipal Civil Service Commission. Confronted by the charges of the unknown informer, Nicholas Lana admitted his guilt. For 45 years he had been working for the city under the name of "Joseph Porgie."

He explained that he had no intention of defrauding anyone. For almost a half century he had faithfully performed his duties. In fact, using that name had not been his intention in the first place.

"Way back in 1908 he was laid off from a candy factory. He appealed to Tammany Hall for help. Alfred E. Smith, later governor of New York, gave him his personal card and wrote on it "Joseph Porgie." This worked like magic in landing a job in the water works department.

At first Lana thought the job would be temporary. So when the pay checks came, he simply endorsed them "Joseph Porgie" and cashed them. But the job stretched out, the way jobs sometimes will, and Lana found himself burdened with the unsought name bestowed on him by Gov. Smith.

"Later," he said, "I thought if I did anything about it, I'd get fired. And sure enough — 45 years later — that's what happened."

Yes, that is precisely what happened. The 74-year-old man had been thinking of retiring on the \$1,200-a-year pension to which he is entitled. The City officials thought otherwise. Wasn't the man an obvious miscreant? They gave him the axe in accordance with the precepts of justice, fair play and decency as applied according to the capitalist code of ethics.

Lana is now petitioning the State Supreme Court for reinstatement to his \$67.50-a-week job. Up to now there is no indication as to whether the robbed magistrates, representing the justice of the ruling class, will decide to dispense mercy.

We thought this life story of some interest. No matter how loyally Lana may have performed his duties and perhaps publicly thanked Tammany Hall, in his heart he seems to have had little trust in his employers. "I thought if I did anything about it, I'd get fired." And so for 45 years he endured the embarrassment with family and friends of living under two names.

The accuracy of his judgment is also worth noting. It took his bosses 45 years to discover the error — and only then through the help of a stoolpigeon — but once they found it out, they acted precisely as Lana had feared. This worker knew in his bones the outlook of his bosses.

Finally, the cause of Lana's downfall is not without interest. Here we see the influence of the McCarthy code that is spreading like a blight over America. The hero in the eyes of the City officials is obviously the anonymous informer who sought revenge or profit by sinking the knife into this elderly worker's back. They acted on the informer's report. They carried out the informer's will. They gave the informer the evil satisfaction he sought.

Such incidents as this, occasionally reported in the daily papers, remind us that the capitalist system is not likely to recover from the rot in its heart. It must be replaced by socialism — the new system that brings modern science to bear in economic relations, thereby making possible a return in personal relations to the old values that put humanity and decency and kindness first.

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

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Beria -- Victim of System He Helped Create

By Murry Weiss

The career of Lavrenti Pavlovich Beria compresses in the life of one man the biography of the ruling caste of the Soviet bureaucracy. He gained his first prominence in the bureaucracy as a "historian" and "biographer" in Stalin's school of falsification. He was one of the principal architects of the Stalin mythology. Author of an official biography of Stalin that was spread by the tens of millions of copies, he rated in the hierarchy as one of the closest personal henchmen of the "Chief" himself. At the peak of the great Moscow Frame-up Trials in 1938, Stalin summoned him from Georgia, where he had served as the ruthless local head of the GPU in Stalin's own homeland. Stalin named him director of all secret police, and he survived in that hated and dangerous post until Stalin himself breathed his last.

For 15 years, under the closest supervision of Stalin, Beria directed the ten security divisions of the GPU. These became known as "Beria's Butchers." As head of Stalin's murder machine, Beria was in charge of countless frame-ups, arrests, killings and purges. The assassination of Trotsky in Mexico on August 20, 1940 took place under Beria.

After Stalin's death he became a member of the triumvirate that assumed power. Now this former head of the slave-labor camps, this pitiless killer and foul practitioner of the lie and the frame-up is himself in a GPU dungeon — if he has not already received a bullet at the base of the brain. He is accused by his two co-disciples of Stalin, Molotov and Malenkov, of being a "capitalist hireling," "a foul provocateur" and an "enemy of the party."

Not a single current of world public opinion gives the slightest credence to the accusations against Beria. If we exclude the kept Stalinist press, which has confined itself moreover primarily to reprints of the Pravda denunciations, the question asked everywhere was not "is Beria guilty?" but "what is the political meaning of the lies about him?"

This reaction of world public opinion is in sharp contrast to the reception given the announcements of the great purge trials



STALIN

in Moscow during the Thirties. At that time many liberals and some conservatives defended and swallowed the frame-ups. Even taking into consideration the alliance of the Soviet Union and "democratic imperialism" of that period in contrast to the cold war of this period — the distinction between the two world reactions is marked.

