

STALINISM, IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 9

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Rosenberg Sons at Prison



Michael, 9 and Robert, 5, peer out of car window as they arrive at Sing Sing prison in Ossining, N. Y. to visit their parents, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Condemned to death on espionage charge, Rosenbergs have won stay of execution.

Thousands Join Fight to Save The Rosenbergs

By Harry Frankel

The growing protest over the death sentence in the Rosenberg case was swelled last week by a vigorous petition to President Eisenhower by 2,300 clergymen from every part of the nation. The petition called the Rosenberg case "a reflection of our growing hysteria, fear and insecurity." The death sentence "contributes to our paralysis of critical thought. It furthers the mood of suppression that becomes increasingly characteristic of our way of life."

FEELING OF DOUBT The government demand for a blood offering has shocked many thousands of community leaders

Subscription Campaign Announced by Militant

By Dorothy Johnson, Campaign Manager

On March 15, The Militant will launch a national Subscription and Sales Campaign to increase the circulation of the paper and bring the message of socialism to thousands of new readers. Supporters of The Militant throughout the country are making plans for an all-out effort to sell every subscription and single copy possible during the six-week period.

Each week The Militant will run a scoreboard showing the results obtained by various cities in single copies and subs. A box showing the names of the ten top subscribers, their town, and score will also appear weekly. Each six-months sub sold will count 26 points; each one-year sub, 52 points; and each single copy, one point.

The present subscription campaign is expected to meet with a good response. The American working people are searching for answers to the problems of the war, the witch hunt, Jim Crow, and the drive against the union movement. Only The Militant can provide the answers so urgently needed.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes about the campaign. "We are very well pleased with the plans for the Militant Circulation Campaign — the time of year, duration, rates, etc. There is a real need for this sub drive. We are confident here of an all-out response from the comrades, and genuine gains in Militant circulation."

All readers of The Militant are asked to join in and help in the

City, Federal Officials Protect Killer-Cops on Loose in N.Y.

Oakland SWP Completes Petition Drive

By Paul Williams

OAKLAND, Calif., Feb. 23 — Lillian Kiezel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of this city, announced today the successful completion of the petition campaign to place her name on the April 21 ballot.

"Our volunteers visited over 200 working-class homes," she said, "and while the sampling was too small to be conclusive, it was nevertheless significant that not a single person defended the present City Hall administration."

Mrs. Kiezel ascribes this sentiment to the lifting of city rent controls, refusal to consider FEPC legislation, the support given by the Mayor and City Council to a police department recognized as brutal and corrupt, and concern over Korea.

Running on the anti-war program of the SWP, Mrs. Kiezel said that the threatening danger of atomic destruction in a third World War makes it dishonest and hypocritical to put the problem of civic improvements first even in a municipal campaign. "Tomorrow the streets, the homes on them and their inhabitants can very well be incinerated, if Big Business and its political representatives continue their present course toward another war."

If elected, Mrs. Kiezel said that she would use the power of her office to petition Congress and the President to "end this terrible needless slaughter in Korea at once."



LILLIAN KIEZEL

Labor's Fight Against T-H Law

By C. Thomas

What are the alternatives confronting the labor movement in the fight against the union-busting Taft-Hartley Act?

When the Taft-Hartley measure was enacted in 1947 against the universal opposition of the organized labor movement, the issue was immediately posed: either submission or defiance. Compliance with the Act involved signing the non-Communist affidavit. Refusal to comply meant defiance of the measure and significant uncompromising resistance through the organized power of the unions.

With the notable exception of the United Mine Workers, the International Typographical Union and a few smaller unions, the labor leaders capitulated one after the other and signed the non-Communist affidavit. While doing so they loudly proclaimed their intention to conduct an uncompromising struggle for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. They got nothing!

How Some Go and How Some Come Back



AWOL soldiers board an Army transport plane (left) in Maryland for the first leg of their trip to Korea, 1952 were ordered to the war front as part of the Army's "get tough" attempt to reduce the mounting number of AWOL cases in the most unpopular war in U.S. history. At right, Mrs. Dennis Donoghue, with her husband and a friend standing by, bends in grief over the coffin of her 21-year-old son, Dennis, Jr., recently killed in Korea. He had quit college, telling his parents, "Don't spend any more money on me. I'll only be drafted and I'll be killed."



EVEN SOME CONSERVATIVES VOICE FEAR McCARTHY PUSHING TOO FAST

By R. Bell

A mounting wave of protest against the witch hunt lashing at the basic freedoms of the American people is being voiced by prominent educators, church dignitaries, scientists, spokesmen for minorities and labor. The professional witch hunters have become so bold, their thought-control attacks on dissenting opinion so unbridled, that leading representatives and supporters of the Eisenhower administration feel compelled to warn that the witch hunters are going too far, too fast.

In an article published in the Feb. 22 New York Times Magazine, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the powerful newspaper, poses the question: "Are we as free to speak our minds today as twenty years ago? Is thinking and giving expression to thought as unrestricted as in the past? Most of us, I believe will join in saying 'no,' and we base our judgements on the record."

Sulzberger then cites samples

from "the record." It is only a minute part, but it is a devastating indictment of the ramifications of the witch hunt. A textbook written 35 years ago was banned by the State of Georgia after an employers group attacked it as having "socialistic and communistic overtones." The ban spread rapidly throughout the country.

Another textbook written by four Rutgers professors, "Basic Economics," was proscribed in Arizona after an Army corporal had written an anonymous letter to a Phoenix newspaper charging the book was "subversive."

Sulzberger expresses concern over the effects of the witch hunt on government employees, the mounting restrictions imposed on public meetings, radio, television and "other forums — because of the pressures that result from blacklists and irresponsible accusations." "There has been dropped upon utterance and ideas," he concludes, "a smoke screen of intimidation that dims essential talk and essential thought."

Sulzberger expresses the view of an important section of the Eisenhower administration. The same week his article appeared, such prominent public figures as George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, General of the Army Omar Bradley and even Senator Robert A. Taft, publicly warned against carrying the witch hunt too far.

They feel that unless there is some restraint, the rampaging witch-hunting trio, McCarthy, Jenner and Velde, will get out of hand and arouse a storm of opposition that will sweep the country. But the trio, and especially McCarthy, rose to political prominence and became a power precisely on the basis of the witch-hunt technique. They have their own political axe to grind. Far from being restrained by the timid steps taken to keep them under control they have slashed at their critics and forced the capitulation of Congress and the State Department whose members fear to invite the blows of the Frankenstein monster they themselves created.

Nat'l Educators Hail Challenge to School Witch Hunt

One of the strongest denunciations of witch hunting in America's schools yet voiced by a prominent public figure highlighted the 79th annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators at Atlantic City on Feb. 17.

Educators from every state in the union and delegates from such national school groups as the National Education Association and the National School Boards Association vigorously applauded the address by Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer of Washington, a member of the board of directors of the National Citizens Commission for Public Schools.

In scathing terms, Mrs. Meyer denounced Congressional committees investigating schools and colleges for "Communist thinkers" as a threat to free education and democracy. She attacked Senators McCarthy, Jenner and Velde in uncompromising terms, calling McCarthy "our modern grand inquisitor," "a dangerous and ruthless demagogue," "political adventurer" and a "psychopathic character."

"His record as an investigator is shameful," stated Mrs. Meyer. "He has accused innocent people of communism on mere hearsay evidence, thus traducing our American principle of law that a man is presumed innocent until proved guilty. By such methods he has weakened the morale of our Federal service and spread suspicion and fear throughout the nation. He has stirred up hatred and used every device to destroy the confidence of Americans in each other. He has used the technique of insinuation against innocent people and debauched the Senate's power of investigation by introducing authoritarian practices that are akin to the communism which he professes to hate."

APPEALS FOR ACTION

Mrs. Meyer appealed to "the American people as a whole" to "come to the defense of our public schools and of our institutions of higher learning. For the independence of our whole education system will be jeopardized if Velde, Jenner and McCarthy are not stopped in their tracks before they get under full sail." The power of McCarthy to attract even honest and well-meaning

Shocking Brutalities Continue

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, Feb. 24 — New evidence about the killer-cops who terrorize the workers and poor here, especially Negroes and Puerto Ricans, has strikingly confirmed disclosures of wholesale police brutalities and atrocities, including not less than 10 murders, published by The Militant almost two years ago.

Bit by bit, shocking facts long ago publicized by this paper are again coming to light following revelations of the secret deal between a top-ranking U.S. Justice Department official and Police Commissioner George P. Monaghan's office to remove New York's "finest" from the normal FBI investigatory procedures under the federal civil-rights laws.

The effect of this sordid compact, which has brought denunciation from 19 Negro, labor and civil-rights organizations here, has been to deprive 8 1/2 million people of such federal civil-rights protection as the law provides. It raises the question of what "understandings" may also exist between Justice Dept. and FBI officials and local police in other parts of the country, particularly in the South.

