

# U.S. Imperialists Incite War Drive On Guatemala

By Joseph Keller

At the behest of the brutal, profit-hungry United Fruit Company, the Eisenhower administration is stepping up to a screaming climax its campaign to incite outside invasion and internal counter-

revolution against tiny Guatemala. This impoverished Central American country of less than three million people has invoked the wrath of American imperialism by introducing mild agrarian reforms that have affected the property holdings of United Fruit, one of the ten largest holders of American foreign investments and notorious exploiter of the "Banana Empire" in Central America.

Wall Street's government has launched a two-pronged form of intervention against Guatemala. Washington is attempting to incite Guatemala's neighboring countries, including Nicaragua and Honduras, to invade Guatemala. The U.S. has already signed military alliances with these countries and is sending them huge shipments of arms.

At the same time, American imperialism is openly encouraging, financing and arming counter-revolutionary elements among the tiny capitalist and landlord class in Guatemala for a violent coup d'etat against the government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, one of the few constitutionally elected heads of government in all Latin America.

This campaign of U.S. intervention has been mounting ever since the land reform measures

were enacted in 1952. The law provided for distribution among landless peasants of uncultivated estates of more than 667 acres. According to the United Fruit Co. officials, by May 1 of this year the Guatemala government had expropriated from the company a total of 392,945 acres. This left United Fruit "only" 145,187 acres for banana production and "other operations."

All the reclaimed land is untitled jungle that the company had grabbed up under previous corrupt, U.S.-dominated governments. Not an acre of land which the company is actually using to exploit Guatemala labor has been taken. For the reclaimed land, stolen from the Guatemalan people to begin with, the Arbenz government has deposited in the Bank of Guatemala \$1,185,115 as "compensation" to the United Fruit Co.

This "compensation" — that is, a blackmail payment exacted by the threats and pressure of U.S. imperialism — "has been paid on the basis of tax evaluation of property filed with the government by the company many years ago." (N. Y. Times, May 26.) In short, the government is paying the company the full value the company itself fixed on the land for purposes of tax payments.

But United Fruit refused to accept this. It demanded \$16,000,000. The U.S. State Department, acting as the intermediary for United Fruit, demanded that Guatemala give United Fruit the sum of \$16,000,000 — or else. The State Department itself last

## Not Enthusiastic Enough -- So Out With Oppenheimer

The Atomic Energy Commission's special "loyalty" board found that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is "loyal" and "discreet" in keeping secrets, but voted against reinstating him as government consultant on atomic energy.

Oppenheimer, known as "the man who built the first atomic bomb," was admittedly a fellow-traveler of the Stalinists in the 1930's and early 1940's. But this was old stuff, and has been probed and re-probed many times, always ending with Oppenheimer's clearance.

Since none of his old-time associations prevented him from serving the government well and faithfully, some new reasons for getting rid of him had to be found before McCarthy began using him to attack Eisenhower. These new reasons were duly discovered in (1) Oppenheimer's attitude toward the building of the H-bomb, and (2) his attitude toward the government's witch hunt.

In both cases, the board adopted typically McCarthyite standards of judgment.

(1) Along with "other competent and devoted individuals both in and out of the government," Oppenheimer urged Truman not to try to build the H-bomb in 1949. After Truman decided it should be built, Oppenheimer withdrew his objections and cooperated in its building.

These facts are not contested. But, says the board, Oppenheimer "did not show the enthusiastic support for the program which might have been expected from the chief atomic adviser to the government" and he failed "to communicate an abandonment of his earlier position" to other scientists.

Oppenheimer wasn't enthusiastic enough and he didn't run around telling everyone he'd changed his position! Naturally that's suspicious and disqualifies him from reinstatement.

(2) Beginning last December (the month his security clearance was suspended on Eisenhower's orders), the board charges that Oppenheimer "has repeatedly exercised an arrogance of his own judgment with respect to the loyalty and reliability of other citizens."

Evidence: Last December he had lunch in Paris with a man accused of communist affiliations a dozen years ago. Further evidence: He remained friendly with a former student after the latter pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a congressional committee, and says he would still give him a letter of recommendation as a physicist.

In other words, Oppenheimer's "arrogance" consists in refusing to accept the McCarthyite criteria of "guilt."

Which are precisely the criteria used by Eisenhower and his "loyalty" boards.



JAMES KUTCHER

## Buffalo Meeting Features Talk by Legless Veteran

BUFFALO, June 1.—The newly-formed Buffalo branch of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is sponsoring a meeting at the Hotel Statler this Friday night, June 4, at which the legless veteran, James Kutcher, will speak on "What Is Happening to Our Civil Liberties?"

This meeting will climax Kutcher's two-week visit to the Buffalo area. The veteran has been busy here visiting local labor and liberal organizations and leaders, reporting on the status of his six-year fight to recover the government job from which he was purged because of his political beliefs, and selling copies of his book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran."

A Buffalo Kutcher Committee letter was sent out last week urging support of the June 4 meeting and Kutcher's fight for reinstatement. Signed by Richard Lipsitz, outstanding liberal attorney in this area, it said in part:

"Either a man is free to think and speak as he wants, or there is fear and suppression. A silencing of one man is an encroachment on the rights of all. If individuals and groups are hounded and smeared into silence one after another, it means blows against racial and religious minorities, blows against the labor movement, blows against all of us in the long run. It can be stopped by defending the rights of victims of persecution. Support the Kutcher case! It has nationwide backing of labor and liberal groups, but more is needed."

Kutcher will leave for Detroit immediately after the June 4 meeting.

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# M'Carthy Defies Eisenhower, Seeks to Recruit More Spies



## President Fires Blank Shot, Evades Issue in Attack on Fascist Senator

By Murry Weiss

JUNE 2 — The long awaited White House "counter-attack" on McCarthy has finally come off. To applause from the liberals, Attorney General Brownell fired the shot in a statement approved by Eisenhower on May 28. Yet the fact is that the Eisenhower-Brownell guns contain

## U.S. GOVT. TRIES TO PROLONG INDOCHINA WAR

By Carl Goodman

The Eisenhower administration is still driving ahead to plunge the United States into war in Indo-China against the will of the American people. During the last weeks it has unfolded an ominous propaganda and diplomatic offensive to achieve this end.

Thus on May 27 Admiral Robert B. Carney, chief of naval operations, decried negotiations with the Soviet Union and the insurgent colonial masses and warned that the U.S. faced even "graver" dangers in Indo-China than those that led to the "police action" in Korea in 1950.

The speech was interpreted by all the newspapers as a call by an administration spokesman for military intervention in Indo-China.

### "HOW EXPLAIN IT?"

The administration has also been "briefing," scaring and high-pressure members of Congress to line up for intervention. A month ago almost every member of the election-minded Congress opposed intervention. But the N. Y. Daily News reports on June 1, "Congressional leaders are telling us: 'The odds are now in favor of our participating in a shooting war. But how explain it (to the American people)? Politically that is?'"

What these congressional leaders recognize is that the bulk of the American people continue to oppose the war in Indo-China and any American participation in it. The working people in England and France have a similar hatred for the war. It has been driven deep into the public consciousness that what is going on in Indo-China is a brutal colonial war in which almost the entire Indo-Chinese population stands united behind the Vietnamese in opposition to French imperialism.

On the international front, U.S. imperialism has been pressuring the English and French diplomats to break off talks at Geneva in

## Vast Army of GIs Would be Needed For Indo-China

The Korean "police action" was tough, but a similar venture into Indo-China would be a lot tougher. That's the unmistakable conclusion one must draw from "a highly reliable Pentagon source" quoted by Albert M. Colegrove in the conservative N. Y. World Telegram, June 1.

Colegrove reports that "top-level ground force commanders" believe it would take "100,000 or more GIs on the fighting lines" to defeat the Indo-Chinese people. This figure is based on the hope that "it would take two or three years to create a native Viet Nam army which could defend its country with U.S.-provided arms and let its allies pull out."

But this "hope" depends on performing the miracle of convincing the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants that the white imperialist invaders represent their own interests.

### "POLITICAL MATTER"

Colegrove's military sources consider this problem. They say there would have to be "some moral incentive" for the natives. "Without that moral incentive, it would be almost impossible to build a capable Viet Nam army. Even if Allied troops won a war, they still might be on occupation duty there for years."

Colegrove remarks that the military men dismissed this problem as "a political matter." Exactly. And it is clear that the "political department" of the U.S. government

(Continued on page 4)

## Economists' "Cautious Optimism" Fades Away

If "cautious optimism" was said to be the feeling of capitalist economists and business analysts a few weeks ago, their present attitude is closer to "cautious pessimism." There is less "bounce to the ounce" in their economic forecasts. The predictors are looking forward glumly to the end of this month when a million or so high school and college graduates enter the "highly competitive" labor market where more than five million unemployed are already seeking jobs.

Most of the previous "cautious optimism" was based on ephemeral elements — the late Easter buying, a slight upturn in farm and construction employment due entirely to seasonal factors, a little extra steel stock-piling in auto as a precaution in the event of a steel strike if current negotiations fail.