Beria, the frame-up artist, is being framed himself. The unanimity and speed with which this conclusion was reached is one of the consequences of Trotsky's exposure of the whole Stalinist frame-up system. Before the eyes of the entire world, at the hearings of the Dewey Commission in Mexico in 1937, Trotsky proved that the Moscow trials were a structure of miserable lies from beginning to end. The purge of Beria is in the same familiar pattern. The Kremlin frame-up system has survived its author, Stalin, and has caught up with one of its principal organizers, Beria.

No one believes the accusations against Beria but none of the capitalist analysts offer an adequate explanation for either his downfall or the repulsive methods by which it occurred. For this too, it is necessary to go to Trotsky.

Trotsky showed how the Stalin regime shored power through a counter-revolution in the first workers' state. This counter-revolution destroyed the whole political structure of workers' democracy ushered in by the socialist revolution of October 1917, and replaced it with the dictatorial rule of the bureaucracy. But this bureaucracy, represent-

ing a privileged oligarchy, has not as yet destroyed the new property relations and anti-capitalist social foundations achieved by the revolution.

In its rise to power and in its entire subsequent history, the bureaucracy expressed in the most violent form one of the basic contradictions of Soviet society, the contradiction between the narrow, selfish interests of a privileged bureaucratic caste and the democratic needs of socialist development. The effort of the caste to suppress this contradiction is at the bottom of all the lies, frame-ups and purges in the Soviet Union.

Trotsky in his great closing speech before the Dewey Commission, explained the social basis of lies and frame-ups in the Soviet Union: "The more precipitate the jump from the October overturn — which laid bare all social falsehood — to the present situation, in which a caste of upstarts is forced to cover up its social ulcers, the cruder the Thermidorian lies. It is, consequently, a question not simply of the individual depravity of this or that person, but of the corruption lodged in the position of a whole social group for whom lying has become a vital political necessity." (Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials, Pioneer Publishers.)

In this same speech Trotsky described how the bureaucracy began with falsification, lies, forgeries, literary calumnies. However, these methods lost their efficacy. "All possibilities along this road were soon exhausted. The theoretical and historical falsifications no longer attained their aims — people grew accustomed to them. It was necessary to give the bureaucratic repression a more massive foundation. To bolster up literary falsifications, accusations of a criminal character were brought in."

Trotsky's analysis of the underlying social basis of the purge trials and frame-ups in the Thirties offers the only basis for understanding the Beria purge. Beria is the third of the chief purgers to lose his head. Yagoda, the organizer of the first series of Moscow trials was purged by Yezhov. Yezhov in turn was purged by Beria. Now Beria's head follows the others in the gutter. The only thread that ties together this fantastic series of purges is the struggle of the

bureaucratic caste to survive, maintain its power, defend its material possessions and destroy all potential opposition.

The Stalinist purges can be roughly divided into three main periods. First, was the purge of the revolutionary working-class left opposition headed by Leon Trotsky. Second, came the trials of former revolutionary leaders who had capitulated to Stalin but whose identification with the traditions of the October revolution and Lenin's leadership constituted an intolerable danger to Stalin. Third, came the purges of sec-

tions of the new Soviet bureaucracy itself.

The victims of each purge served as the scapegoats for the crimes of Stalin's regime, for the ruinous consequences of the Kremlin's policies at home and abroad. No matter who occupied the center of the stage in the show trials, behind the scenes the bureaucracy victimized hundreds of thousands in great mass purges. The purge of Beria may well be the signal for a new blood bath on the model of the Thirties, aimed at strengthening the rule of the bureaucracy.

Beria Purge Reveals Grave Crisis in USSR

(Continued from page 1)

would be safeguarded. The Kremlin physicians, accused of murdering high government officials and plotting against the lives of others, were rehabilitated by Beria; their jailers and indicters were arrested and punished as "frame-up perpetrators."

In one republic after another of the Soviet Union, including the key Ukraine area, top party and government officials were removed on charges of violating the party's nationalities policy and substituting a policy of Russification. This "concession" was intended to mollify the national discontent.

At the same time, the purged officials were charged with failure "to strengthen the collective farm system." This was intended to spur the lower ranks of the bureaucracy to step up production as well as offer scapegoats for the consequences of the Kremlin's own policies and methods of management.

The concessions granted the workers took the shape of price reductions, cutting in half of the latest forced loan, and promises of more consumer goods, better housing, improved working conditions and relaxation of the draconic labor laws. In addition amnesty was accorded certain categories of workers jailed under the existing labor laws.

Evidently these moves did not achieve their aim. The regime still faces the same acute problems after four months of "liberalization" under Beria. The charges against Beria substantiate this conclusion.