Facts about the secret agreement to subvert the civil-rights laws and cover up police brutalities came out in connection with a federal grand-jury investigation into the case of Jacob Jackson, 32-year-old Negro truckdriver, who was picked up by police in front of his residence last August and beaten so cruelly that he had to undergo two brain operations for the removal of blood clots. Jackson's case has been pressed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

MONAGHAN'S CLAIMS

Police Commissioner Monaghan has naturally claimed that the facts about his deal are "lies." In his television denial he carefully skirted the cases involving assaults on Negroes which have been under public discussion.

The day before Monaghan went on the air, police had picked up, held without charges and beat a young truck-driver, Salvatore Pace. Two alert and courageous citizens, Hyman Baumholtz, and his wife, Faith, saw Pace being beat up in the police car. They went to the police station and registered a complaint. Assistant District Attorney Peter Mirto, who happened to be in the station, questioned Pace — who while still being held denied having been beaten — and ordered the young man's release. The next morning Mirto had to go to the Beth-El hospital with his body so swollen from clubbing and pummeling that the hospital attendants could not take an X-ray.

Freed from police clutches, Pace then admitted that he had been beaten up, but had feared to say so while still in the police station. He said he was coming out of a tavern with a couple of friends when cops appeared suddenly, lined them up against the wall, searched them and finally hauled them off in police cars.

IN POLICE CAR

"Nobody was talking," said Page. "All of a sudden they stopped the car — I'm not sure where — and they started hitting me over the head with a club. I put my hands up to cover my head so they hit me a couple of raps on the side with the stick. One stabbed at me in the side with the club. Then the other cop punched me on the mouth."

"I said, 'You'll feel sorry for this,' and one of the cops says, 'Yeah, I'll feel sorry for you.' That was the first time they

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 4)



# NEEDLESS OPERATIONS, "GHOST" SURGEONS AND SPLIT FEES

By Harry Ring

The recent exposures of crime on the New York waterfront demonstrated that the pursuit of profit can assume some pretty grisly forms. It was established that for the sake of a dollar, knives flash freely, pocketbooks are tapped through wage "kickbacks," "phantom" workers are maintained on company payrolls and loading charges are pushed for all that the traffic will bear, often for totally unnecessary services.

I was reminded of all this when I read in the February 20 issue of U.S. News & World Report how the quest for a fast buck animates many in the medical profession.

With Dr. Hawley's assertion that "You'd be shocked... at the amount of unnecessary surgery that is performed," the following questions and answers are recorded: Q. Why do you suppose a doctor makes an unnecessary operation? A. Money. Q. Just plain dishonest money making? A. Why, of course. Q. Do you think there are doctors who would do that just for the sake of money? A. I don't think it. I know it — and I can prove it.

That was no obscure, unethical fraud talking, but Dr. Paul Hawley, director of the American College of Surgeons. The amount of unnecessary operations performed, according to him, is indicated by pathological tests of tissue removed in operations. "... Within the normal limits of human error there will always be some normal appendixes taken out," he said, "but when you get over fifteen percent — and I can show you places where sixty and seventy percent of the appendixes removed are normal — then there is something wrong there."

The normal rate of caesarean operations in child birth should be three to four percent, he said, but "there are hospitals where it runs to fifteen percent. If that many babies born are through caesarean section, that is unnecessary surgery."

Another widespread racket in the medical field described by Dr. Hawley is the use of "ghost" surgeons. He illustrates "ghost" surgery with the following example: "Out in the Polish neighborhood of Chicago, which is a very large neighborhood, there died about six months ago a doctor who in his own neighborhood was reputed as being the greatest surgeon in the world — but he didn't know one end of the scalpel from the other! He goes in, sees a big tumor, rushes you to the hospital, operates. But did he operate? No — he gets some young doctor starving to death. The patient is anesthetized. . . never sees this other surgeon. The surgeon who has never seen the patient does the operation, is slipped \$50, and the big shot who doesn't know how to operate collects up to \$500 from the family."

Aside from the financial injustice to the "ghost," the following questions and answers indicate that the patient should be a bit concerned with such a procedure. Q. Does this ghost surgeon work by an X-ray? How does he know where to cut? A. . . Nine times out of ten he just takes the word of the doctor who tells him what he thinks is wrong. Q. He is like a butcher? A. A meat cutter. One of my friends likes to call them, "hewers of flesh and drawers of blood."

The fastest growing swindle in the medical "profession," according to Dr. Hawley, is that of "fee splitting." Here's how it works: "You have a pain in your side. You think you have appendicitis. . . Well, it is agreed (by your physician) that Dr. Jones is the best surgeon, around here. Probably Dr. Jones is the one who kicks back the most. But all you hear is that he is the best surgeon around here. You say, 'How much is this going to cost me, Doctor?' 'Well, Dr. Jones charges \$300 and will take care of everything,' Dr. Jones collects the \$300 and kickbacks \$150 to the family doctor."

Like the stevedoring operators who are concerned with regulating some of the "excesses" of the waterfront racketeers, Dr. Hawley is concerned with curbing the "unethical" practices of some of his racketeering colleagues. It is also interesting to note that just as the stevedoring interests are vigorously opposed to the elimination of the shape-up from which most of the waterfront evils flow, so is Dr. Hawley an ardent defender of "private" medicine, and an outspoken opponent of socialized medicine.

## Stalinism and the Labor Movement:

- 1. Leon Trotsky: Stalinism and Bolshevism 32 pp. 15c
- 2. James P. Cannon: American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism 48 pp. 15c  
The End of the Comintern 36 pp. 15c  
The Road to Peace 48 pp. 25c
- 3. Art Preis: Stalinists on the Waterfront 32 pp. 10c

Order from

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## Your First Issue?

If this is the first time you have ever read *The Militant*, you now have an idea of the kind of newspaper we publish. It is a weekly that pulls no punches in fighting for socialism.

If you want to have an analysis of the current developments and problems in the American and world labor struggles, you ought to read *The Militant* regularly. The most convenient way is by subscribing.

Clip the coupon below and mail it in today. Send only \$1.50 for a 6 month subscription or \$3 for a full year to *The Militant*, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State ..... Zone .....

# Stalin's Anti-Semitic Frameups Aid the Enemies of Socialism

By John G. Wright

Instead of retreating, the Kremlin is committing itself more and more deeply in its campaign of anti-Semitism. Both inside the Soviet Union and in the East European countries, arrests of "conspirators" continue, with Jewish names figuring prominently on the growing lists of the accused. On the international field, Stalin has stepped up this campaign by the demonstrative diplomatic break with Tel-Aviv for which the bombing of the Soviet legation has provided a convenient pretext.

Moscow's Cominform press is now engaged in a major propagandistic effort to picture all the "different Zionist organizations" in Israel and throughout the world as "an altogether widespread espionage network in the service of the U.S. imperialists carrying out their criminal assignments." The latest document of this type to reach this country is a three-column feature article entitled, "Zionist Agency of U.S. Imperialism," by M. Mitin which was published in the Feb. 20 issue of the Cominform weekly *For A Lasting Peace* etc.

Mitin's article pretends to explain how this alleged role of Zionism "stems from the entire history and activity of the Zionist organizations." The gist of this attack on Zionism is to picture it as an international conspiracy of "Jewish bankers and capitalists." From the very inception of the Zionist movement, "there is hardly a reactionary force in the world which the Zionist leaders did not try to contact" and deal with.

Mitin lists the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser, the Sultan of Turkey, the Pope, Chamberlain of Britain, Petura of the Ukraine, the Polish Pilsudski, Mussolini of Italy and then adds for good measure: "The Zionist movement in the person of its leaders and inspirers was not averse to entering into contact even with Hitler fascism."

Next follows the assertion that "for years" Zionism was nothing more than a branch of the British Secret Service which at the "next stage" became converted into a branch of the American Secret Service. "Israel, in recent years, has passed completely into the sphere of influence of the U.S."

This entire fake "historical" construction is intended to serve

as a setting for the Slansky frameup in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the arrests of the Jewish "doctor-killers" in Moscow and — for the terrorist bombings in Tel-Aviv. "The evil crimes of the group of doctor-killers, like the activities of the Zionists — participants in the anti-state conspiracy center in Czechoslovakia and in the act of terror against the Soviet Legation in Tel-Aviv — all are links in the same chain," concludes Mitin.

### AID WAR-MAKERS

It cannot be stressed too often that Stalin's barefaced resort to anti-Semitism has supplied the imperialists, in the first instance the American war-makers, with one of the sharpest ideological weapons against the Soviet Union.

Eisenhower and Dewey have been supplied with a cheap opportunity to jump to the fore as the champions of the "Jewish people." The Republicans and Democrats in Congress rush to pass a resolution condemning oppressions of all national minorities "behind the iron curtain." Similar cynical resolutions and posturings will undoubtedly be repeated in the United Nations.