None of this adds up to any kind of a real upturn. According to financial columnist John G. Forrest, in the May 30 N. Y. Times "there was little evidence in general business reports to

support opinions now held in some circles that the downward adjustment is over and an improvement of note is taking place."

Forrest finds "not very reassuring" the significant government report that factory hiring in April was at the lowest rate for any month since the full-scale depression year of 1930. The Department of Commerce in its May Survey of Current Business finds that "business activity experienced little change in the aggregate in the initial Spring period" and a "mixed pattern prevailed among firms within individual industries as well as among the major sectors of the economy."

This "mixed pattern" was a "less than usual" seasonal expansion in agricultural, mercantile and construction industries, but an increase in factory unemployment in April over March. In its June survey of business, the Guarantee Trust Company of New York likewise speaks in this tone of "cautious pessimism" — that is, it looks for traces of a silver lining to the dark clouds,

but is preparing for the worst. It regards business activity at the moment as "stabilized," but "one needs to keep several qualifying considerations in mind when attempting to evaluate the scattered signs of revival that have appeared." One of these "qualifying considerations" is the Indo-China war talk, always good for business, according to the Guarantee Trust.

Apart from a big inflationary incubation of war spending, American capitalism gives every indication of a further decline. Department store sales in May have been running from 5% to 8% below a year ago. Ward's Automotive Report on May 28 predicted a 6% cut in auto production in June over May.

Mass unemployment is becoming a problem of more and more urgency. The labor movement is facing the imperative need of a reduced working week with no loss of take-home pay — the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay — to combat layoffs and part-time jobs with cuts in weekly wages.

## To All Colonial People: Jim Crow Still Rules America

To the Colonial and Colored People of the World: Brothers and Sisters:

We feel it our duty to warn you that Wall Street imperialism is trying to deceive and entrap you with a monstrous propaganda hoax. We speak of the Voice of America broadcasts all over the globe since the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racially segregated schools are unconstitutional. These broadcasts would have you believe that such segregation is almost at an end in this country. This is a lie.

We must tell you from the outset that discrimination and persecution against Negro Americans continues unabated. The Jim Crow system for the oppression of 15 million Negro Americans remains fundamentally unchanged. Any propaganda to the contrary — even if it is parroted by certain Negro leaders themselves — is false. It has the aim of making you believe that the American white ruling class has abandoned its Jim Crow policies here at home and that you can now entrust your fate to the white supremacist billionaires.

Don't believe a word of it. Don't let up on your anti-imperialist struggle for a second. If the American imperialists ever get their hands on you, you will have the Jim Crow system imposed on you in its most horrible and brutal form.

The Wall Street government is following a pattern of deception on the Negro issue. This pattern is to remove the more open legal sanctions for segregation while ensuring that the vile treatment of the Negroes and other minorities here in America continues in practice.

Does the Voice of America tell you that the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling has not changed the actual status of a single Negro school child? Does it tell you that the Court, while declaring

segregation illegal, has issued no directives to enforce its ruling? Does it tell you of all the tricks being devised by the white exploiters, North as well as South, to keep Negro and white school children separated?

In some parts of the South, they can still use naked terrorism and threats of lynch violence to keep Negro people from making complaints and seeking their legal rights. Elsewhere, they set up oards to assign children to schools on the basis of their "mental and emotional needs" — needs which, peculiarly, always follow the color line.

The South is also taking a lesson from the Northern cities, like New York and Chicago, where school segregation continues despite decades-old state anti-segregation laws. Housing segregation, it has been found, is the most effective means of enforcing school segregation. The Negro people are confined to crowded, squalid segregated ghettos and are then restricted to separate schools on the basis of residence.

In every sphere — economic, political and social — Negro workers and tenant farmers are denied their elementary civil rights and equality. And the most savage physical mistreatment, up to cold-blooded murder, remains the final and decisive means for the oppression of the Negro people. For the last nine months in Chicago, mobs threatening injury and death have sought to drive out a few Negro families who have moved into government-built and owned housing projects. In Baltimore last month, police deliberately shot a sleeping Negro to death. Legal lynchings by police have become a commonplace in America today. Clubbings and shootings of innocent Negro men and women are the shame of New York City, which has the largest Negro community in the World.

It is true that the white ruling class here is being forced to cover up the most brutal aspects of Jim Crow and to maintain the legal fiction of granting the Negro people equal rights. They are forced to do this through fear. They fear the Negro people who have shown increasing determination to fight for their rights. They fear the labor movement which is increasingly concerning itself with this major issue in America. But, above all, they fear you, the colonial people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are rising up by the hundreds of millions to fight for your independence and freedom.

We must tell you that the American workers and the Negro people owe you an immense debt of gratitude. Your magnificent, heroic struggles against imperialism have struck terror into the arrogant hearts of the white capitalist rulers. They are now trying to appease you, lull your suspicions, quell your burning hatred of all they represent. They are making legal gestures which, if the American workers and Negro people take advantage of them through continuing mass struggle, can mark a great new advance in the battle for full equality and emancipation.

The Militant has supported your struggles against foreign imperialism and the battle for Negro equality in America with equal uncompromising vigor. We pledge to champion your cause among the American workers and to arouse in them the consciousness that your fight is in the spirit of America's own revolution for independence in 1776. We will take heart and inspiration from you to the end that in common struggle against capitalism and its evils together we will build a world in which all people and nations will live as one great brotherhood.

By the Editors



## Two-Party System Faces Breakup

By Art Preis

For many decades this country has been dominated politically by what has been called the "two-party system." By that has been meant two specific major parties, the Democrats and Republicans, which between them have alternately shared control of the government since the Civil War.

It is assumed — and correctly — that these two parties do not differ in their concern for preserving the capitalist private profits system. It is further assumed that neither party considers it desirable to permit a third party, of whatever description, to come into prominence and influence.

The fact that these two parties have monopolized American politics has led to the fabrication of the theory that the "two party system" is a peculiarly American political form and one especially suitable for the maintenance of political democracy. These parties, it is held, suffice to permit effective expression of dissatisfaction by the people, particularly since social classes, it is falsely claimed, and therefore class politics, cannot exist in these United States.

The "two-party system" may have seemed a permanent feature of American politics to most people in the period between the Civil War and the 1929 economic crisis. But since the great union upsurge of the Thirties there has never ceased to be discussion within the ranks of labor of some form of "third party" or labor party.

It has not been, however, the positive factor of the formation of a labor party that has dealt damage to the theory of the "two-party system." Rather, developments within the two parties of capitalism in recent years have indicated that tremendous social stress is weakening the old concept and structure of the "two-party system."

In 1948 and 1952, the Democratic Party revealed the impact that social stress has been making on the old-line parties. The split of the right and left wings of the Democratic Party in 1948, embodied respectively in the Dixiecrat movement of the South and the Wallace movement in the North and West, revealed great conflicts within the Democratic Party and the beginning of the breakup of the "two-party system."

Thanks primarily to the union leaders, there was no decisive split within the Democratic Party. But it suffered a sufficient loss of strength to go down in defeat in Nov. 1952 at the hands of what seemed a united Republican Party.

The GOP was united, however, only in its lust for the spoils of office, denied the Republican stalwarts for 20 years. It did not take very long for disintegrating elements to appear within the Republican ranks. Within a year, the victorious Republican Party displayed wide and open cleavages.

The spectacular rise of McCarthyism has projected the Republican Party into a deadly internal struggle. The outcome of that struggle can be only the conquest of the party by McCarthy, or a split. In either event, the political significance will be a big step away from the "two-party system" — to the "one-party system," to fascism.

Around the fascist party of McCarthy, whether still bearing a "Republican" label or as a new organization, will group or realign all the elements of both parties and all the fascist groupings already in existence which are most determined to smash and pulverize the organized labor movement.

Those who see a "realignment," within the framework of capitalist politics, into some form of the traditional "two-party system" on the "liberal" and "conservative" pattern, do not understand the social forces at work and the political trend. Those who seek only a "realignment" into the old-type "two-party" forms may find themselves "realigned" within the concentration camps of the "one-party system."

The inevitable breakup of the "two-party system" can eventuate in no other way unless the labor movement intervenes, discards the old concept of non-class politics entirely, and sets up a new party, a class Labor Party, which is prepared and able to challenge "one-party" McCarthyism and smash it utterly.

## The Social and Political Roots Of the "Constitutional Crisis"

By L. P. Wheeler

The U.S. Constitution provides the legal mechanism for maintaining the rule of the capitalist class and preventing the popular will of the working masses from prevailing. The "separation of powers" doctrine with its system of "checks and balances" between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government, was designed to block all threats to the dominant position of the capitalists over the economic and political life of the United States.

This intent of the Constitution is admitted, notwithstanding the delicate language, by a N. Y. Times editorial, May 30: "In making our government less responsive to every wind that blows, less sensitive to the political temperature, they (the 'founding fathers') made it more stable."