THE ACCUSATIONS

(1) Beria stands accused of having failed to strengthen the "Soviet legal system and liquidate some cases of lawlessness and arbitrariness" by impeding and in a number of cases distorting direct orders of the Central Committee of the party and of the Soviet government. Beria's purgers are stealing the program originally enunciated by Beria which they know meets with favorable response from the Soviet masses. But this is also an acknowledgment that these "liberal" promises have not allayed unrest, discontent and opposition. The masses want deeds not words.

(2) Beria stands accused of using "the struggle against violations of the party's nationalities policy" as a "false pretext" for trying "to sow disunity and hostility among the USSR peoples, and to activate bourgeois nationalist elements in the union republics." Here again we have evidence that the "liberalized" policy toward the nationalities will continue under the post-Beria regime. At the same time, it is an admission that the prior attempts have been a fiasco, for which Beria is now the scapegoat.

(3) The opposition among the peasants has not decreased in the past four months. This is proved by the charge against Beria that he "in every way impeded the solution of the most important, unpostponable questions concerning the strengthening and development of agriculture." Additional evidence is the stress placed at mass meetings on "the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the USSR" and on the "practical measures" adopted in Moscow, Kiev (Ukraine), Minsk (Byelo-Russia), etc., "aimed at eliminating inadequacies" in agriculture.

(4) At these meetings as well as in the press, the promises made months ago of improvements in living and working conditions have been stridently repeated.

From the above it is clear that the burning problems facing Malenkov-Beria-Molotov when Stalin died still face Malenkov-Molotov today. If the suddenness of Beria's fall and the ferocity of the unfolding purge campaign are any criteria, the mass unrest and opposition have sharply grown in the past four months. In any case, one does not have to be a seer to discern the growing panic

of the bureaucracy before the masses.

The explosion of mass discontent and unrest in the Buffer Zone, above all in East Germany, undoubtedly alarmed the bureaucracy profoundly. Such explosions tend to set off chain reactions. The independent movement of the workers must have looked like the handwriting on the wall to the bureaucracy — a reminder that its time is growing short. Hence the brutal resort to naked force in the affected areas — one more of the abominable betrayals of the working class sealed in blood by the Kremlin despots. The concessions that were hastily granted at the same time do not mitigate this fresh crime since they had the same aim as the repressions — to bolster the shaken position of the Kremlin.

The Chinese revolution too has had its repercussions inside the Soviet Union and the prospect of its further development must weigh heavily on the minds of the Kremlin clique. Hence the urgent plea to the Mao regime for public support in the frame-up and purge of Beria, a plea that met with quick response from Mao. Malenkov hopes by this official support to forestall further pressure from the mighty revolutionary uprising in the East.

"MILITANT" PREDICTION

On the death of Stalin, The Militant predicted that the post-Stalin regime would prove neither stable nor lasting. It is a regime, we said, of acute crisis, above all because of the rising tide of Soviet mass opposition to it and intensified demands upon it.

In the first 120 days of its rule, this regime found itself compelled to carry out under Beria a "minor" purge of a section of its secret police apparatus. Today, minus Beria, this regime is in the throes of purging the entire secret police "in the center and in the localities." It has issued orders for all party organizations "to place under systematic and unrelenting control the activity of the organs of the MVD (secret police)."

This means that in each locality the party heads are ordered directly to carry out the purge. But this also means that the whole party and government apparatus is involved. As far back as the early Twenties, when Stalin's faction waged war to the death against the Trotskyist Left Opposition, the secret police already played the dominant role in internal party life. For more than two decades since then this secret police has permeated the entire government apparatus and pervaded the fabric of Soviet life. At the height of Stalin's blood purges only sections of the secret police were involved. This time all of it is under fire.

MUST BE ROOTED OUT

The official communiques and Pravda's leading editorial leave no room for doubt on this score. It is flatly charged that Beria "attempted to use the MVD organs in the center and in the localities against the party and its leadership, against the Soviet government, and handicapped and promoted MVD workers on the basis of personal loyalty to himself."

These personal agents of Beria must therefore be rooted out "in the center and in the localities." A purge of this scope and intensity cannot fail to be a mass blood purge in the pattern that gained world notoriety under Stalin.

Within five days of the announcement of Beria's downfall, the purge hit the Ministry of Transport Machinery and Heavy Machinery. Malyshev, the purged minister, is one of the few carry-overs from the 1940 Peoples' Commissariat. He lasted through the war, the post-war convulsions, and under Malenkov was made the head of four major industries after Stalin's death. In the post-Stalin regime, this important figure lasted only a few weeks.