At the same time, this latest Stalinist abomination cannot but spread confusion and demoralization in the ranks of European and American workers and thus facilitate the preparations for the projected imperialist assault on the Soviet Union.

But there is also another aspect of this situation that merits attention, namely: the help that Stalin has extended to Zionism by the very fact of his current, monstrous offensive.

Next only to the imperialists, the leaders of Zionism are the greatest beneficiaries of the Kremlin's unbridled anti-Semitism.

### NEW LEASE ON LIFE

The most telling argument of the Zionists has been, from the outset, that the sole defense of the Jews against persecution lies in a "homeland of their own." Hitler's crimes against the Jews supplied the spur that finally enabled Israel to come into being.

At a time when the illusions of an independent Jewish state were beginning to dissipate, when life itself was beginning to demonstrate how unviable economically and politically is this Zionist ad-

venture in a territory of a little more than 7,800 square miles, precisely at this moment Stalin supplies the bankrupt Zionist leaders with a new lease on life. They are placed in a position where Zionism can appeal to the Jewish masses everywhere once again for material help, for further sacrifices, for moral sympathy and support. They can use the Stalinist lie that there is socialism in the Soviet Union to tell the Jewish masses that Stalin's crimes are proof that the

Jews have nothing to look forward to under genuine socialism. In brief, they can peddle the illusions of Zionism under the most favorable conditions to them, thanks to Stalin.

Never in world history has the lie served any force except that of reaction. The whole Stalinist attack on Zionism is a sham and a fraud. That is why instead of actually combatting the reactionary ideas and policies of the Zionists, Stalin only feeds them and invigorates them.

## Chiang Troops Prepare



Engaged in their latest maneuvers, Chinese counter-revolutionary troops in Formosa are observed (top) by Gen. Chou Chi-jou, Gen. George H. Olmstead and Gen. Sun Li-jen. At bottom, soldiers take part in "mock attack" on Chinese mainland. Chiang Kai-shek's feeble forces, driven out of China by enraged population, cannot launch effective attack. Gimmick is that they may be used by Wall Street to trigger Asian war into which U.S. forces would be thrown.

# Thousands Join Fight to Save the Rosenbergs

(Continued from page 1)

to the Communist Party, who not only oppose the sentence but find that the evidence presented did not even justify a conviction." The report from Italy was the same, and reports from many countries indicate that even the right-wing press is hostile to the action of the U.S. court and Eisenhower. The intervention of the Pope, and the suppression of that news by the Justice Dept., have also added fuel to the fire abroad.

### PROSECUTION PROMISES

The prosecution case is now being subjected to a far closer examination than when it was presented two years ago. When the case opened the government promised to produce 118 witnesses including top nuclear physicists Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and Dr. Harold C. Urey, as well as Lieut. Gen. Leslie Groves, head of the wartime atom bomb project. It said the case would take three months to present.

Instead it called only 20 witnesses, including among them not a single promised top scientist, and its case was closed in 8 1/2 days. The very authorities whom the government had promised to produce have spoken out against it.

Dr. Harold C. Urey, the Nobel prize winner who is world-famous for his atomic research, wrote on Dec. 16: "The government case rests on the testimony of David and Ruth Greenglass, and this was flatly contradicted by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. I found the testimony of the Rosenbergs more believable than that of the Greenglasses. It is customary for spies to be paid in console tables and wrist watches? Gold, Greenglass and Fuchs were paid in cash. Again, do spies talk about their activities with college friends and relatives? Gold and Fuchs did not."

### A "FREEHAND DRAWING"

Dr. Albert Einstein, in a letter to Eisenhower, endorsed both the clemency appeal and the reasoning of Dr. Urey. Dr. Urey further ridiculed the idea of a "secret" about the atom bomb that Greenglass was supposed to have given Rosenberg. Greenglass "confessed" to giving Rosenberg a "freehand drawing" of an implosion lens used in the bomb which he

said he made solely from scraps of overheard conversation.

Greenglass had only a high-school education, and had failed to pass a single one of nine science courses. Dr. Edward N. Condon, top U.S. scientific authority, also ridiculed this, saying in a letter to the trial judge that a "freehand drawing" of such a lens would be worthless since "the essence of the lens lies in its precise scientific shape which Greenglass did not know and could not have transmitted by a freehand sketch in any case." It is not at all strange that the government never called the promised atom scientists to the witness stand.

In a strongly worded and closely reasoned clemency letter, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the state of Utah, James H. Wolf, wrote on Feb. 5: "From the standpoint of justice, I think the conviction rests on too shaky a foundation. No need for me to detail the risk of accepting in a conspiracy charge evidence of confessed conspirators who stand to profit from turning State's evidence. This conviction was obtained during a period of mounting hysteria by evidence of witnesses whom the law considers unreliable because of the very hope of reward or mitigation. Besides the general hysteria generated by fear and hate of communism which was injected into that trial, it appears that there may have been the influence of anti-Semitism in a reverse sort of way. The trial judge was Jewish and the defendants in the conspiracy trial were mostly, if not all, Jewish. In the light of the fact that many of the idealistic Jews, especially in New York City where the trial was held, have been tinged with leanings toward Communism, there may have been unconsciously an effort to lean over backward against the Jews who were accused of obtaining espionage information for the benefit of the USSR."

### WHY THE DEATH VERDICT?

The death verdict applied in the Rosenberg case has come in for special assault. Dr. Urey put the matter in this way in his letter to the court: "However, accepting the verdict as correct, I am amazed and com-

pletely outraged by the unequal punishment which has been given. For the same crime Ruth Greenglass is never brought to trial although she admitted her guilt under oath; David Greenglass gets 15 years imprisonment, Morton Sobell and Harry Gold get 30 years imprisonment; and Ethel and Julius Rosenberg get death. Only the last two took the witness stand and maintained that they are innocent, and they were convicted on testimony which I do not believe is conclusive beyond a reasonable doubt."

The Joint House-Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, in a 222-page report called "Soviet Atomic Espionage" published after the death sentence in the Rosenberg case, does not sustain the fantastic charges made by Judge Kaufman and President Eisenhower that the Rosenbergs "gave" the bomb "secret" to the USSR. On the contrary. The report only mentions the Rosenbergs once, by way of recording their conviction. The report says of Greenglass:

"The bomb sketches and explanations that Greenglass — as a virtual layman — could prepare must have counted for little compared with the authoritative scientific commentary upon atomic weapons that (Dr. Klaus) Fuchs transmitted. . . Everything considered, Greenglass appears to have been the least effective of the four spies (Dr. Fuchs, Dr. Allan Nunn May, Dr. Bruno Pontecorvo and David Greenglass)." Yet the "sketches" of this "least effective spy" which "must have counted for little" got the Rosenbergs the death penalty despite the fact that Greenglass got only 15 years (8 with good behavior) and despite the fact that none of the more "effective spies" were punished in any way but by jail terms! This fact marks the trial and sentence as politically motivated. The Rosenbergs are to be burned for their opinions.

### POLITICAL ELECTROCUTION

The Rosenbergs are the only alleged spies that the government could connect in any way with the radical political movement and, in this case, the Communist Party. Judith Coplon was never charged with Communist Party ties. Dr. Klaus Fuchs, tried

in Britain, accused himself of misdirected idealism, but his four alleged American accomplices acted out of cash motives, one of them, Harry Gold, being an anti-left-wing adventurer.

In the Rosenberg case, the only material exhibits which could be directly linked to the defendants were a Spanish Refugee Appeal collection can found in their apartment and Ethel Rosenberg's signature on a nominating petition for Peter Cacchione, which had been signed by 50,000 others and which led to Cacchione's successful campaign for City Council in 1941. It was further recorded in evidence that Julius Rosenberg had lost a government job because of charges of membership in the Communist Party.

Thus the government is saying in the Rosenberg case that the defendants compounded their alleged crime with radical political opinions, and for that they must burn. It says, in effect: "You can be a spy and be caught outright, as were some of the spies, and you'll only get the customary prison sentence. But if you're charged with spying and with radicalism at the same time, then no matter how weak our case is, no matter how minor or ineffective your charged espionage was, you must die."

That is how the Rosenberg case becomes not a spy case but a political persecution that threatens to go to the point of courtroom murder. The government hopes to use the electric chair not as an incinerator for criminals but as a weapon of political intimidation. Eisenhower, the courts and the newspapers are telling the people: "Stay away from reds or you will see that there is no limit to our savagery in dealing with dissenters."

Their calculated design has been partly broken through the refusal of thousands of public leaders to go along. Millions of others share the doubts. Now is the time for the protest to grow, for more voices to be heard. If the repudiation of the government in the Rosenberg case becomes great enough and involves a sufficiently large section of the American people, then whatever the final outcome of the case the witch hunters will have been defeated in their main object.