Now, according to the highest capitalist circles, the "stability" of the government is threatened. From every quarter we hear of the "constitutional crisis" which has erupted around the McCarthy-Army dispute. A constitutional crisis implies the deepest political crisis within the ruling capitalist class itself. And that in turn implies the crisis of American capitalist society. There

is no doubt that such a crisis exists. The question is: What is its nature and what are its roots?

### THE TIMES' ESTIMATE

According to the N. Y. Times, May 30, McCarthy "is proposing and attempting by admittedly peaceful means to alter the nature of the government." To make sure they won't be misunderstood, they put the same contention in the negative: "This is not to say that Senator McCarthy is trying to overthrow the government of the United States by force or violence or that he argues the necessity or desirability of doing so." Perish the thought — it couldn't possibly enter the head of the fascist Senator.

In any case we have it on the authority of the Times that all McCarthy wants to do is "to usurp" and "override" the constitutional function of the President. He is attempting to break down the separation of powers which is ordained in the Constitution. Elsewhere in the same Times the basic issue of the constitutional crisis is re-stated as the "defense of the executive power against the legislative power vested in the Senator."

In our opinion this estimate, now being expounded by the

Eisenhower Republicans and the anti-McCarthy Democrats, misses the main point and the real significance of the constitutional crisis.

They grant McCarthy the role of champion of the rights of the elected legislature against the powers of the executive branch. That's exactly the role McCarthy wants people to think he is playing. His whole "crusade" seeks to create the impression that he is the "people's champion" battling against "treason," "corruption" and "bungling" in high places. It's McCarthy against the "powers that be" — McCarthy against the State Department; McCarthy against the Army chiefs; McCarthy against the Department of Justice. Twenty years of treason have now been extended to "20 or 21 years of treason." Thus McCarthy is against the "treasonous" first year of the Eisenhower administration.

McCarthy is not conducting a battle for the rights of the legislature against the executive. He disguises himself in the garments of an elected champion of the people. But he is aiming at the utter destruction of the whole Constitution, elections, three branches of government, two-party systems, etc., and at their

replacement by a streamlined fascist dictatorship.

This is not a constitutional crisis like any other we have known in American history. To get its full meaning, it is necessary to consult Italian, German and Spanish history. It is the crisis of a capitalist regime entering a stage where it is unable to continue its rule, along the old traditional "democratic" lines. The world position of American capitalism is extremely unfavorable. Colonial revolution and world-wide working class socialist struggle have knocked the props from under the stability of American capitalism. The international crisis of capitalism is now exploding in the form of a domestic political crisis and the beginnings of a deep economic crisis.

The appearance of a native fascist movement of such scope and power as McCarthyism is a symptom of the terrible decay of the capitalist system in the United States. Capitalist politics has become a choice between two plans for establishing a police state:

### TWO PLANS

The Eisenhower plan, outlined and launched by Truman, means the strangulation of democracy and the working class organizations through the existing government institutions — the FBI, the Army brass, and a "regulated" witch hunt.

The McCarthyite fascist scheme means the smashing of the whole two-party system, the decimation of the trade unions, the physical annihilation of the working class as an organized class capable of resistance, and the establishment of the iron heel dictatorship of Big Business.

That's all that capitalist politics offers the people in this country today. But the workers cannot even determine which it shall be — the "mild" or the fascist police state. If they attempt to stop the fascist police-state by supporting the Republican and Democratic police-state, the fascists will be the gainers. As long as the workers confine themselves to grabbing at the straw of the status quo, and as long as they refrain from the struggle for workers power, the fascists will continue to gain momentum from the unresolved social crisis.

The European workers were led by their officials into supporting one form of capitalist reaction against another and they ended with fascism. The same will happen in the United States if the workers permit themselves to be lured into the game of supporting the "lesser evil" police-state.

### "PEACEFUL"?

The assurances of the Times concerning McCarthy's "peaceful" intentions are entirely worthless. The Times confuses "legal" with "peaceful." McCarthy could establish a fascist dictatorship in this country without writing a single new line into the U.S. Constitution, just as Hitler took power in Germany without disturbing a paragraph in the Weimar constitution. But such a "legal" seizure of power would not be peaceful. Once the fascists got a grip on the state apparatus, they would open their all-out violent assault on the working class and the minorities.

It's for this reason that the working class cannot afford the Times' calm point of view toward McCarthy's allegedly "peaceful" intentions. We see the network of the fascists spreading into the military, the FBI and all government agencies. While the legal arguments about "separation of executive and legislative powers" goes on, we see the fascists preparing a bloody fist against labor. For us that is the main point about the constitutional crisis.

Labor must strike back. It must mobilize its ranks to defend itself on every arena — political, economic and military. It must at all costs prevent a situation where the military establishment comes under the control of a fascist officer corps.

The constitutional crisis stems from the emergence of a menacing fascist movement that is driving for full state power. The answer to this threat is the struggle for workers power. Only in this way can we prevent the constitutional crisis from ending in an historic catastrophe for the working class.

## Forgotten Victims

When Attorney General Brownell dismissed charges against Val R. Lorwin, former State Department employee, he unwittingly exposed the fraudulence of the witch-hunting methods through which McCarthy continues to make his fascist bid for power.

For Lorwin was one of the many State Department officials whom McCarthy denounced in 1950 as being card-carrying "communists" and "traitors" to the United States. At various times he put their number at 205, 57 and 81. McCarthy charged that Dean Acheson was covering up for the alleged traitors and on the basis of the lying accusations against them and Acheson, charged the Democratic Party with "20 years of treason."

Not a single one of the alleged "communists" cited by McCarthy at that time has ever been convicted of a crime, because the witch hunters could present no evidence against them that would stand up in court.

Nevertheless all were forced to suffer in one way or another because of the smear leveled against them not only by McCarthy but by the Democratic administration as well, which had listed them as "security risks" in the first place and never gave them the slightest measure of defense against McCarthy's lying charges.

### FRAMEUP PATTERN

The same frameup pattern is at the basis of the charges made

by McCarthy against the Army chiefs in the current hearings. McCarthy accuses Army Secretary Stevens and other top Army officials of "coddling" Communists and covering up for them.

He claims, for instance, that the Army officials protected and even granted special favors to Major Irving Peress, who was honorably discharged from the Army last February with the rank of major, although McCarthy had demanded that he be court-martialed and given a dishonorable discharge. McCarthy charged that Peress was a communist "spy" and "traitor."

Although McCarthy and Cohn constantly repeat their slanders against Peress, nobody among their Republican and Democratic opponents rises to defend him. They assume his guilt as self-evident. It is only when McCarthy points the finger at them and says, "You are guilty of harboring this traitor," that they squirm. And then they rush in to cite their own witch-hunting record by way of defense.

### NO EVIDENCE

But who has ever proven that Peress is a spy and a traitor? Where is the evidence? The reckless and lying accusations against him have torn up the lives of Peress and his family and caused them incalculable harm, but no evidence has ever been presented to prove him guilty.

To be sure, Peress refused to answer McCarthy's questions and

pleaded the Fifth Amendment. McCarthy forthwith denounced him as a "Fifth Amendment Communist" and demanded that he be court-martialed on that ground alone. But Peress was only exercising his constitutional right. To plead the Fifth Amendment is not an admission of guilt, as McCarthy charges. It is a valid measure of self-defense against the frame-up tactics of the fascist Senator.

McCarthy also rang in the "sworn statement" of a stool-pigeon to the effect that Peress was a Communist Party member and had attended a "leadership school." But, first, "sworn statements" by professional stool-pigeons are in ill-repute as paid informers have piled up lie upon lie. Second, it isn't a crime to belong to the Communist Party, anyway, and even genuine proof of membership is not proof of spying or treason.

Finally, McCarthy's whole witch-hunting premise, which he shares with the Eisenhower administration and the Democratic Party — namely, that there is a "communist conspiracy" afoot in the country — is a lie made out of the whole cloth.

Peress is as innocent of the charges of "spying" and "treason" as are all the other countless victims of the witch hunt who have been railroaded to prison, deported, fired, smeared or made to suffer in other ways. Like them, he deserves the support of all fighters against McCarthyism.

## Plaintiff in School Bias Case



Spottswood Bolling, 15, one of five Washington, D.C., youngsters who were plaintiffs in case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that school segregation is unconstitutional, is shown with his mother reading of court action. The court failed to make any implementing decisions. See article on Page 3.

## \$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Allentown	\$ 65	\$ 75	115
Detroit	500	550	110
San Francisco	700	714	102
Boston	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,500	1,500	100
Newark	400	400	100
Oakland	250	250	100
Youngstown	150	150	100
Philadelphia	400	392	98
New York	3,000	2,724	91
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	1,073	89
Cleveland	250	205	82
St. Louis	75	60	80
Milwaukee	250	198	79
Los Angeles	2,500	1,927	77
Chicago	1,500	1,134	76
Pittsburgh	150	100	67
Seattle	250	85	34
Akron	100	22	22
General	260	133	51
Total through June 1	\$14,000	\$12,192	87

## Anti-McCarthy Campaign

By Myra Tanner

JUNE 1 — Every time you watch the McCarthy-Army hearings on TV, just to feel clean and clearheaded again, take a dollar out of your wallet and send it in to the Socialist Workers Party's \$14,000 Fund Drive. Consider it a small tuition fee for another lesson on the nature of capitalist politics, the techniques of the fascist demagogue, and the pitiful helplessness and capitulation of the "democratic" opposition.