The First Achievements Of China's 5-Year Plan

By Harry Frankel
(Second of a Series)

The census of Chinese population now being undertaken will reveal that China is peopled by close to 500 million. Yet, with more than three times the U.S. population, China probably does not produce more than one or two percent as much industrial goods as the U.S. This is certainly a striking commentary on a century of imperialist rule.

With the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and his capitalist-imperialist regime in 1949, and with the nationalization of large portions of industry, the possibility has opened up for China to transform itself. Without this revolution, the pre-condition for planning and industrialization would be absent. In India, for example, a five-year "plan" has been announced. But its goals are so meager that even if they are achieved in full (and there is no guarantee of this since the state has no real direction and control over economic life) production will increase no more than barely enough to keep up with the population growth in the same period. This is only an ersatz plan, a "plan" in name only, designed to counteract the great impact of Chinese progress upon the Indian people.

The increase in production provided for by the Chinese five-year plan which opened this year is about 20% per year. At this rate, Chinese production can be expected to far more than double within five years. This achievement can be counted as fully possible, in view of the fact that the new China has been able to more than double production in the first three years after the Revolution in spite of the burden of war in Korea.

China today is roughly in the proportional industrial position of the U.S. or Germany in 1800; that is, only about 10% of national income is derived from industrial production and the remainder chiefly from agriculture. In order to alter this picture rapidly, great stress is laid by the governmental planning bodies upon the development of heavy industry.

In this there is a similarity with the planning in the Eastern European countries since the

overthrow of capitalism there. But the similarity ends almost before it begins. The Eastern European zone is not provided with the resources for the development of a heavy industry, while China is. China is richly endowed with almost all the basic industrial raw materials, both cultivated and mineral forms. Even oil, which the imperialist oil companies made out to be scarce in China, is being developed in great quantity.

The plenitude of raw materials, the scope and amplitude of the economy giving a possibility of economic independence, the great agricultural underpinning which is capable of producing large food stocks for the population, the great revolutionary spirit deriving from the Chinese nationalist-socialist upheaval — all of these factors and many more distinguish China from Eastern Europe. Thus there is very little reason to expect that the process of industrialization will lead to a crisis in the same form as has occurred in Eastern Europe.

As a matter of fact, the situation in China up to now has been sharply different from Eastern Europe in that the standard of living of the people has apparently been rising since 1949. Kao Kang, chairman of the regime in northeast China (Manchuria) a region which produces well over half of the total industrial output of the nation, expressed the desire to concentrate on heavy industry in the following words: "We must concentrate our strength in developing our heavy industry and national defense industry. We are opposed to the theory of so-called 'balanced development' which argues from a partial viewpoint." These words, which convey the flavor of disputes or at least discussions within the regime over tempo, express the outlook which today causes four-fifths of basic industrial construction to be assigned to heavy industry.

This concentration is already to be seen in the proportion between light and heavy industry as it has developed in the three years before the first five-year plan. The share of heavy industry in total industrial production in 1949 was 32.5%, with 67.5% of total output supplied by light industry. In 1952, however, this picture had been greatly altered. Heavy industry was putting out 43.8% of the total, and light industry was down to 56.2%.

In the sphere of foreign trade, three great accomplishments have been recorded in the three and one-half years since the overturn. A shift of trade to the Soviet sphere, necessitated by the imperialist blockade, has been successfully worked out, mainly because China has sufficient strength and independence from Moscow to be able to negotiate as a power. Secondly, imports, which used to consist mainly of manufactured goods, have changed character and now concentrate heavily on machinery and other aids to industrial development. This shift reflects what was aptly put by one of the Chinese leaders as follows: "The key to China's front door is in our own pockets instead of in the pockets of the imperialists and their running dogs, as was formerly the case." Finally, where China used to have a large deficit in its foreign trade (close to one-half billion U.S. dollars in 1946 at present the Chinese trade balance is slightly favorable).

The pace of industrialization is very rapid, and is being accompanied by vast corollary projects such as the training of large numbers of engineers and technicians, educational and literacy campaigns that reach down into the mass of the people, great soil-conservation and power projects, etc. One of the reasons why this rapid rate is possible is that China starts from so low a level that, by adding only a few percent of China's huge population to the industrial proletariat, the industrial output can be doubled.

But this is only the technical side of the transformation. The socio-political side is the transformation of economic forms and social institutions in such a way as to make possible what could not be done under the old forms. The process of industrialization was preceded by a revolutionary overturn, and has since been accompanied by a systematic growth of a new social organization and a decline in the social weight of capitalist forms of production. We must reserve this for a later article.