# The American Way of Life

Jacob Jackson's Nightmare

Jacob Jackson is a truck-driver, 32 years old, colored. He's a quiet-spoken man and says of himself, "I'm not a fighter. I like to let people alone and be let alone. I never had any trouble with the police in my life."

Not, that is, until the warm Saturday night of last August 9. Jackson had started in the direction of a grocery store, strolling slowly so his wife, Geneva, could catch up with him. She was coming down the steps of their home at 437 W. 52nd Street, midtown Manhattan.

Jackson noticed a group of men playing cards on the curb. The game suddenly broke up and the men ran past him. The next thing he knew he got a violent shove in the back, a big fist smashed into his mouth and nose and the blood started spurting. The owner of the fist was police officer William Brennan.

"Officer, rather than beat me around in the street, why don't you take me to the station house and find out what right you have to beat me?" said the shocked victim. The cop told him he was under arrest and he was taken to a patrol car.

A man named Samuel Crawford came up and asked Brennan for his badge. He was placed under arrest. Jackson's wife came up and anxiously asked what was wrong. She was seized and hauled off in another patrol car.

At the W. 54th St. Station, Brennan promptly began to beat up the two arrested men. An inspector was in the police station and was heard to tell the policemen to take the two to a hospital. "The inspector went away and we were handcuffed. They started kicking us and shoving us toward the door," Jackson later told a N.Y. Post reporter in the offices of Edward W. Jacko Jr., Chairman of the Legal Redress Committee of the New York Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP is pressing Jackson's case before a Federal grand jury.

"They knocked me down seven or eight times. Crawford only went down twice and he stayed down. I kept getting up and each time they knocked me back down. I was dazed. I was crying, I hollered. I begged Brennan to stop kicking me but he only told me to shut up. Finally they took us to Roosevelt Hospital. We were there about an hour. My head was aching so that I just passed out."

He was discharged from the hospital without treatment, taken back to the station and another cop started beating him. "The officer said: 'I want some more of him, too,' and he hit me right in the stomach with his fist and I went down," Jackson said. "He told me to get up and then punched me in the jaw real hard. My jaw was sore. My tooth hasn't stopped aching yet. Then they locked us up — my wife, Crawford and me."

Jackson's boss from the Temesta & Sons trucking firm bailed him out three days later. On his second day back on the job, Jackson collapsed. He was taken to the Roosevelt hospital, then brought back home. He went into a coma for four days, waking up in the St. Clare hospital. The doctors operated twice on his brain to remove blood clots.

He's back on the job now, but as a helper, not a driver. "I'm afraid to drive," he explained, "because I get terrible headaches and I don't want to hurt anybody."

— Lewis Peterson

# ATTACK ON WITCH HUNT HAILED BY EDUCATORS

(Continued from page 1)

ing people in "this era of confusion," said Mrs. Meyer, "should not be underestimated. He is a dangerous, clever and ruthless demagogue. He is another Huey Long with different tactics but with the same lust for power."

She called on the college presidents to "act in unison" to stop the witch-hunt investigations. "They should all of them communicate with their vast alumni associations and ask them to take measures for a counter-offensive."

### OREGON EXAMPLE

Citing what can be done by an aroused and informed public, Mrs. Meyer related:

"In Oregon all the veterans' organizations got together and issued a statement defending the state's public school system and rejecting the loyalty oath for public school teachers. I don't think McCarthy will tangle with the schools of Oregon, for he would have to take on the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Disabled American Veterans. You may be sure he won't do that . . ."

The Jenner House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, at which she had been present, "are of a character to make any honest American sick to his stomach regardless of whether he thinks the victim may be or may have been a fellow-traveler. I have seen only one sign to be compared with it — a Spanish bull fight where half a dozen men stick sharp knives into the bull to engage him before the matador — in this case, the committee chairman — closes in for the kill. By observing the Jenner hearings, the technique for persecuting the teaching profession can be forecast."

### OPERATION WITCH-HUNT

"The plan is to expose any teachers who look suspicious and

may even be guilty of Communist affiliations. Then with the support of an aroused public opinion behind them, our Congressional inquisitors will attack any or all professors whose opinions they dislike. That will be the moment when McCarthy will move into the bull ring to do his stuff. As in the past, he will produce his professional ex-Communists such as Budenz to say that Professor X was known to them as a fellow-Communist. Before the poor man can recover from shock, his name will flame in every headline, his college branded as harboring Communists and encouraging communism. Financial contributions to the institutions will fall off at once. Faculty morale will be shot to pieces. "It would take years before the particular university or college that gets the McCarthy work-over could recover from the damage. But not only are our great seats of learning and our public and private schools endangered by this insidious process. The very fabric of our society will be loosened and the noble ideals that have made this nation great will be shattered unless the American people now rise in their might to preserve the freedom of the mind."

## PHILADELPHIA

Friday Night Socialist Forum Woman's Struggle for Equal Rights

Speaker: Joyce Cowley Fri., March 6, 8:30 P.M. 1303 W. Girard Avenue Questions - Discussion Refreshments Admission Free



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

**THE MILITANT**  
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
**THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION**  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 6-7409  
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN  
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

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

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

Vol. XVII - No. 9  
Monday, March 2, 1953

# Will Workers Rule Bolivia?

## Our Interest in Bolivia

From sources in Bolivia we have learned that Washington is bringing powerful pressure to bear from behind the scenes against the Estenssoro government.

First of all, the Bolivian government is threatened by a boycott on tin. Representatives of the tin trust calculate that industry and the war-machine can get by for a considerable period without buying Bolivian tin by relying on sources in Malaya, Indonesia and Africa. Meanwhile, Washington has made some purchases in order to bolster up Estenssoro and keep him on the hook.

Besides these purchases Washington is dangling a still bigger carrot — heavy loans that will help the Estenssoro regime stabilize itself. But the price demanded for such aid is a heavy one.

First of all, guarantees are asked that will open the door to de-nationalization of the tin mines. To make it more palatable, funds would be provided for reimbursement of the expropriated tin trust barons and these hated symbols of foreign exploitation would retire from public view in Bolivia. However, they would be replaced by a different set of exploiters — American companies — who would ease their way into control through some official U.S. government sponsorship formula.

Even more important is the requirement that the Estenssoro government vigorously oppose the rising tide of revolution. Even if American Big Business felt it advisable to let the nationalizations in Bolivia go by for the

time being with nothing more than angry protests, it is alarmed about the repercussions of the revolution throughout the rest of the world, above all in the other countries of Latin America, and wants to crush this possibility before it develops.

If Bolivia can get away with it, then what about Chile, Venezuela, Guatemala and the others? Washington fears, and rightly so, that the revolution in Bolivia can spill down out of the heights of the Andes and flood all of Latin America.

The most immediate effect of this would be to disrupt all the blueprints for world conquest — perhaps make impossible the new war needed to carry through these plans.

It is thus obvious that the American people have a high stake in Bolivia and a direct interest in the success of the revolution. The appearance of a Workers and Farmers government in Bolivia could alter the whole relation of political forces in the Western Hemisphere. In the United States it would set reaction back on its heels and encourage the American workers and farmers to press their own political aims with new force and vitality.

Our duty is to rally support for the Bolivian workers and peasants and help them in their struggle for freedom. By doing so we perform an elementary act of international solidarity and at the same time serve our own self-interests in the struggle against the big corporations and their political representatives in Washington.

(The following article dealing with acute problems of the revolution in Bolivia, especially the possibility of the Central Obrera Boliviana (Bolivian Workers Center) developing into a government of the workers and farmers, appeared in the January number of Lucha Obrera, official organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party. It has been condensed somewhat because of space limitations. — Ed.)

## Bolivian MNR Approves Freedom In Education, Socialist Ideas

The deep-seated desire of the Bolivian people to improve their educational level was reflected at the recent convention of the National Revolutionary Movement by approval of two resolutions that are in startling contrast to the witch-hunt spirit now threatening to extinguish freedom of thought in the schools of America.

One resolution calls for the ideological renovation of the entire educational system and its organization "on the principles of socialism." "Nature, society, and thought evolves; and education must not only furnish man with a static view of life and the world, but must prepare him to par-

ticipate dynamically in order to continue progress toward social equality."

The Bolivian schools, says the resolution, "will consider the people's education as a whole, without ethical, sectarian or religious prejudices."

The other resolution calls for creation of a Workers University to advance the political and cultural level of the masses, study Marxist teachings and the problems of replacing capitalism by a better system. The curriculum approved includes Marxism, historical and philosophical materialism, social planning, history, world and Western Hemisphere politics, and history of the arts and sciences.

force of the proletariat, because unity of action goes together with this union democracy; that is, common struggle for the realization of a determined program. This means struggle against the strangling of the revolution, the orienting of national policy to conform to the historic interests of the working class, and the smashing of every rightist up-cropping.