Each dollar you put on the socialist side of the fight will do more to put McCarthy where he belongs than all the frightened tongueclucking that the fascist Senator gets from his Republican and Democratic colleagues. This week San Francisco and Oakland joined the list of branches that have fulfilled their quotas 100%. And both branches expect to exceed their quotas.

Ada sent in \$183 from Oakland with the promise: "We are having a picnic in about a week. If we make some money we shall forward some more before the end of the campaign."

Ralph Martin, sending in the balance of San Francisco's quota says: "Over the top at last! We still have a few odd dollars to collect and hope to have it in before too long." Providing these dollars aren't too odd and conform to inflated US standards, they'll be very welcome.

We now have \$1,808 more to collect with two weeks from this

writing to raise it in. Most of the branches are certain of reaching their goal by the June 15 deadline despite the fact that unemployment has made it difficult for many to make contributions as easily as in the past.

After our first initial push in the sale of anti-fascist pamphlets, we must now turn our attention to the very important problem of increasing the circulation of our press. The Militant is the very best anti-fascist fighter in America. It not only keeps its readers informed on the growing crisis with the fascist menace of McCarthyism, but organizes the struggle of the anti-fascist forces by advancing a program of action.

We are planning a series of four mobilizations of the branches on the weekends of June 21 through July 19. This will give us a chance to concentrate on getting new subs and renewing the large list of expirations that occur in May and June.

### RARE PAMPHLET

by

Leon Trotsky

## THE KIROV ASSASSINATION

\$1.50 incl. postage 32 pages

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## ... McCarthy Defies Eisenhower

(Continued from page 1)

temple of freedom all who seek to establish over us thought control — whether they be agents of a foreign state or demagogues thirsting for personal power and public notice."

The exact meaning of these words has been spelled out by the Eisenhower-Brownell regime. The fight against "thought control" took the form of throwing atomic scientist Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to the McCarthyite wolves. The Eisenhower witch hunt was stepped up with a new wave of arrests under the Smith Act. Under Brownell's direction a wave of terror against the Puerto Rican community in New York City has been launched by the FBI. Ellis Island is packed with victims of the Immigration Department's thought control drive. Wiretapping legislation is being pushed through Congress by Eisenhower Republicans in close collaboration with McCarthyites and Democrats. The White House is demanding legislation to break up any union whose leaders it dislikes.

That is what Eisenhower and Brownell mean when they speak of driving "thought control" from the "temple of freedom."

### "OUTFLANKING"

The fascist criminals go scot-free. But working class opponents, honest scientists and intellectuals, anyone who runs afoul of the McCarthyite fascist pack, are attacked with vigor and dispatch. More than that, the Eisenhower-Brownell witch-hunters attempt to outdo McCarthy at his own game. That's their real strategy: Build up more frameups, more legal lynchings, more power for the Secret Political Police and thereby — outflank McCarthy!

The reason for this strategy of the Eisenhower regime is the basic position of American capitalism at home and abroad. The strategic problem of American capitalism is to destroy the "revolutionary encirclement" of the last stronghold of world capitalism, the United States. The anti-capitalist upsurge of the colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America created this "en-

circlement" and thereby smashed the plans of America's billionaire rulers for a world empire dominated by the dollar.

In their desperation the spokesmen of American capitalism are trying to drag the people into a third world war against the whole anti-capitalist world. The American people are clearly unwilling. They must be softened up. They must be intimidated and rendered powerless to stop the mad adventure of the Hell-bombers. Hence the witch hunt.

### OPENING THE DOOR

But every move Truman and following him Eisenhower made to establish a war hysteria and depict the liberating revolutions of the colonial people as a Kremlin conspiracy; every move they made to militarize and regiment the American people; every move they make to pulverize the independence and fighting power of the unions — every one of these moves opened the door to the McCarthyite fascists.

Once the overriding national interest was proclaimed to be the struggle "against the world Communist conspiracy," the McCarthyites found the opening for their fascist slogan: Destroy the "communist conspiracy" right within the government of the United States.

And McCarthy improved his advantage when the Republican top command went along with his charge of "20 years of treason." All the defeats of American imperialism were placed on the doorstep of the "treasonous" Democratic administration who had "sold the country to the Russians." The frameup charge of "Kremlin" conspiracy against the workers and peasants movements all

over the world leads to the frameup charge of "treason" against the Democratic administration. Otherwise how explain the loss of 800 million people to communism since the Second World War? It also seemed like a good idea to the Republican Party machine, burning with the desire to keep control of Congress, to use McCarthy in the elections and give him a certain leeway.

### FROM 20 TO 21

But the fascist movement around McCarthy gained momentum. It crowded into all government departments. It began to shape up as a faction in the Republican Party. A power struggle broke out. Concessions were made to McCarthy one after another. Bribes were offered. And above all the outflanking technique was vigorously pursued.

That's where McCarthy knifed into the administration strategy and gained one advantage after another. Finally the charge of "treason" against Truman and Acheson was extended. "Twenty years of treason" became "21," including the first year of the Eisenhower Administration.

The Eisenhower administration, just as its predecessor, is stuck with the actual responsibility for the defeats of American capitalist foreign policy. The fascist demagogue, taking advantage of all the premises of the official witch hunt, can now turn the fire of fascist demagoguery at Eisenhower himself.

### THEY DON'T DARE

The net result is that the Eisenhower administration is strictly limited to secondary issues in its fight with the McCarthy faction. They cannot

deliver any decisive blows. If we had to depend on the Eisenhower administration, the fascists would win.

This is dramatically revealed when McCarthy openly declares he will violate the law in his drive to build a fascist network in the military. All the administration is capable of doing is to read the law to McCarthy; but so far they don't dare to enforce it against him.

The Democrats are just as incapable of inflicting real harm on McCarthy. They are chained to the same witch hunting machine as Eisenhower. As a matter of fact they built the machine.

Meanwhile the working class of the United States is the real target of the fascist movement. Every step in the faction struggle between the witch hunters has bearing on the coming mortal struggle between the American workers and the fascists.

Thus far there is no sign of comprehension of this coming showdown in the words or deeds of the American labor officials. That's why point number one in the preparation of the counter-assault against McCarthy must be the adoption of a fighting anti-McCarthy program by the American labor movement.

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## Knowland's "Communist Blueprint"

Last April 14 Senate Republican leader William F. Knowland inserted into the Congressional Record a document which he inferred was a "Communist blueprint for the conquest of the world by 1973," as a later United Press dispatch described it. It was, he claimed, an ultra-secret document sent to Moscow by Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist Party leader. Knowland had had the document in his possession for six months before taking the bold step of making it public.

Knowland offered no evidence as to the document's authenticity. He refused to say how it was obtained. And the press, usually ready to seize on anti-"Communist" tidbits of this character, made no reference to it until June 1 and then all but the most irresponsible newspapers gave it gingerly inside-page treatment. This purported "Communist blueprint of world conquest" had such a fishy smell that even the insensitive noses of the capitalist editors had to be held a bit aloof from it.

Nevertheless, the document has a certain interest and value. It was put forth by Knowland as "proof" of the charges that the American rulers have been making about the "threat" represented by Soviet Russia and China. Let us assume, therefore, for the sake of argument, that the document is not a crude forgery. What does it really show about this "threat" of Moscow and Peking?

The central point of the document is that World War III must be avoided at all cost and that the United States, as the center of world capitalism, would ultimately go into economic collapse. In short, this is a "blueprint" for stalling off war and allowing capitalism to die of its own inner disintegration.

Thus, the document proposes to establish an Asian military force of 25 million men in order to "force the capitalist countries to keep on increasing defense expenses until economic collapse overtakes them." The document does not tell how the Asian countries would support for an indefinite period 25 million troops

without economic disaster. But that an American Senator could put forward such a document shows that he takes seriously the idea that in any long-term competition, involving a severe military-economic load, American capitalism would be first to collapse.

There is not a line in the document about any kind of military assault by the USSR and China. On the contrary, it envisages winning over the Asian and African countries to the side of the Soviet Union and China, after which "a total economic collapse of western Europe" would follow. Then, in turn, the United States would suffer "crushing economic collapse and industrial breakdown."

No wonder the capitalist press was reluctant to make much of a play about this document. It completely disproves the line of propaganda handed out by the warmongers in Washington that the Soviet Union and China are threatening the world and the U.S. in any military sense. If anything, it reveals these countries as most anxious to avoid war.

What is the threat then? It is that the U.S., without war, will suffer economic breakdown and collapse; that in any contest based on the operations of their respective economic systems — private profit in this country and nationalized property and planned economy in the Soviet sphere — capitalism will suffer defeat and the non-capitalist property forms will triumph.