(Next: The Social Change)

"Subversive" Protestants

By Jean Blake

The current uproar over the attack on Protestant clergymen by McCarthy's boy, J. B. Matthews, may modify the Senator's mad drive toward a police state, but it won't stop him. It will take a broader and more firmly grounded alliance than one based on religious affiliation to do that.

As long as the power-mad Senator directed his witch hunt against radicals, only the most courageous and principled defenders of democratic rights protested. When he began to include liberals — educators, writers and others — a few more voices were raised against him. His attacks on Democratic opponents in the State Department and other government employees turned another segment of the population against him.

When he approved Matthews' statement that 7,000 Protestant ministers had served "The Kremlin's conspiracy" in the last 17 years as members, fellow travelers or dupes — that was going too far in a country where the majority of the people, including the ruling class, who have any church affiliation are Protestants.

But the Protestants who have suddenly discovered the evils of McCarthyism don't have a very strong case so long as they maintain the inconsistent position that every other group but theirs is legitimate territory for the Senator's witch-hunting expeditions. As long as they grant McCarthy the right to brand anyone as subversive, as long as they permit the President's "loyalty order," the Smith Act, and the

various state anti-subversive acts to stand, they can claim no special immunity for themselves.

Are there "subversives" among the Protestant clergy? By McCarthy's definitions and guilty-by-association principles, of course. What's more, since he condemns those who held positions similar to those of the Communist Party on many issues, Negro ministers are particularly vulnerable. Many of them, particularly those with large followings, have been militant protesters against some of America's most undemocratic practices. By McCarthy's standards, that would make not only them but all their supporters suspect, liable to inquisition and persecution.

As a matter of fact, however, McCarthy would not insist on making his attack along religious lines, because some of his staunchest supporters may be found in Protestant circles.

We are willing to bet, for example, that one recently licensed minister who will not be labeled a subversive by the Senator is Bill Hendrix, of Florida. Hendrix, you see, is a former grand dragon and currently imperial emperor of a new Ku Klux Klan.

It will take a broad alliance that disregards religious lines and bases itself on a conscious recognition that McCarthyism and all anti-democratic forces aim to deprive the working people, including its most oppressed sections and most militant fighters, from struggling to improve their lot, to organize an effective counter-offensive to the drive toward a police state.

Why Penalize Mothers?

By Joyce Cowley

"Maternity Leave Put in Work Pacts" — this headline in the N.Y. Times announced the results of a survey made by the National Foremen's Institute. According to their report, women in industry today have less reason to fear loss of job because of pregnancy than ever before. More and more companies are granting maternity leaves as fringe benefits.

This is good news for 10,000,000 working wives in this country who probably feel that it's about time. In the past, women have been penalized for bearing children by loss of employment or loss of seniority. But a woman still gets maternity leave only on a "voluntary" basis — "voluntary" for the boss, that is. There is no law which requires the employer to hire her again. In most cases, she receives no benefits of any kind while she is on leave.

A bulletin issued by the Women's Bureau, Maternity Protection of Employed Women, gives an interesting summary of protective legislation throughout the world. The United States is supposed to be a progressive, democratic country and it's reasonable to assume that conditions here compare favorably with those in other countries. So I was startled to find the United States listed, along with Afghanistan, Syria, Ethiopia and a few others, as one of the countries that has no legislation guaranteeing maternity leave, cash benefits or medical care.

"Visitors to the United States," says the bulletin, "ask time and again why the United States, almost alone among the industrial countries of the world, has no Federal law providing for a national system of maternity protection for its women workers."

An international standard for maternity protection for women workers was adopted by the International Labor Organization at its first session in 1919. Since then 18 European and Latin American countries

have ratified the Maternity Protection Convention and enacted laws to carry out its provisions. Many countries that have not ratified, in Asia as well as Europe, have adopted national legislation equalling many of the requirements of the ILO Convention.

Most countries which have passed such legislation include cash benefits for employees on maternity leave as part of their social-security system. One-third of the countries give allowances equal to the full wage; benefits in other countries range from one-third to two-thirds of the woman's pay. Many countries pay additional benefits in the form of medical care, layettes, nursing allowances which range from 10% to 25% of basic pay, and milk for children not nursed by mothers. Countries which give nursing allowances also give time off to nurse in government-sponsored plant nurseries. These benefits are generally available to all mothers, married or not.

Now let's take a look at the United States. Rhode Island is the only state that allows benefits under the sickness-compensation law for disability attributable to pregnancy. Only the Territory of Puerto Rico provides weekly cash benefits. In almost half the states, pregnancy disqualifies a woman for unemployment insurance! You might think this was a backward, impoverished country unable to afford the social-security measures adopted by more prosperous neighbors.