The program of action must seek to implement real workers control in the nationalized mines. Also the common program of action of the COB cannot leave out the question of the agrarian revolution, which is daily taking on greater importance and becoming the problem which will determine the future of the revolution. The slogan must be nationalization and immediate distribution of the land to the peasants, complete liquidation of the landed estates. In this it is necessary to pass from lyric phrases to action in conformity with the clamorous demands of the peasants.

## Atomic Grab by Monopolies

A warning comes from the CIO that America's private monopolies are trying to get their mitts on the atomic energy resources and facilities. Pres. Elwood Swisher of the CIO Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers said in an NBC radio interview, reported in the Feb. 23 CIO News, that "we are convinced there will be a drive for private ownership and operation of atomic energy resources. . . Not perhaps, the bomb production facilities, but certainly the facilities for peace-time use of atomic energy. And its peace-time potentials are simply fabulous."

What is planned, of course, is an outright steal. As Swisher points out, "we fail to see the justice or fairness of allowing any private interest to profit from a resource which is owned by all the people of the United States and which was discovered and developed at the taxpayer's expense. That, it seems to us, would be creating a welfare state — for the welfare of the very rich."

The private companies, while not having legal ownership, are still siphoning off big profits from the operation of much of atomic industry under contract with the Atomic Energy Commission. But they're not satisfied. They want to grab absolute ownership and

control so they can exploit the workers to the limit and milk every possible dollar out of the industry paid for by the people.

So the big corporations are campaigning, as a N. Y. Times editorial puts it, "to modify the Atomic Energy Act so as to give private enterprise the right to develop atomic power." The Times expresses especial concern, however, about their "right" to develop profits — about whether the private companies will be "permitted to erect atomic power plants where they will be economically profitable or only where the Atomic Energy Commission indicates," etc.

Instead of its potentialities as a source of unlimited cheap energy being realized, atomic power in the hands of private corporations, like other public utilities when privately controlled, will be operated on a monopoly basis to maintain high prices and big profits. The monopolies would strangle atomic development.

The atomic-energy industry should be nationalized and operated under the control of the workers. That is the only way to ensure decent union conditions and wages and the development of the industry for the benefit of the people.

trade union and political united front of the proletariat, and tends to give concrete expression to the alliance between the exploited of the city (proletariat, artisans, lower layers of the middle class) and the exploited peoples of the countryside. This means that the COB includes within its sectors affiliated to different leftist political parties, elements with different programmatic approaches to the national reality.

For this reason the survival of the COB requires trade union democracy of the highest order, respect for the free expression of opinions, guarantees for freedom of propaganda for the various political tendencies, guarantees of conditions of equality for all sectors to reach the ranks — these are the fundamental norms. Various groupings combine to collaborate in certain practical problems, without renouncing their own programs. The revolutionaries in the COB will not abandon their critical attitude toward the other sectors, because this attitude is one of the principal means of orienting the mass of the workers toward a correct road.

that their propaganda will be freely circulated and amply discussed.

The COB must guarantee these rights, and fight for them against the excesses committed by the rulers. At present, however, it is the reactionary elements, the imperialist agents, who enjoy all kinds of guarantees for their activities against the people, and the revolutionaries who continue to be hounded and persecuted by the police. Up to now the COB has remained silent about the many blows leveled against the true unionists and revolutionaries.

A close connection exists between the political movement and the COB. Those sectors which are interested, and rightly so, in gaining the majority of the workers. This is a normal course of the revolution. But the struggle for the majority within the COB must be carried on in a loyal manner, around the programmatic postulations of the different political parties.

The POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) is opposed to anti-politicalism in the trade union field. It advocates revolutionary class politics, which under present conditions must begin with complete independence of the workers organizations from government institutions.

**EMBRYO GOVERNMENT**

The insurrection of April 9 placed on the order of the day the question of the working class taking power. Thus, the organism that was created as an expression of worker-peasant unity cannot be a simple trade union center which concerns itself only with the economic demands of the masses. It must be understood that the COB constitutes a superior form of mass organization in a period of revolutionary upsurge.

In embryonic form the elements of power are stirring within it and are consciously expressed by the POR's fraction. The development of these tendencies will profoundly transform the structure of the COB and will convert it into a workers parliament which will have executive attributes.

This will come into being the essential element of dual power in the transition period of struggle between the petty-bourgeois Bonapartist power and the proletariat. All this is already contained in the program which serves as a platform for the organization of the COB and in its own methods of action (mobilization of the masses, demonstrations, setting up rank-and-file organizations in city and country, etc.) as well as in the projected creation of a general staff of the workers militia.

## Anti-Trucks Law Fight -- A Fine Example

There is encouraging evidence of a growing and deepening concern about the witch-hunt threat to civil liberties. More and more people of liberal and progressive views are daring to speak out against those who would smother our rights under a poison cloud of "loyalty" oaths and purges, Congressional inquisitions, political trials and character assassination.

The fighting tone of Mrs. Agnes Meyer in her speech denouncing the current assaults on academic freedom, delivered last week before the national convention of the Association of School Administrators, was welcome and inspiring. She struck the right note in calling on the heads of educational institutions to "act in unison" to protect free learning against the inquisitors and in summoning "the people as a whole" to battle for a free school system.

Mrs. Meyer did not, however, spell out in detail the steps to be taken and the form in which an effective organized fight can be made to preserve civil liberties. We suggest that she

and other sincere defenders of civil liberties who are anxious to press the fight consider what has been accomplished in Michigan along the line of rallying and setting into motion the forces that stand for freedom. We refer to the Citizens Committee against the Trucks Law.

We think this Committee is something of a model for civil-liberties defenders in other states and points the way to the type of organization that is needed nationally. Realizing that the Trucks police-state law passed by the Michigan legislators last year is a menace to the basic rights of the people, more than 200 of the state's prominent citizens from leading labor, religious, civic, and professional groups got together to lead the fight against the Trucks Law. And as a practical move in the fight, the Committee gave its backing to the legal suit of the Socialist Workers Party, first victim of the Trucks law, to have it declared null and void by the courts.

The Citizens Committee, by its forthright stand and actions, has already gained the support of a large section of the Michigan people who have been waiting for just such an organized group to challenge the hateful Trucks law. It is especially significant and gratifying that a powerful section of the Michigan labor movement, including the Detroit CIO, has given its backing to the Citizens Committee.

The work of the Citizens Committee has attracted national attention and publicity. Some leading figures in educational, cultural and civic affairs outside of Michigan have lent their names to the committee to show their awareness of its national importance as a guide to be followed on a country-wide scale.

The witch hunters appear ferocious and formidable only so long as they confront a disorganized, frightened people. They can be made to crawl into their holes by the combined, organized resistance of the labor and liberal forces.

**DEMOCRACY MUST RULE**

Harmony within the COB will be born of assurances for all that their ideas will be respected, that they will be permitted to struggle to gain influence among the masses, that the ruling circles will not persecute them in the unions by means of special police, and

**UNITY OF ACTION**

Freedom of expression for different tendencies of the workers movement does not weaken the

**MUST BE DEVELOPED**

The COB has appeared as an embryo of the workers' own power with a special meaning and dynamic. In order to deepen the revolution it is necessary to develop this embryo of power, accentuating and then resolving the duality which it creates in opposition to the "official power." Its organization must be spread throughout the entire country so that not a single region remains outside of it. The characteristics of workers power must be developed (within the COB), increasing its deliberative faculties and giving it executive force

**COB AND IMPERIALISM**

The most violent clash between the COB and the government is due to the fact that the latter has a Bonapartist character, which obliges it to veer between the imperialist pole, and the proletariat. In its moments of greatest danger the government finds its support in the COB. In its need to placate imperialism it later attacks the COB and sabotages its activity. After the unsuccessful reactionary coup of January 6, the government turned its fire against the COB — is the price a possible agreement on tin? — and tried to destroy its leadership.

In its struggle against the COB, which is an objective expression of petty-bourgeois fear of a deep and powerful mass mobilization, the government finds itself obliged to persecute the most revolutionary sector, the POR. Thus the close relationship which exists between the COB and the political party of the working class is daily becoming more evident. The future of the COB depends upon its strengthening itself, converting itself into a form of proletarian power, and following the course indicated by the Revolutionary Workers Party.

## "Crucible" a Stirring Play

By Tom Milton

Arthur Miller's new play "The Crucible," now playing to packed audiences in New York, is a political as well as a cultural event. In depicting the Salem witch-hunt of 1692 it also depicts the witch hunt of our own time.

The Salem witch hunt was the product of religious fanaticism frightened by the creatures of its own dark imagination, while our witch hunt is the product of political reaction frightened by the spectre of colonial revolt and world revolution, but each is a hysteria which thrives on fear and credulity. The similarity of the way each operates is what gives the play its immediacy.

Its characters are Puritans, with the Puritan gravity of speech and sobriety of dress, but while it is convincing as a historical drama we sense that it is also a drama of our time. The small, isolated community of Salem is a picture in little of a great nation caught up in madness.