But isn't it the boast of the American capitalists that "free enterprise" is the best of all possible economic systems and infinitely superior to planned economy and collective ownership of the means of production? If capitalism is so superior, why would the U.S. need to worry about the alleged Soviet "time-table" of progressive economic collapse for world capitalism? What this document proves is nothing more than the deep fear of the capitalists themselves that their system cannot stand up to the test of time and that they hope to keep their domination only by means of war.

## Bunche and the Informers

Ralph Bunche, director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division, has been cleared of "disloyalty" by a U.S. board investigating all American employees of the UN. His clearance is being hailed by his friends as a vindication of both Bunche and American democracy.

We're glad to see Bunche escape the axe of witch hunters who were out to get him because he dared during the 1930's to join organizations that were later arbitrarily placed on the Attorney General's "subversive" list.

But we can't work up any enthusiasm about the quality of American democracy. One swallow doesn't make a summer, and one victim's escape doesn't signify any change in the witch hunt.

And we can't feel too much optimism about Bunche's future. True, he has been cleared. But only once. That doesn't prove a thing. Other victims of the witch hunt were cleared two, four, even eight times before the axe caught up with them. It's only the last time that counts, as many men and women with wrecked careers can testify. A shadow hangs over Bunche, and it will remain there until the witch hunt is wiped out from top to bottom and restitution is made to all its victims.

Meanwhile, what happens to Manning R. Johnson and Leonard Patterson, the two ex-Stalinist professional informers who put the finger on Bunche and testified against him?

The "loyalty" board that cleared Bunche ruled in effect that Johnson and Patterson lied about him. Are they going to be indicted for

perjury and punished for their crimes? Unless they are, there is every reason to expect that they will get another, and perhaps more successful, chance against Bunche.

And what about Paul Crouch, another informer who makes his living supplying "evidence" against anybody the witch hunters are out to indict and convict, and who will apparently swear to anything just so long as he gets paid for it?

Crouch swore at the Harry Bridges trial on the West Coast in 1949 that he did not know David Davis. He went to Philadelphia this year with a new story. This time he claimed he knew Davis, defendant in a current Smith Act trial, and he swore to things Davis had said and done in his presence, etc.

There are scores of these professional stoop-pigeons — human vermin who will "remember" anything if the price is right. Decent people wouldn't touch them with a ten-mile pole. But the U.S. government regards them as front-line defenders and exponents of "the American way of life," pays them well out of taxpayers' money and protects them when they get caught committing perjury and other crimes. (The Department of Justice urged Crouch to make himself scarce after the Alsop brothers brought his perjury to light.)

The people who ought to be jailed or fired from their jobs are not radicals, liberals and others who have exercised their rights of free speech and association, but these stoop-pigeons and the "respectable" people who hire and protect them.

## The Real Lesson of Germany

In recent months labor officials and liberals have begun to refer to the lesson of Hitler's rise to power in Germany. But unfortunately the American labor officials don't understand this lesson.

Take, for example the remarks of Sol Stetin, New Jersey regional director of the CIO Textile Workers Union, in a letter to Bishop Bernard J. Sheil. (May issue, N. J. CIO News.)

Stetin says that Big Business groups in America are trying to use McCarthy and McCarthyism just like German Big Business groups tried to use Hitler and Hitlerism: "They felt Hitler would keep the liberals, the Socialists and the trade unions in check and too late they realized the danger they had helped to create when he became all powerful." This is false.

In this brief passage Stetin voices typical fallacies, illusions and evasions of the American labor officials. He is under the mistaken impression that German Big Business "regretted" using Hitler when he became "all powerful." This is false.

When Hitler smashed the German labor movement Big Business was overjoyed. That's why they had supported him. When he murdered millions of Jews, Socialists, Communists and trade unionists, they cheered. When he launched his blitz to conquer Europe, they were with him 100%.

But when Hitler's armies ran into the revolutionary heroism of the Soviet people, who despite the Stalinist bureaucracy fought fascism with the courage of a people who had accomplished a socialist revolution and would defend the conquests of that revolution to the death; and when Hitler's empire began to shake and crumble as a result of his defeats in Russia, then and only then did the German capitalists become disillusioned with Hitler.

Stetin cannot answer the simple question: What were the liberals and labor officials doing in Germany while Hitler was rising to power? Because if he did answer this question it would read: They were doing exactly what Stetin and the other labor leaders are doing in the United States right now. They were supporting the liberal capitalists in their efforts to restrain the reactionary capitalists. And they were preventing the workers from smashing fascism by the only effective method — abolishing the capitalist system and replacing it with a socialist system. The German workers were ready, willing and able to do this. Only the blindness, cowardice and treachery of their officials prevented them.

That's the real lesson of Germany. And the American workers must learn this lesson as they deepen their struggle with American fascism and its capitalist masters.

By George Breitman

According to Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, the Supreme Court's May 17 decision on school segregation showed that "American democracy works for Negroes." (N. Y. Times, May 18.)

That's one way of looking at it — the way of people who grab every opportunity they can to persuade Negroes and workers that they don't need socialism because their aspirations for a better life can be satisfied under the present democratic capitalist system.

But that doesn't end the matter. Even if you grant for the sake of argument that the decision shows that "American democracy works for Negroes," a number of questions still have to be considered. For example:

HOW does capitalist democracy work for Negroes? Well or badly? Consistently or capriciously? In the same way it works for whites — or differently?

### 86 YEARS

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution prohibits the states from making and enforcing laws that "abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." It was supposed to safeguard equal rights for the Negro people.

This amendment, whose passage was also hailed as proof of the superiority of democratic capitalism, was ratified in 1868. It has now been part of the Constitution for 86 years. But it has been violated and flouted by the enemies of the Negro people at least 86,000 times since its ratification. The executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government did little or nothing all through these years to enforce the Constitution they had sworn to uphold.

Nobody has the right to disregard the history of these 86 years in any honest estimate of how democratic capitalism works for the Negro.

### MUST DISTINGUISH

In other words, you have to make a distinction between words and deeds; between promise and performance; between constitutional guarantees on paper and the enforcement or lack of enforcement of those guarantees in real life; between court decisions and the way in which those decisions are actually executed.

Negroes always have known that the Constitution and the 14th Amendment look good on paper. But they know there is a heap of difference between the way

these things look and the way they work. Stalin's constitution also looks good on paper, but you'll never convince the forced laborers in the Soviet camps that the Kremlin's "democracy" works for them.

### AT THE VERY BEST

Next, let's turn to 1896. That was when the Supreme Court ruled the discriminatory "separate but equal" doctrine was constitutional. "American democracy" was in existence then too, but its presence was not enough to safeguard Negro rights. The 14th Amendment was still on the books; it still clearly forbade abridgment of the privileges of Negro citizens. But that didn't stop the Supreme Court from lending its sanction to such abridgment.

This too is part of the way democratic capitalism works for the Negro. At the very best, it is arbitrary and unreliable. Even constitutional guarantees can't be depended on.

Now it's 1954 and the Supreme Court rules that school segregation is unconstitutional. It admits that segregation tends to "deprive" Negroes of "some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

This means that all Negroes raised in the South — a clear majority of those now living — have been deprived of benefits. Is any restitution to be made to

them for this government-sanctioned and government-enforced deprivation? The thought never even entered the heads of the Supreme Court. Democratic capitalism evidently provides no reparations for past damages admittedly done to the Negro people.

### PRESENT AND FUTURE

But, Walter White would say, bygones are bygones, let's concern ourselves with the present and the future.

All right, let's do that in connection with the Supreme Court's May 17 decision:

(1) Did the Supreme Court outlaw the "separate but equal" doctrine in all fields? No, only as it applies to public schools. This leaves segregation "legal" in other fields. Remember that when someone tells you of the wondrous ways in which democratic capitalism works for Negroes.

(2) Has segregation already been ended in the schools? Not yet. The Supreme Court's decision is so far only a promise, and history has shown that not all promises are kept. The Southern ruling class is preparing to "conform" if necessary to the decision while at the same time maintaining segregation in fact. That's why Walter White and the NAACP are so busy alerting Southern Negroes to counteract the white supremacist plans to

evade enforcement of the school decision. It will still take time and plenty of struggle before segregation is abolished even in the schools.

Under these circumstances, it is at least premature to be talking as if the school fight has been settled. And the school decision provides no justification at all for concluding that democratic capitalism offers the solution to all or most of the problems of the Negro people.

### WHAT EVIDENCE SHOWS

The evidence all points the other way. Historically, the last century has demonstrated that the capitalists and their politicians and courts grant concessions to the Negro only under pressure, and that they take away concessions too (as the 1896 example proves). Negro progress is neither permanent, stable nor continuous, and if capitalism turns from democratic to fascist forms, as it did in Europe all the gains of the Negro in the last hundred years will be wiped out. The latest concessions are not due to the way in which "American democracy" works, but, as we explained last week, to political expediency, and especially the desire of U.S. imperialism to overcome the hatred and distrust the rest of the world feels for its oppression of the Negro in this country.