To quote the Women's Bureau bulletin, we have "less formal plans and standards" than most other countries. As a rule I don't mind informality, but when it's a question of the health and welfare of working mothers, I'm in favor of normal protection. I hope that 10,000,000 wives in America's labor force will agree with me and fight for this kind of national legislation.

Notes from the News

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND MARK TWAIN were among the authors checked by the State Department's Security division for possible Communist connections. This was due to one of the employee's sending these and similar names through to Security during the height of the recent book-purge. After checking such names numerous times and replying: "No record on him," the officials began to suspect that someone was pulling a fast one. They uncovered the culprit and fired him. "Imagine what might have happened if the man checking the names had noted that Abraham Lincoln once corresponded with Karl Marx" one State Department official said.

A LANDLORD accused in 1936 of having improper toilet facilities in his New York lower East Side tenement, was brought to trial on July 9, 1953. Chief Inspector Samuel Browdy of the Housing and Building Dept. recommended a \$15 fine. "You bring this man to court after 17 years and then recommend only a \$15 fine?" asked the Judge. He was then informed by Mr. Browdy that there are "a couple of thousand such cases," going back 15 to 20 years. Magistrate William E. Ringel was very indignant. He fined the defendant \$250, and called for an investigation of "this whole mess."

IRWIN EDELMAN, the man who raised the argument in the Rosenberg case that gained the last stay of execution, was arrested for vagrancy in Los Angeles. He was convicted on July 6 of violating a state law requiring vagrants to register. On July 7, he was released with the proviso that he must register within 48 hours or go to jail for 90 days. Edelman

announced that he will appeal the conviction. Edelman is well known in Los Angeles as a fighter for civil liberties and free speech.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT. Senator McCarthy was quoted by the Washington Star of July 8: "I feel I have no right of censorship over any one."

A "NEWSLETTER" FOR BANKERS said, "The fact that the Eisenhower Administration is dominated by bankers is a source of pride to many in the financial world." The article in Banktrends went on to list 12 bankers who hold top posts in the government, and then said, "All the foregoing are what the critics call big bankers, synonymous with Big Business."

A "RIGHT TO WORK" BILL is being introduced in the Pennsylvania state legislature that is typical of scores of anti-labor bills pending in various states. The Pennsylvania measure, introduced by John DuBois, a manufacturer, would outlaw the union shop and make any kind of effective picketing illegal. James McDevitt, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor called the bill "the most vicious ever introduced in the General Assembly." A similar measure was recently stopped in California before it got out of committee.

JOHN W. LOVE, who writes Today's Business column in the Cleveland Press declares, "unemployed are estimated to be no more than 1,300,000. This figure includes people who . . . have handicaps like age, race or temperament."

Striking Garb for a Strike

Four employees of Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York are literally and figuratively striking in costumes that stress their need for more pay. The pickets are dressed as (l. to r.) a Colonial soldier, a toga-clad Roman, a caveman and a knight. They belong to the Independent Museum Guardians Union.

TENANT WINS DECISION IN HOUSING OATH CASE

NEWARK, July 13 — The Newark Housing Authority still intends to try to evict federal housing tenants who refuse to sign the so-called "loyalty oath," despite a New York court ruling last Wednesday that the "loyalty" measure is unconstitutional. This means that the Katcher-Lawrence case, being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union here, will continue to be fought out in the New Jersey courts. New briefs are scheduled to be filed with Superior Court Judge Freund by ACLU and Newark Housing Authority attorneys later this month.

The issue in dispute is not really a "loyalty oath" at all. Under the Gwinn amendment, adopted by Congress a year ago, tenants in federal housing projects are required to file a certificate which affirms, not their "loyalty," but the fact that no occupant of their apartment belongs to any organization on the Attorney General's "subversive" list.

This requirement was challenged as unconstitutional by the ACLU on behalf of three Newark tenants — James Katcher, legless veteran and member of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the groups on the Attorney General's list; his father, Hyman, who does not belong to any listed organization but cannot sign the oath unless he first evicts his son; and Harry L. Lawrence, a disabled war veteran who has signed "loyalty oaths" as a teacher but regards the Gwinn amendment as an infringement of his civil liberties.

Among other grounds they attacked the Gwinn amendment as a violation of due process of law because the Attorney General's "subversive" list was drawn up arbitrarily, without giving the listed groups advance notice or the right to defend themselves at a hearing.

Meanwhile, similar objections were voiced by a Brooklyn project tenant, Mrs. Rebecca Peters. Her appeal against threatened eviction for not filing the certificate was heard by New York Supreme Court Justice M. Henry Martuscello, who handed down his decision on July 8.