The society of *The Crucible* is that of a pioneering democracy which the church is seeking to dominate and which is not so egalitarian that it is not marked by class antagonisms. John Proctor, the central character, is a hard-working farmer who does not care for the pulpit thunderings of the minister and the readiness of the local squire to claim any land he can.

The minister and the squire are the chief initiators of the witch hunt. The minister, instigating it primarily because of the realization that it strengthens his position against such as Proctor and because the main accuser is his own niece whom he must defend to protect his own good name. However, with his self-righteous feeling that he is God's right-hand man, he really believes, it seems, that he is stamping out the work of the devil.

The squire is impelled by his wife to charge that witchcraft is being practiced because his seven children died in childbirth or shortly thereafter, but he also has an eye out for the land of some of those accused. A percep-

tion of personal gain is mingled with self-deception, as it no doubt is in the politicians and capitalists of today.

Abigail Williams, the main accuser, is animated by spite, vindictiveness, passion and the desire to hide her own thrill-seeking dabblings in voodoo ritual. In her deliberate lies she reminds one of our professional informers manufacturing new sensations each day.

The children who with her claim that they have been possessed by devils sent by witches are partly hysterical, partly carried away by the notoriety and the power they have received.

The Reverend John Hale, the theologian who has been called in as an expert on witchcraft — we might call him the theoretician of the witch hunt — is at first serenely confident that he can direct the hunt and prevent innocent persons from being caught up in it. He thinks that he knows all the answers about witches and their evil ways: He just has to look it up in the treatises on the subject. But as the hunt proceeds, engulfing more and more, and he has it thrust upon him that its victims are ordinary, decent people falsely accused, he is struck by a consciousness of guilt.

Deputy-Governor Danforth, on the other hand, although assertively announcing his judicial objectivity, is zealous and bigoted, using his subtle mind constantly to thrust the burden of proof on the defendants, no matter how transparently false the charges or how meaningless the evidence against them. Any challenge to his arbitrary procedures he regards as an attack on the authority of the court. So concerned does he become with maintaining this authority that at the end it becomes his chief object to justify its verdicts, regardless of proof of innocence.

As the victims are caught in the coils of his inquisitorial methods and securely trussed up, each hole in the net becoming a strangulating knot, the audience experiences a constriction of its heart. There was more than one gasp and groan from it during

the courtroom scene the time I attended the play. The feeling is the more intense because of the recognition that these methods — the acceptance of the unsupported word of accusers against that of the accused, the promise of clemency on confession and the incrimination of others, the indictment of those signing a petition in behalf of the accused as being themselves witches — are those being employed today.

The audience's emotion is effectively released by the curtain-line of the Reverend Hale: "I denounce these trials. I shall have nothing to do with them."

The tumultuous applause that followed these words was not only a tribute to Miller's moving drama; it was a political demonstration of solidarity with him in his abhorrence of the contemporary inquisition.

In the final act we see the end results of the Salem witch hunt. The life of the community has been disrupted, and terror stalks the land. Under these conditions, what is the ordinary individual to do?

This is the question which faces John Proctor in prison. He is a man of unassuming, rugged strength, but he is not a saint. The soul-sick Reverend Hale urges him to make a false confession to save his life. Proctor, united with his pregnant wife, who, formerly spiritually isolated from him in the puritanical rigidity of her character, has become humanized and grown closer to him in their suffering, is tempted.

But Danforth seeks a confession that would testify to the guilt of others. His insistent demand whether Proctor has ever conversed with the devil is dramatically ironic, forcibly conveying to the audience that it is at this moment that Proctor is being tempted to sell his soul, that is, the integrity of his personality.

After an internal struggle, Proctor finds that he cannot do this and goes to his death. His mettle has been tried in the fiery-hot crucible of suffering, and its inextinguishable glow lights up the sordidness of the play.

## World Events

By Charles Hanley

**DANISH SOLDIERS** who recently demonstrated against the new 18-month-conscription period are the "product of a large segment of public opinion," states Hanson W. Baldwin in the Feb. 19 N.Y. Times. The Feb. 27 U.S. News and World Report, calling it "mutiny," takes it as an indication of the way "the wind is blowing against U.S. in Europe . . ."

**THE SOCIALISTS** achieved substantial gains in Austria's parliamentary elections Feb. 22, receiving 36,000 more votes than the bourgeois Catholic People's Party, although the latter gets one more seat in the National Assembly. The People's Party will have 74 seats against 77 in from 67 to 78. The Socialists pulled up from 67 to 78. The Socialists lost one of the five seats they previously held; and the Neo-Nazi "Independent Party" lost two of their 16 seats. On election day 30 Socialists, distributing the ballots needed by voters, were arrested in the Soviet sector of Vienna. Socialist posters were also removed from Vienna's international "Inner City" at Soviet request. . . .

**YUGOSLAV UNEMPLOYMENT** has risen to 70,000, according to the Feb. 18 N.Y. Times. This is a reflection of the difficulties the country faces under the pressure of Moscow and Washington. The total population of Yugoslavia is 16,500,000. At

the convention of the "Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia," (formerly the "People's Front") Feb. 22, President Tito asked for cooperation with other Socialist parties against reactionary forces in the West and the East, saying the Vatican was at the head of Western reaction. Speeches by foreign Socialists who had come as guests were rather cautious.

**GUATEMALA'S LAND** reform started in earnest Feb. 17 when 112 Indians from the Chimaltenango region received 8 3/4 acres of land each from the first private estate to be divided under the law adopted June 16, 1952. The capitalist press in the U.S. complains about President Arbenz Guzman being dominated by the Communists. The N.Y. Times correspondent Sydney Gruson was forced to admit, however, Feb. 22, "that if there had not been a single Communist in Guatemala, the revolutionaries who overthrew dictator Jorge Ubico still would have insisted on the present program, including a new labor code, social security, and agrarian reform, that is generally condemned as Communist-inspired."

Some 70% of Guatemala's arable land is owned by 2% of the population. One family, for example, owns 100,000 acres. This, and not the "agitation" carried out by the 1,200 Communist party members, is the basic cause of the Guatemalan revolution.

**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.

♦ An introduction by Joseph Hansen which brings the record of Stalin's frame-up system up-to-date and includes an analysis of recent trials in Eastern Europe.

168 pages \$1.00  
Order from  
**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
116 University Pl. New York 3, N.Y.



By Jean Blake

One of the interesting things about the Negro press is its tendency to be unorthodox on many questions on which nothing but official views can be found in the daily capitalist press.

The reason for the difference is not hard to find: The "white" dailies exist as capitalist, profit-making institutions to serve and maintain the status quo — the government, the economic and social system as it is today; the Negro press, while also a capitalist, profit-making institution, only exists because Negroes are discriminated against in the United States and therefore must have their own institutions and agencies for struggling against many aspects of "the American way of life."

Since the Negro editors and journalists do not approach all questions with the same premises and preconceived notions as those in the white press, we frequently find more objective reporting and interpretation of foreign news developments.

An example of this is the column "World on View" by Charles Loeb, managing editor of the Cleveland Call and Post. In his February 21 column, Mr. Loeb has a statement on the colonial revolutions going on all over the world that is a refreshing relief from the blatant lies and propaganda of the daily press and radio.

"In the light of the great emphasis that has been placed by our national leadership on the Communist aspect of the revolution sweeping Asia and Africa, we thought it timely that we reproduce for our readers a part of the report made by Morse Saito,

a missionary of the Methodist Church in Japan to the Board of Missions of his church."

Then, following some very interesting quotations from the report on Mr. Saito's 1949 trip overseas, Mr. Loeb concludes that like Mr. Saito, many Americans "are realizing, none too soon, that most of the unrest in Asia and Africa springs from long dissatisfaction over exploitation and prohibitions imposed upon the peoples by 'foreign' rule, rather than from some vast conspiracy directed from the Kremlin, whose principal role in the nasty business has been simply to fan the flames of resentment which we and our allies have ignited."

The logical conclusion from this view, one would think, would be opposition to the foreign policy of imperialist domination of the world by the U.S. government. But the Negro press cannot afford to come to such clear-cut revolutionary conclusions. For that kind of logical consistency, you will have to read The Militant, which is not a pro-capitalist, profit-making institution.

The Negro press has the space and the will, however, to provide much more factual and truthful information about the colonial struggles than the large metropolitan dailies. The Call and Post, for example, in addition to lengthy news stories by foreign correspondents, has a regular column by an "African Interpreter." Can you name any large daily paper that does as much for its readers?

### Children Have No Lobby

By Joyce Cowley

According to a report in The New York Times, 4,000,000 children will receive an impaired education in 1953 because of lack of teachers, inadequate buildings, double sessions and part-time instruction. Almost 10,000,000 children are now in overcrowded class rooms.