If our aim is to give credit for the latest anti-segregation moves in the schools and armed forces, it would be far more correct to give it to the Chinese revolution and the other colonial rebellions (which put Washington on the spot diplomatically and propagandistically) than to give it to "American democracy," which has existed for almost two centuries, during which Negroes have been oppressed so and exploited so brutally.

There is even less reason for Negroes to be grateful to "American democracy" if they study the nature of the recent concessions more critically than the capitalist and liberal commentators have done. What they will discover on closer analysis is not that the capitalist rulers are preparing to abolish the Jim Crow system, but that they are prettying it up a bit.

Lynchings, which made such

bad propaganda, are being replaced by "individual" bombings and shootings that serve the same terrorist function. The form is different; the content is the same.

Formal segregation is being ended in the armed forces, but the anti-Negro discrimination which segregation made it easier to apply is continued through other means. The appearance is different; the essence is unchanged.

Legal segregation in the school is under attack, but the aim is to replace it with "residential segregation." A different method; but Negro children would still be segregated in most parts of the South.

### OUR JOB TODAY

Our job is neither to exaggerate nor to minimize the effects of these changes that have been forced on the ruling class, but to take maximum advantage of them in order to force other and more fundamental changes.

If any legal weapon is made available, we must seize hold of it in order to deepen and widen the fight to end Jim Crow altogether. If the ruling class finds itself in difficulties because of the contradictions between its domestic practices and its international propaganda, we must intensify all its contradictions and exploit all its weaknesses in order to achieve the greatest possible gains for the struggle for Negro equality.

At the same time we must not mistake the motives of the ruling class, or entertain the slightest feeling of confidence in it. Our job is not to sing hosannas to the glories of capitalism, but to exert the greatest possible pressure on it for the complete abolition of Jim Crow.

If we carry out this job correctly, resisting all temptations to relax, soften or compromise the fight, then further victories are possible. Militant prosecution of the Negro struggle will also prove who is right — Walter White, who thinks Negro equality can be won under capitalism; or the revolutionary socialists, who think full equality can be won only by abolishing the deep-rooted economic and social causes of Jim Crow and by replacing capitalism with socialism.

## CIO Packinghouse Leaders



Pres. Ralph Helstein (center) and Vice Pres. Russell Lasley (left) welcome three new members to the CIO United Packinghouse Workers executive board. George Thomas, second from left, is the first Negro ever elected as leader of a southern district. Charles Hayes, extreme right, heads midwest district and Edmund Dumas heads southeast district.

## ...Incite War Drive on Guatemala

(Continued from page 1)

month handed Guatemala an indemnity claim for United Fruit.

Against such an outrageous and extortionate claim, Guatemala had no choice but to issue a rejection. It gave the U.S. State Department a memorandum saying: "The Guatemalan government cannot accept any claim seeking privileged treatment for foreigners, which, under internal legislation, may not be given even to Guatemalan nationals."

As a pretext for its threats and pressure, the U.S. government raised the cry of "communism." It organized the Inter-American Conference in Caracas, Venezuela, last March, with the first order of business a U.S.-drafted resolution approving in advance intervention in any Latin American country which Washington says is "communist-dominated."

Last month, Secretary of State Dulles dramatically proclaimed that Guatemala was the recipient of a "massive shipment of arms from behind the Iron Curtain." This "massive shipment" boiled down to a mere 1,900 tons of arms, which would scarcely equip the police forces of some U.S. cities.

Guatemalan officials quite properly demanded to know why their government didn't have just as much right to buy arms where it pleased — particularly since the U.S. had refused to sell arms to Guatemala — as the U.S. has itself. To all but the most ignorant, the idea of Guatemala as a military menace with \$10,000,000 worth of arms, even "iron curtain" weapons, is simply ludicrous. But it is the best excuse the State Department could think up for its attack on Guatemala.

### THE WAR THREAT

Nicaragua had promptly broken diplomatic relations with Guatemala following the U.S. complaint about the 1,900 tons of "iron curtain" arms. Honduras, which was trying to break a strike of banana workers employed by United Fruit, also clamored about "red infiltration" and threatened to follow Nicaragua's example. The U.S. began to airlift war supplies to Nicaragua and Honduras. Dulles claimed it was only \$120,000 worth, including small arms ammunition and jeeps.

However, on June 1, the Honduran war minister, Gen. Leonidas Pineda, announced that a U.S. ship was on the way to his country "with more arms — including tanks — for a new combat battalion being formed here at top speed." Even more ominous are the facts revealed in a United Press dispatch on May 27 from Washington.

This dispatch disclosed that, "as a tip to Guatemala," the U.S. had sent "three of the world's largest bombers on an unprecedented 'good-will' flight over Nicaragua to demonstrate this country's rising concern with the growth of communism in neighboring Guatemala. There was no question but that the B-36 super-bombers were being used as an instrument of foreign policy in Central America."

This is the real threat to Guatemala's freedom. But it must conceal itself behind the cover of Latin American countries under the U.S. thumb. Thus, Joseph C. Harsch, correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, admitted "it would be unfortunate for United States relations with its Latin neighbors were Washington forced to resort to its own military power to prevent the intolerable from happening." And he concedes that if the Soviet Union has any ulterior purpose in shipping arms to Guatemala, it "is a piece of mischief, not a serious expectation of a Moscow military base in Guatemala."

### INOICES COUP D'ETAT

A further hint of U.S. imperialism's game is given in the May 29 weekly round-up of the Washington staff of the Scripps-Howard newspapers. It reports that "those who know the situation say... they think we'll have to find some way, under the Caracas resolution for joint American republics, to go in with force — but that will be hard to do before some 'civil war' breaks out."

In short, Washington is hoping to set off one of those "revolutions" that American imperialism has repeatedly fomented to overthrow anti-imperialist governments in Central and South America and to put in power military dictators in the hire of American corporations. Thus, a Scripps-Howard writer reports from Guatemala City on May 28:

"Paste the name of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas in your hat against the day when they may start rolling the tanks into the public squares down this way in the fight against Latin American communism."

Col. Armas is the exiled former head of Guatemala's chief military institute who led an unsuccessful revolt in 1950 to grab control of the army and government. Where will he get the tanks that will "start rolling into the public squares?" Their closest point of manufacture is the U.S.A.

### FEAR ARMED WORKERS

But there is one force that has the U.S. interventionists worried, and the real reason why they are screaming about the 1,900 tons of "iron curtain" arms. Sydney Gruson, writing on May 23 from Guatemala to the N. Y. Times, reports:

"Immediately after the arms arrived there was some speculation that the government wanted to use at least part of them to equip workers and farmers battalions to serve as a check on the Army."

Fresh in the minds of the American imperialists is the memory of how two years ago the Bolivian workers and peasants in arms beat back the counter-revolution and safeguarded the nationalization of the tin companies. The armed workers and peasants of Guatemala might deal with Col. Armas and his forces similarly.

### HANDS OFF GUATEMALA!

Gruson, the Times correspondent, observed on May 20 that the U.S. attack on Guatemala for its arms purchase "appears to have boomeranged" and "has achieved, for Guatemala, a greater degree of national unity than she has experienced in a long time." On May 23, he wrote that "friends and foes of the administration have closed ranks in support of the Government's position" on the matter of buying arms wherever it pleases.

U.S. intervention in Guatemala will be for the purpose of overthrowing a regime backed by the people. It will be armed robbery for the benefit of U.S. capitalist exploiters. American labor must do all in its power to compel Washington to keep hands off Guatemala.

## ...Seek to Prolong War

(Continued from page 1)

two weeks unless the Soviet, Chinese and Vietnamese negotiators offer a settlement that the U.S. State Department considers sufficiently capillary. The next step in the design of U.S. imperialism would be stepped-up fighting in Indo-China with U.S. and British troops added to the French forces. U.S. military officials estimate that this would mean sending an American force at least as big as the one sent to Korea.

In the meantime U.S. imperialism has prompted the puppet regime of Thailand to make a formal demand that the United Nations investigate the Indo-Chinese war to determine whether or not the Vietnamese movement represents a "threat to world peace." This brazen move of the Eisenhower administration is designed to put the brand of "aggressor" not on despotic French imperialism but on the heroic Indo-Chinese people fighting against tremendous odds for national independence and social change.

The administration wants to follow the pattern used by Truman in the Korean "police action." It wants UN sponsorship for its counter-revolutionary activities and plans to murder, burn and terrorize the Indo-Chinese people into submission.

### WINDOW DRESSING

The Eisenhower administration has also demanded that French imperialism grant "independence" to the French puppet regime of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This move is designed in part for window-dressing, but its main purpose is to enable U.S. imperialism to take direct charge of counter-revolutionary operations into its own hands. The Eisenhower administration has also demanded that the training of "native" troops be placed under U.S. jurisdiction.

Despite its maneuvers, U.S. imperialism may be forced to accept or tolerate a partition and truce in Indo-China because of the enormous power that the revolutionary forces have displayed against the French. But for the Eisenhower administration an armistice would only mean a pause in which to build up military forces before trying to resume war.