Judge Martuscello denounced both the Gwinn amendment and efforts of the New York City Housing Authority to enforce it as unconstitutional. His main point was that the Attorney

General's finding of "subversiveness" was "ex parte" — that is, one-sided — and could not properly be applied until "after a hearing granting all the safeguards of due process as understood by our courts since the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. No such hearing is provided by Executive Order 9835 nor by the Gwinn amendment."

He called attention to the fact that the U.S. Supreme Court had questioned the Attorney General's method in compiling his list. He said the Gwinn amendment was an "unconstitutional requirement," called the Housing Authority's action "arbitrary, capricious and unreasonable," and concluded that both "depart radically from our prevailing concepts of fairness and do not afford due process of law."

The Newark Housing Authority's attempt to get a different decision in the New Jersey courts is evidence that the Eisenhower administration will fight to get the Gwinn amendment upheld by the federal courts, who will eventually rule on its constitutionality.

Ten-Year Program Adopted To End Evils of Jim Crow

(Continued from Page 1) meeting to improve clergy-NAAACP relations.

On McCarthyism and Communism, the resolutions adopted skirted the fundamental problems involved by simply decrying "the tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy and others who attempt to deprive any person of his rights, liberty and freedom of thought," and rejecting Communism "as an anti-democratic way of life."

Instead of rejecting the witch-hunting loyalty program of the government, as NAAACP conventions and labor bodies did several years ago, when it was first adopted, the St. Louis gathering weakly called on President Eisenhower to "restrict the loyalty and security program to security-sensitive departments of the government, such as the State Department, Defense Department, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

The leadership failed completely to draw the lessons of the past year's experience on political action. Instead of recognizing the complete failure of the policy of limiting the organization to campaigns for registration and voting and lobbying for "revision of Senate cloture Rule 22" to modify the practice of filibustering civil rights legislation to death, they introduced resolutions to continue the same fruitless activities.

Equally mild resolutions were adopted "hopefully" calling on the "new leadership of the American Federation of Labor to take affirmative action to end the various forms of racial discrimination practiced by certain affiliated international unions" and condemning "the continuation of these vicious practices by the Railway Brotherhoods."

Toughness was reserved not for Jim-Crow unions, but for "Communist-controlled unions including the National Negro Labor Council," with which local and state units of the NAAACP were warned not to cooperate.

In addition, other resolutions reaffirmed the organization's

Phila. Garment Workers Seek Union Democracy

By Art Sharon
PHILADELPHIA, July 12 — The accumulated hatred and resentment of the hard-pressed women garment workers here exploded this week in a powerful demonstration against the Dubinsky machine in the AFL

Basis for Sound Unity of the CIO and AFL

(Continued from page 1)

It is increasingly recognized, even among the most conservative union leaders, that labor must unite its forces to combat the formidable power arrayed against the unions. But merger of the AFL and CIO in and of itself will not provide adequate labor defense. An army marching unitedly in the wrong direction is heading toward defeat. An army that stands still and won't fight or refuses to grasp the proper weapons is inviting disaster.

Taft-Hartleyism and McCarthyism can be defeated only by a combination of militant economic action and independent labor political action. AFL President George Meany and CIO President Walter Reuther have floundered around in the recent period, attempted to adapt themselves to the Republican regime and offered no perspective for labor other than continuing to play the tail to the kite of the capitalist parties, Democrat and Republican.

Of primary concern in any union negotiations is the preservation and protection of the full industrial union strength of the CIO. This requires a strong CIO united front in dealing with the AFL leaders. This means a fight for the full restoration of internal union democracy inside the CIO and the defeat of Reuther's dictatorial provocations that endanger CIO unity. The ranks must get a genuine voice in shaping union policy.

The ultimate value of labor unity will be determined by the program on which it is based. This program must have as one of its foundation stones independent labor political action — a Labor Party that will make the working people of America the real political power in the land.

International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

In a week-long strike against "union dictatorship" — the workers' description of the Dubinsky machine — some 3,000 women workers paralyzed the dress industry of Philadelphia. At the end of the week, Dubinsky and the General Executive Board of the ILGWU had to retreat somewhat in the face of their little "East Berlin."

The immediate issue that precipitated the strike was the attempt by the local Dubinsky lieutenant, William Ross, to transfer 42 of the 55 shops serviced by Miss Josephine Spica, the elected Business Agent of Local 15, to two appointed Business Agents. Dubinsky backed up Ross with the demand that Miss Spica resign if she didn't like it.