In North Carolina, for example, 43,000 pupils go to school in hallways, basements or auditoriums, 10,000 are in churches, lodge halls or rented quarters, another 11,000 are in barracks and over 9,000 on split shifts. In Minnesota, over 100,000 pupils attend school in buildings which should be abandoned — barracks and similar structures not designed for school use. According to the U.S. Office of Education, 600,000 new classrooms and other school facilities are needed immediately.

"To obtain enough funds to construct these buildings," says the Times, "many educators believe it will be necessary to turn to the Federal government."

Just eight days after the Times report, the Federal government took some action on funds for schools. On February 16 the House Appropriations Committee cut \$24,000,000 from the Federal aid given to education in defense areas.

The Eisenhower administration is moving slowly in some matters — like the reduction of income taxes — but I can see they're serious about wasteful spending. They won't cut anything really necessary

like expenditures for the atom bomb or jet planes, but education for our children is obviously one of the luxuries that people can do without. I wonder what's next on their list. Perhaps public health services?

Walter Reuther, speaking at the annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators, attacked the cut in school funds as "false economy" — which seems like pretty mild language to me. He went on to say that the children of the country have no lobby and that if educators stand up to fight the battle for better schools, labor would back them to the full.

Why does labor have to wait for anyone else to stand up and fight? Labor won't accomplish much if it falls in at the rear of a "battle" by American educators, who are not noted these days for any remarkable degree of independence and fighting spirit. Over 100 years ago, labor organizations led the fight to establish public education in this country. Today, organized labor should be first in a struggle to save our schools and improve our educational system.

But the children are not the only ones who "have no lobby." The working people of this country have no representatives in Congress to fight for their interests. We'll get better schools — and all the other advantages we want for our children — when labor goes into politics, builds its own party and takes the lead in this struggle.

### Notes from the News

A CURIOUS ITEM in the Feb. 20 Seafarers Log, official organ of the AFL Seafarers International Union, states that Harry Lundberg, president of the SIU, "rejected an invitation to serve in the Eisenhower cabinet as Secretary of Labor." Lundberg visited Eisenhower early this month. When solicited for his opinion on the question of a China blockade Lundberg "said that ships trading with Red China should be 'blown' out of the water." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 6). Maybe Lundberg was offered the wrong job?

NEWS AND VIEWS is a new publication of the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union. In its first number, News and Views calls for state-wide action against witch-hunt legislation introduced by the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission and patterned after the notorious Michigan Trucks Law. Such legislation is characterized by News and Views as "fundamental tenets of a police state." The CCLU has opened a new office in Cleveland located in the Perry Payne Building, Room 714, at 740 West Superior Ave. Dr. Edwin A. Brown is Executive Director.

TROTSKY ONCE SAID that Norman Thomas, recognized head of the American Socialist Party, still calls himself a socialist as a result of a misunderstanding. Thomas now corrects that "misunderstanding" in an interview with a reporter for the Republican New York Herald Tribune. "The concept of the class conflict basic to Marxism needs modification," says Thomas to the reporter, who adds: "Mr. Thomas disputes the contention that capitalism is the cause of war. He also says 'socialism is not a panacea against war.'" The interview was based on a new book written by Norman Thomas, correcting the entire "misunderstanding." It is entitled "Democratic Socialism — A New Appraisal."

COST OF WAR in Korea is computed by the magazine U.S. News and World Report as follows: "Veterans of the Korean-war period, entitled to veterans' benefits, now number 1.5 million. Bombs dropped by U.S. planes in 2 years and 8 months of this war are approaching the tonnage of bombs dropped in the entire 3 years and 8 months of the Pacific war against Japan. . . Casualties in Korea, now exceeding 130,000, are more than a third of the total U.S. casualties in World War I. Americans mobilized now number

close to the total of World War I. . . Dollar cost to U.S. taxpayers of one 'little' war in Korea exceeds 20 billions. This is strictly the direct cost in Korea itself. Indirect costs resulting primarily from war in Korea are much greater." If this is the cost of what Truman called a "police action," what will a real war cost?

"LATTIMORE THE SCHOLAR," a pamphlet published by the Lattimore Defense Fund, is a compilation of testimonials by outstanding scholars and experts on the Far East in defense of Professor Owen Lattimore who has been made the target for savage persecution by the notorious China Lobby gang and their representatives in Congress. Lattimore, now on leave with pay as head of the Walter Hines School of International Relations of the Johns Hopkins University, has been indicted on a "perjury" charge arising from his testimony before the McCarran witch hunt committee. A copy of the pamphlet can be obtained by writing Mr. George Boas, Lattimore Defense Fund, Baldwin, Maryland.

THE ASSAULT BY LEER case has been thrown out by the North Carolina State Supreme Court. Mack Ingram, Negro sharecropper, was sentenced in 1951 to two years on a road gang on "assault" charges because he allegedly "leered" at a white girl from 70 feet across a corn field. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People carried an appeal to the State Supreme Court which ruled it could not convict the defendant "of a criminal offense solely for what may have been on his mind." "It cannot be said that a pedestrian may be assaulted by a look, however frightening," commented the learned judges, "from a person riding in an automobile some distance away."

THE RICH GET RICHER despite the anguished cries of Big Business that profits taxes are taking the "incentive" out of "free private enterprise." The nation's corporations as a whole, reports Labor's Daily, paid out 8% more in dividends in January 1953 than in January 1952.

LIKE A RED RAG TO BULL. The National Labor Relations Board ruled in favor of the union in a case where a company tried to prevent employees from wearing T-shirts with "CIO Auto Workers" printed on them.

# THE MILITANT

## Trenton 6 Victim Tricked Into "Confession"

By George Lavan

The Trenton authorities have tried to close the Trenton Six case the way they began it — with phony, faked confessions. This was the meaning of the surprise plea of "no defense" by Ralph Cooper, last of the Trenton Six still in prison, in a New Jersey court on Feb. 20.

Cooper's "confession" and sentencing before Essex County Judge Conlon took place at a hearing ostensibly held to set a date for his new trial. Unlike the first confessions which were tortured out of the Trenton Six by police methods and administering of drugs, this confession was very brief and without details. It consisted of five "Yes, sirs."

Cooper told the Essex County Judge Conlon that instead of pleading "not guilty," he wanted to plead "no defense." The judge thereupon asked him "several questions. First, had he been present at the scene of the crime?"

"Yes, sir." Then the judge asked him if the other defendants — four of whom had been acquitted by a jury — and one of whom died in prison — had also been present. Again Cooper replied, "Yes, sir." Strangely enough — but not so strange if he were in on the deal — the judge displayed no more curiosity about the famous

crime. For instance, he did not even bother to inquire who had killed the aged storekeeper, what the murder weapon had been, etc. Instead, as if reading from a script, he declared that Cooper's confession fully justified the State of New Jersey's prosecution of the Trenton Six case and that the Trenton Six had not illegally held the defendants despite the charges that had been made to that effect.

He then congratulated Cooper for clearing up the case and gave him a six to ten year sentence retroactive to the time of his original arrest in February 1946. Since Cooper has already been in prison for over five years and since a man with a six to ten year sentence becomes eligible for parole in four years and eight months, it is believed that in a matter of weeks or months — if the state fulfills promises that are believed to have been made — Cooper will be released.

### REFUSED VISITORS

It is not as yet known exactly what coercion or what promises or what combination of both produced this new phony confession. One thing is known however and that is that prison authorities have refused to allow Cooper any visitors for months. It is also charged that prison

authorities refused to cash Civil Rights Congress money orders sent to Cooper to allow him to purchase cigarettes and other petty luxuries that are so important to men in prison.

Whether other forms of pressure such as taking away of exercise privileges, solitary confinement or threats of violence were used can only be brought out by an investigation. Such an investigation is absolutely warranted by Cooper's confession. It should also determine whether pressure for a similar confession caused or was contributory to the death of Collis English several months ago.

### POSSIBLE LINE

It is quite possible that promises by the authorities were as important in securing Cooper's confession as coercion. A line of persuasion such as the following could have been employed: "You don't have to plead guilty, just plead 'no defense.' You don't have to confess to murder or to say that anyone else did the murder, all you have to say is that you all were there. Nobody will be hurt; four of you have been acquitted by a jury and so can never be tried again. The fifth, Collis English is dead. Only you are left holding the bag and if you'll just stand up and say 'Yes, sir,' to a couple of questions, you can go free too. If not we'll get you sentenced again and again and again if necessary."

To back up such a line of "persuasion," the Trenton prosecutor had some facts that Cooper knew to be true. First the defense had no money for a new trial. Instead of the fighting defense that Cooper had in the last trial and in the appeals to the New Jersey Supreme Court, Cooper would now have to go on trial with a court-appointed lawyer.

At best this would be a gamble and it was known that Cooper was dismayed at the prospect of not having Attorney George Palletieri, who had been retained in past trial by the Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six.