The American people must raise their voice against these bloody plans if countless American lives are not to be destroyed. They must demand that no more men and no more war material be sent to Indo-China, that all imperialist troops be withdrawn immediately and that the Ho Chi Minh government be recognized.

U.S. imperialism has been bolstered in its preparations for aggression in Asia by the maneuvers of the Kremlin at the Geneva conference. Even before the conference opened it was reported by Marguerite Higgins of the N. Y. Herald Tribune that a high Soviet official had offered the French a partition of Indo-China in return for a Soviet-French agreement opposing German rearmament. The Stalinist negotiators at Geneva have successively offered a coalition government within the French Union for Indo-China and now have acceded to partition.

In France, the powerful Stalinist party has failed to open up a political offensive against the Laniel government around the slogan "Withdraw the troops from Indo-China." Such a consistent line of agitation, coupled with a call for a united front of all working class organizations to struggle for a workers government, might have become the basis for a renewed labor offensive in France. Together with the great victory scored by the heroic freedom fighters at Dien-Bien-Phu, it could have toppled the Laniel government and forced a speedy conclusion to the Indo-Chinese "war" on terms most favorable to the Indo-Chinese people.

But a line of class struggle is opposed to the dictates of the Kremlin's reactionary foreign policy, which binds the French Stalinist leaders to support of French capitalism.

Without the pressure of the French working class mobilized against it, the Laniel government has been able to stay in office and continue the war in Indo-China, even though its position at home and in the colony is extremely shaky. This development in turn has allowed U.S. imperialism to pursue its sinister conspiracy against the Indo-Chinese revolution.

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## The Cars We Drive

By Trent Hutter

THE KINGS OF THE ROAD by Ken W. Purdy, with 24 illustrations. Bantam Books, 50 cents.

This is a book about famous cars and the men who built them as well as about today's cars and the way they are advertised. I found it original, colorful and instructive. Purdy makes us understand how big monopolist firms, like General Motors, have actually reduced the quality of American cars (although he does not discuss economics). Twenty years ago buyers could choose between different types of automobiles; today practically all American autos look alike. There is hardly any room left for individual taste, and these cars, with their clumsy, impractical forms and overloads of chromium, are far from beautiful.

But what about performance and comfort? Haven't important inventions been made in the Detroit laboratories? Aren't American cars the best in the world and relatively inexpensive?

Purdy's answers to these questions are extremely interesting. He explains that most of the "stunning new inventions" and improvements the publicity boys talk about in their glowing prose are in fact 20 and 30 years old and were used in the best European cars at that time. (And he should know, for he is a collector and student of quality automobiles.)

As for performance, most of today's American cars are not sufficiently light, supple or safe. Five hundred pounds heavier than they ought to be, they certainly are not safer on the road than the smaller European cars; they use much more gas, oil and rubber; and they are more difficult to park in our overcrowded cities.

"The bigness of American automobiles has been obtained at the expense of quality," Purdy charges. Balance has been impaired because the car's body has been thrown out over the ends of the chassis: "To offset this the useful cargo weight has been moved closer to the center with no real net gain from the increased size of the automobile. . . . Many a million dollar's worth of advertising has beat

into our heads the notion that a bigger car makes a better man."

But doesn't bigness spell comfort? No: "It is excellence of suspension, not sheer weight, that makes a car comfortable. Firm springing — not race-track hard, but firm — is more comfortable over a long haul than soft, feather-bed sagging. Soft springs (used by American firms) with their long, slow travel, are tiring to the body because they force muscle-adjustments of considerable amplitude."

Aren't the American monopolists capable, at least, of selling their product more cheaply than European manufacturers? It is true that Henry Ford's mass production method made possible a sharp reduction in prices. Yet the American public of 1954 does not get its money's worth.

European quality cars that are greatly superior to most American cars — the Italian Alfa-Romeo, for example — are expensive only because they are made for a limited market. A car of similar quality could be mass-produced in the U.S. to sell at current American rates. In other words, Detroit could make much better cars if the leading automobile concerns wanted to — and without increasing prices. (And a nationalized industry without private profits could, of course, sell a line of good cars more cheaply than the big monopolies.)

The American who buys a new car is cheated by Detroit's slick publicity. "American automotive engineers . . . know what's been thought up across the street and they can do it just as well, and a lot cheaper. But the sales department would blow its collective top. Far better, they say, to change 'em a little, load them up with extras, and peddle them with the time-tried advertising formula: . . . 'Buy this car, kids, and somehow, magically, you'll be much happier.'"

But isn't this a basic pattern not only in the auto industry, but in many other sectors of our capitalist economy and culture?

"The Kings of the Road" is worth reading — and thinking about. What it does for the auto industry might usefully be tried with other aspects of modern America.

## Housewives Disguised

By Joyce Cowley

If you don't consider McCarthy a hero, if you're not anxious to go to Indo-China to die for French imperialism, better not give voice to these ideas while you relax at the corner bar. The lady beside you who's been hoisting one too many may be taking careful note of your dangerous thoughts.

Mrs. Thomas Millard of Des Moines recently revealed that she is president of a secret group, the Christian Association of Public Affairs, formed to "ferret out communists and criminals." She reports that housewives disguised as drunks have found "absolute evidence of communism" in Des Moines. "You don't know where you'll find it," she said. "In the high class places or the dives. We have even found communism hiding under religious banners."

Every member of the organization is a secret investigator. Sometimes, she reports, these investigators will use as many as four cars a day and make several changes of clothing. Members of the club have trailed police officers, sipped drinks in the best clubs, disguised themselves as drunks in barrooms, investigated homes for the aged and feeble-minded and checked on political candidates. "We are old-time vigilantes," says Mrs. Millard. "We want to know how the underground operates."

Sounds like these ladies would not require

any special disguise in homes for the feeble-minded. Unfortunately this fantastic story of secret investigators is not a joke. It's a logical outgrowth of McCarthyism. These fanatical housewives, changing cars, changing clothes, trailing the underground in homes for the mentally and physically infirm, masquerading as drunks and even staging fights "to add to the realism," may be lunatics but they are not harmless. Hysteria and distortion, lies, denunciation and secret investigations are the natural atmosphere of fascist movements.

Don't blame the Des Moines housewives. Like the rest of us, they're bewildered by life in the modern capitalist world. They don't understand why their sons have to die on the battlefields of Asia. They resent the heavy taxes that go to pay for the war machine. They're disgusted with political corruption and the inability of the government to solve any of their problems. They're looking for a way out and they want to fight the people who are responsible for all this trouble. McCarthy and the witch hunters have provided an enemy. As long as these women are busy tracking mythical reds through barrooms and homes for the aged, they won't tackle the real culprits, the industrialists and financiers who control American life, the men who are responsible for our desperate alternative of full-scale depression or atomic war.

## Notes from the News

**DIFFICULT FEAT:** "Commies Crawl Furtively Around N. T. Co. Gates Sewing Seeds of Distrust." — Headline of May 28 Lorain (Ohio) Labor Leader, reporting distribution of leaflets in front of a steel plant.

**M'CARTHY-MURROW FILM:** A new 16 mm film on "The Murrow-McCarthy Debate," is now available from the Department of Education of the American Federation of Labor at a \$3 rental charge. The 45-minute film includes highlights from Edward R. Murrow's TV program, McCarthy's answers and Bishop Sheil's recent attack on the Senator. It was produced by Freedom House.

**WHAT'S YOUR PAY?** In the San Francisco area a worker's family of four, living in a rented home, needed an income of \$5,405 a year (\$104 a week) to maintain a decent standard of living in 1953, according to the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California.

**GIVING UP:** The Socialist Party national convention in Philadelphia over the Memorial Day weekend decided, in accord with Norman Thomas' proposal, to put its major emphasis on "non-electoral campaigns" in "the coming period." Spokesmen explained this means the SP will not run any presidential candidate in 1956, which will leave the members free to support the Democrats. The Milwaukee section of the party recommended local campaigns under the SP label, "but if this is not feasible, then Socialists may use the primary facilities of another party." This line is already being applied in some areas.

**IS THAT PROOF?** William Vanderhoof, former deputy chief of staff of the Disabled American Veterans, defending the use of the suspect term "comrade" by his organization, says, "Some people contend it is communistic, but I say it's pure Yankee. I've checked this thoroughly and find it was used by the Grand Army of the Republic long before our purchase of Alaska from Russia.

Certainly, the term 'Comrade' wasn't passed on to us from that country as part and parcel of the land deal which predates Communism."

**AUTO PAY:** Over one million auto and aircraft workers will take a one-cent an hour pay cut under their sliding scale contract clause on June 1. Though food, rent and medical care rose in the Labor Department's price index, there was a slight over-all reduction because of a cutback in federal excise taxes. At the same time United Auto Workers members will get a five-cents-an-hour productivity increase in pay.

**TERRORISM BY ARSON:** White supremacists set fire to and burned down the partly-built home of a Negro dentist, Dr. John Nixon, in Birmingham, Ala. It was being built in a "white" neighborhood.