DIDN'T LIKE IT

Miss Spica didn't like it, but she didn't resign. She turned to the only force that could save her from the obviously impending ouster from her post. She appealed to the workers in the shops for support, and to her surprise and to the consternation of the Dubinsky gang in Philadelphia and New York, an overwhelming majority of the membership of Local 15 responded by shutting down their shops in defiance of the contract.

They came to their union hall and learned their first lesson.

MILWAUKEE BEER STRIKE SHOWS FIRM SOLIDARITY

(Continued from page 1)

of their strike as the "battle of men versus machines."

They are protecting their livelihood against the ravages of technological progress and super-profits plowed back into vast mechanization programs designed to put the men out on the streets.

The "Beer That Made Milwaukee Famous," Schlitz, nets the Uihlein banking family upwards of \$20,000,000 annually as superbotting machines serve up 500 filled ones a minute. Labor costs in the profit-soaked beer industry have fallen to 11% of total production costs! While an increasing number of brewery workers get but nine months work a year, plant expansion is unprecedented; and the beer bosses demand unlimited employment of student summer help at wages not governed by union contract.

POLL BY "THE MILITANT"

A group of readers of The Militant interviewed some 100 pickets on the lines of six breweries. The consensus of opinion on the picket line was that the strike would be long. Beck would probably scab, and that the strike would be won!

In reply to the question: "Which is the best way to attack the threat of unemployment in the U.S. — more war production or the shorter work week?" the strikers unfailingly spoke out for reduced hours, more pay, and less overtime.

Asked whether the shorter work week should be the fight of all labor in America, they asserted that mounting productivity and machine displacement of men makes it inevitable, "the coming thing."

Strikers related department by department tales of fantastic mansaving machine developments. They also argued in many cases that overtime work kills employment and complained about unionized labor tolerating overtime work to meet rising living costs.

It was evident that the workers were intelligently prepared for the strike and that the men know what they are fighting for. They are not seeking a mere wage adjustment. They are seeking a greater share of the value of their product through reduced hours at increased pay.

The door was barred by the Philadelphia police department. Panicky union officials had called the cops! The workers had to hold their rank and file meetings in a nearby hotel. At these meetings accumulated grievances and resentments found expression.

SIX YEARS OF RETREAT

Behind this revolt lie six years of capitulation and retreat before the threat of the garment bosses to move out of town. The garment workers here have learned the hard way — through wage losses — how expensive this Dubinsky gang has become.

While the threat of the garment bosses to move into the unorganized south is a real one, all too often the workers have found themselves facing a common front between the boss and his union officials in piece-rate disputes. This is the basis of the explosive hatred among these garment workers.

This latest meaningful action of the garment-workers section of the Philadelphia working class follows a similar explosion a few months 'ago in the Transport Workers Union against CIO-TWU head, Mike Quill, and his local lieutenants, who utilized every civic propaganda and pressure device to beat down a rebellion of the rank and file against a contract signed by Quill.

In the third question put to the pickets, The Militant pollsters asked who was supporting the strike, since the boss press in Milwaukee is carrying floods of anti-strike letters and daily reports on Beck's progress. None of the workers felt that they had friends in the Republican camp. Their sentiments can be summed up in the idea that "we have a Republican administration now and the companies are getting tough all over." All were aware that they had to rely primarily upon their own strength and solidarity. The CIO has now begun organizing public support through all-union motorcades and will raise funds.

BECK'S ROLE

Chief aid and comfort to management has come from Dave Beck, who began "merger" talks shortly after the strike opened. Because the truck drivers control the greater share of beer transport, Beck's big approach has been: "You join with us and take your orders from me or we scab." The drivers themselves, particularly in Milwaukee, are not "Beck men" but they have been disciplined by Beck's machine and reminded of the interstate commerce laws.

Workers in other Wisconsin breweries sensed the real meaning of Beck's concern for democracy in the Brewery Union and pledge of united brewery-transport striking power. They have voted to stay in the CIO. Elsewhere, particularly in New York, Beck has grabbed some locals led by ambitious machine politicians organized into a dissident bloc. Beck's sell-out record makes it impossible for any serious progressive unionist to think of progress under Beck.

According to Karl Feller, President of the CIO Brewery Workers, "The teamsters dangled before our Local 9 membership the shocking offer that they would respect the picket lines in Milwaukee instead of continuing to violate them as they have been doing, if Local 9 made a deal with them."

Meanwhile the 7,100 striking brewery workers in Milwaukee have shouted down the latest company offer by replying: "We want everything!"

STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS

By LEON TROTSKY

The full text of Trotsky's masterful analysis of the Moscow Trials in his summation speech before the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry which investigated Stalin's frame-up charges.

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