While Cooper may have believed he stood to gain from "Yes, sir" confession, it is beyond question that the Trenton District Attorney and police and numerous capitalist politicians stand to gain by the outcome of the case — unless an investigation exposes them. The Trenton Six case had become a running sore in New Jersey politics. The revelations of the Trenton police's frameup methods had given a black eye to Jersey justice. Four men railroaded to the electric chair were acquitted in a subsequent trial. The compromised verdict of that trial reduced the sentences on Ralph Cooper and Collis English to life imprisonment. But even these two convictions couldn't hold water and they were reversed by the State Supreme Court. The prosecution had the alternative of losing face by acquittal at a new trial or getting a conviction only to have it reversed by a higher court. Obviously some face-saving solution was urgently needed. They would be willing to let Ralph Cooper go if only they could get a statement that they had been right all along. This explains the cryptic form of Cooper's "confession," the judge's statement that the district attorney and the police were vindicated, and the light sentence which means Cooper's speedy release.

MUST BE INVESTIGATED The Trenton papers and the yellow press throughout the nation will try to use Cooper's "confession" to smear those who defended the Trenton Six and to smear defenders of civil rights in all future Jim Crow frameups. That is why this last Trenton Six confession is just as foul as those originally coerced out of Cooper and the others to send them to the electric chair. And that is why it must be exposed just as thoroughly as the others were.

Already the lawyers for the other defendants in the Trenton Six case have asked the New Jersey Attorney General for an investigation. The labor movement and the Negro people should also demand a full investigation — and demand it in no mistakable terms. Only such demands can force out the truth from Jersey's Jim Crow frame-up artists who have tried to end the Trenton Six case in just as dirty a way as they began it.

The Ford Foundation has set aside the sum of \$15,000,000 to finance an investigation of the violation of civil liberties by the newly organized Fund for the Republic.

The House of Representatives approved last week an appropriation of \$300,000 for the witch hunting American Activities Committee by a vote of 315 to 2. The so-called "liberal" bloc in Congress folded like an accordion in voting this huge sum to the witch hunters in what was interpreted by the press as a "vote of confidence."

The House of Representatives approved last week an appropriation of \$300,000 for the witch hunting American Activities Committee by a vote of 315 to 2. The so-called "liberal" bloc in Congress folded like an accordion in voting this huge sum to the witch hunters in what was interpreted by the press as a "vote of confidence."

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum presents a talk on Crime and Politics Speaker: Harry Ring Fri., March 6, 8:30 P.M. at 52 Market Street

### Court-Martialed for Korea Book



Lt. Col. Melvin B. Voorhees (r.), former chief censor for the U.S. Eighth Army in Korea, shown conferring with his legal counsel, Lt. Col. John L. West, during his court-martial at Fort Meade, Md. In a revealing episode involving the top officer caste, Col. Voorhees on Feb. 21 was convicted by a jury of seven colonels, who deliberated 48 minutes, of evading Army censorship in the publication of his book, "Korean Tales."

His fellow brass convicted him on charges of failing to submit his manuscript for review in advance of publication and disobeying an order to withdraw the manuscript from his publisher. They sentenced Col. Voorhees, a former editor of The Tacoma (Wash.) Times, to dismissal from the Army, forfeiting all pay and allowances due.

Voorhees's book gives away no military secrets. It contains nothing on the nature and objectives of U.S. imperialist intervention in Korea that would not delight the most reactionary generals. But it commits the "crime of crimes" of offering some mild criticism of General MacArthur, including the general's verbal indiscretions, and complains of press evasion of censorship in Korea.

The court-martial of the chief censor himself made it plain that Army censorship is not so much concerned with protecting "military secrets" as protecting the prestige of the military caste and providing the Big Brass immunity from public criticisms or control.

## NEW YORK KILLER-COPS PROTECTED BY CITY, FEDERAL HIGHER-UPS

(Continued from page 1)

spoke to me. I wasn't doing anything and they just started working me over."

Four hours after Pace left Beth-El Hospital with his ribs all taped up, Monaghan was piously proclaiming over WNBC-TV that "police brutality, violations of Civil Rights Laws or any other laws, discrimination in any form, have no place in society, or in any police force."

### SECRET MEMO

Monaghan's disclaimer of any secret deal with the Justice Dept., under which the FBI operates, appears very thin in view of the memorandum from Department of Justice files submitted to a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing in Washington on Feb. 19. This memorandum is from James M. McInerney, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division and the man who made the agreement with Monaghan, to A. B. Caldwell, Chief of the Civil Rights section. It is dated July 30, 1952, 19 days after the conference in the New York office of Myles J. Lane, U.S. District Attorney for the Southern District of New York. At that conference McInerney is said to have met with Chief Inspector Conrad H. Rothengast and Deputy Commissioner Frank Fristenky of the New York Police and made the agreement to let the local cops "investigate" themselves in cases involving complaints of civil rights laws violations. The memorandum read:

"It is requested that in the future my attention be called to alleged violations of civil rights involving personnel of law enforcement agencies in large metropolitan areas before any investigation is authorized. This is desired so that appropriate steps may be taken to minimize the possible deleterious effect on the normal relations between representatives of this department and other Federal law enforcement agencies and such police agencies."

Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., of Harlem, told the House subcommittee that this memorandum confirmed the existence of an agreement to "circumvent the law" and designed "to prevent the FBI from interfering in any civil rights cases in New York."

Bruce Smith, acting director of the Institute of Public Administration which made an 18-

month official survey of the N. Y. police department, flatly contradicted Monaghan's defense of his cops. Smith declared on the WCBS "Let's Find Out" program that his staff had numerous cases of unprovoked police assaults on citizens. Fifty-one cases alone involved assaults on citizens by police with firearms who were intoxicated, he said.

These resulted in only admonitions to the cops involved from their higher-ups or one to three days' fines on "charges of the gravest character." These cases of police brutality, Smith charged, have been going on virtually unhindered and unpunished for 15 years.

It is almost inconceivable that Monaghan and the top New York police officials did not know about the systematic and continuous police brutality in New York City. Victims or their surviving relatives have won a total of \$160,500 damages in at least four suits against the city. It is equally inconceivable that the Department of Justice and FBI big shots were unaware of the almost daily violations of civil rights laws by the New York cops. If there have been no FBI investigations it is because the FBI, it may be presumed, deliberately kept hands off.

### PREVIOUS CASES

Back on June 11, 1951, The Militant reported that "within the past two years in New York City alone, the number of murders by police has risen to ten — and not one cop has been brought to trial. And for every murder there have been hundreds of beatings and tortures."

The Militant told, among other cases, how three cops had chased Edwin Gonzalez, a 17-year-old Puerto Rican, into a cellar doorway and deliberately pumped three bullets into the unarmed youth. A few days later a 26-year-old Negro father of three children, Henry Fields, Jr., was shot dead in broad daylight by a trigger-happy cop who said he "suspected" his victim of being a hit-run driver.

The Militant reported at length in December 1950 on the cold-blooded murder by two radio patrolmen of John Derrick, a 24-year-old Negro veteran, from whose pockets a large sum of release pay disappeared after he was shot without warning.

Although no killer-cop has ever paid the penalty for these bloody crimes, the city has had to

pay big sums in damages. A Supreme Court jury awarded \$50,281 to Mrs. Lottie Newton, 22-year-old Herman Newton, a 22-year-old Negro, after her husband was killed during a traffic argument by a cop whose gun just "went off."

John Harvey Brown, factory worker and father of four, collected \$40,000 after he proved to the satisfaction of a jury that he had been unlawfully assaulted and his skull fractured by two Manhattan cops.

James Bruce Harris, 42-year-old taxi driver, was awarded \$58,500 after being beaten by a cop in Harlem. Lee Hines, another Negro, who lost an eye as a result of a police beating, took an out-of-court settlement of \$21,000.

The Militant cited these as only a small sample of the terrorism disguised as "law and order" that stalks the streets of New York and other cities of America.

These sadistic gangsters in uniform infest the New York police department. They are not exceptions to the rule. They are the type preferred by the capitalist political machines. The corrupt public authorities selected these brutes to throw the "fear of the law" into the populace. They want to cow and intimidate those sectors of the people from which the greatest protest against bad conditions — over-crowded housing, discrimination and low incomes — are likely to arise. As The Militant wrote in June 1951, in an expose of police atrocities, "they want every worker, every Negro, every poor man to tremble at the mere sight of a police uniform."

### NAACP ACTION

The Militant hails the action of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in taking the lead to rally Negro, labor and civil rights organizations to demand the ouster of all those in the police department, the Justice Department, and FBI involved in the whitewash of police brutalities and prevention of civil rights laws enforcement.

This should be the start of an unremitting campaign of vigorous mass protest and public demonstration to bring every murdering cop to justice and to rid this city and country of gangster-police and the system that deliberately uses these degenerate killer-cops to terrorize the people.