**LAND OF THE DETAINED:** The State Department admits that for the last three years it has been preventing 120 Chinese students from returning to their native land. The students, who asked permission to go home in 1951, are not accused of any crimes. The pretext for holding them here is that they possess scientific knowledge that "could injure the free world." There are no restrictions on students who choose to go back to Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary regime.

**PASSPORT CASES:** The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is planning a series of lawsuits "challenging the procedures of the State Department in denying passports to people whose political convictions do not conform with the State Department's ideas," reports Clark Foreman, director of the committee. "The ECLC is raising a fund to cover the basic research and major part of the legal expenses necessary in taking these cases to the Supreme Court." Those who want to contribute to the fund or discuss how their own case can be added to others in the suits, should contact the ECLC at 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1.

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# N.Y. Dockers Choose ILA in NLRB Vote

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, June 1 — For the second time in five months the independent International Longshoremen's Association won an NLRB representation election. 19,798

dockers passed between the lines of a 3,000-man police army last Wednesday to give the nod to the ILA over its rival, the ILA-AFL, by a margin of 319 votes.

However, 1,797 votes were challenged. This gives the NLRB an opportunity to hold up certification for several months. Privately it is conceded by all hands that a count of the challenged votes would increase the ILA majority since these were mostly AFL challenges.

This ILA victory is a substantial blow to the most formidable alliance that ever intervened to force the outcome of such an election.

### AGAINST BIG ODDS

The federal, state and city governments went all-out in support of the AFL; the metropolitan press and every anti-labor force endorsed the AFL as the "desirable" union. The AFL leaders in turn gave their support to the state-imposed regimentation of the waterfront. They also promptly picked up the cue given by Attorney General Brownell and labeled the ILA as "subversive" because of donations it got from some rank and file members of the West Coast dockers union. AFL leaders David Beck and Paul Hall, greedy for increased power and revenue, took a long step toward surrender to state control.

### GOVT. TO CHOOSE

The government's open intervention on the New York waterfront is in line with the new anti-labor offensive recently opened by Brownell. The government proposes to pick and choose the "desirable" unions — illegalizing those not chosen. This police-state proposal is in effect a move to license unions — a measure that has been implicit in the Taft-Hartley Act all the time.

This recalls the warning given by John L. Lewis to the 1947 AFL convention that its surrender on the Taft-Hartley Act and the anti-communist affidavits would put it in the ignominious position of capitulation to further anti-labor restrictions. His castigation of the AFL leadership as headless and gutless has been fully verified. The ILA leaders, who then joined in condemnation of Lewis, have now turned to him.

Lewis offered his support to the isolated ILA, whose leaders encouraged affiliation of 4,500 ILA barge and tugboat men to

District 50 of the United Mine Workers. By the government's rules Lewis' refusal to sign the Taft-Hartley anti-communist affidavit keeps the United Mine Workers and its affiliates off the NLRB ballot. The ILA itself would undoubtedly have affiliated directly to the Lewis organization if such action would not bar it from the NLRB ballot. As the leading challenger to the government's union-busting program, Lewis has a strong appeal to unions under attack.

### POLICY CHANGES

Having begun a fight against such powerful enemies, the ILA membership and leadership are driven by the logic of their struggle to initiate certain changes in their own policies. Last week, for example, the ILA leadership came out in a blast against the Jim Crow practices of its AFL enemies, particularly those of Paul Hall's seamen's union. The ILA leadership now promises to change the rigid Jim Crow pattern which it has maintained for many years.

The mobsters and pistol-packing hoods, whose role was so marked inside the ILA, face growing opposition from the ranks of the ILA itself. The dockers have not held the ILA together at great sacrifice only in order to surrender to these corrupt rotten elements. In promising a clean-up of the organization the ILA leaders are only recognizing the new climate in the ILA.

### AFL SCABBING THREAT

Many obstacles still have to be overcome before the ILA can secure a contract that is now nine months overdue. The first statement of the top staff of the AFL raiders after their defeat all too clearly spells more trouble for New York's dockers. They warn that if the ILA strikes to get a contract, they will use every weapon to break the strike. This can only mean that the AFL is determined upon a guerrilla war against the ILA. They aim to so demoralize the dockers that a new election, which legally cannot be held for one year, will go to the AFL by default.

The ILA now has the unique opportunity to take the offensive against the AFL by pushing aggressively for the realization of its promises which, limited though they are, still represent a big advance.

### Red-Baiting in Dock Vote



As a motorcade of the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. tours the N. Y. waterfront prior to the recent NLRB collective bargaining vote, members of the rival union set up by the AFL leadership carry red-baiting signs designed to win votes through a McCarthyite-type smear. The ILA got a majority, but the NLRB held up the decision because of challenges by the AFL.

## ... Would Need Vast GI Army for Indo-China

(Continued from page 1)

ment has even less of an answer to the problem than the military. The military men say that in the absence of a Viet Nam force it would take "400,000 trained fighting men" to do the job.

They say: "It would be futile to go into Indo-China with one or two divisions — that is, 20,000 to 40,000 men. We'd just lose our shirts."

The proposal to intervene in Indo-China with airpower only, is dismissed by these military leaders as "not based on logic."

They point out: "Indo-China is not a narrow peninsula like Korea, where the fighting front was relatively narrow, the targets concentrated and the country surrounded on three sides by seas accessible to our Navy. Indo-China has about

272,000 square miles of land; Korea has 85,000. Indo-China has less than half as many railways and its roads are as poor as Korea's."

### WOULD STEP UP DRAFT

A war in Indo-China "would mean, first, massive mobilization in America," according to these Army authorities. They say "it might not mean mobilization on a World War II scale" but "it would mean stepping up the draft considerably."

And remember this is only Indo-China. If the madmen in Washington are permitted to drag us into another "police action" in Southeast Asia, it could result in a reactionary and hopeless war with millions of casualties strewn across the vast continent of Asia.

According to UAW-CIO President Walter Reuther, General Motors workers have received 56c. per hour in wage increases since the cost-of-living escalator clause and the "annual improvement factor" were written into the General Motors agreement in 1948. Twenty-five cents of this wage gain resulted from the "escalator" clause and 31c. from the "annual improvement factor."

## 3 Puerto Rican Youth Doomed, Defense Urged

NEW YORK, June 2 — The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party today called for a vigorous campaign to save three young Puerto Ricans now facing execution at Sing Sing.

"Concepcion Estrada Correa, 17 years old, Henry Mathews, 17, and Pedro Antonio Rios, 22, were sentenced to die during the hysteria over the shooting in Congress by members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party," the SWP statement said.

"The three young Puerto Ricans were tried by a blue ribbon jury upon which no Negro or Puerto Rican sat. The Supreme Court two months ago set aside the Hernandez murder conviction on the ground that Mexican-Americans were systematically excluded from the jury that convicted him."

"The three boys were convicted of killing 85 year old Anna Levy. They maintain their innocence and charge that statements introduced against them by the police were extracted by third-degree methods. A key witness retracted his testimony once and then retracted his retraction."

"The entire case against the boys has a foul smell. The discrimination, hostility and police brutality against the Puerto Rican people of New York is the background to the death sentence given to the three young Puerto Ricans."

"We join with the Puerto Rican community in denouncing this conviction and call for a vigorous campaign of defense. These three boys must not die!"

"New York's labor movement, its community organizations, must rally to their defense and not permit race prejudice and anti-Puerto Rican hostility to put these three to death."

Dr. Nathan M. Pusey, president of Harvard University, told the National Press Club in Washington, May 26, that a McCarthyite student organization has been organized on the campus. Dr. Pusey, one of McCarthy's favorite targets, said the McCarthyites were given freedom to organize like "any other group that tries to organize with a leader and faculty sponsor."

## I. F. Stone Lauds Kutcher's Book

WASHINGTON — I. F. Stone, editor and fighter for civil liberties, has written the following recommendation of James Kutcher's book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran":

"If America had a conscience left, this story would have shocked it long ago into mass protest against the inequities and inequities of the loyalty probe. Jim Kutcher is twice a hero — once at San Pietro, where he lost his legs for his country, and back home since, where he has had the heart and guts to continue his lonely fight. The executive order under which this veteran was ousted from a \$45 a week job in the VA office in Newark for belonging to the Socialist Workers Party is the redudic ad absurdum of the loyalty program, a vivid glimpse of its cruelty and unfairness. Every thoughtful American owes it to himself to read 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'"

# CIO, Negro Candidates In Final Newark Bid

By Daniel Roberts

NEWARK, June 2 — The windup of the Newark election campaign is marked by two outstanding features. One, the failure of the CIO to wage a serious campaign for the election of its candidate, James T. Callaghan. Two, and in welcome contrast, the militancy with which the Negro community is campaigning for its two candidates — Irvine I. Turner, running for Council from the Central Ward, and Harry Hazelwood Jr., running at-large.

It was little enough that the CIO should have only one candidate in the race instead of shooting for a labor majority of the Council seats. But its candidate is not even stepping forth as the official voice of the CIO. Callaghan does not point to his labor sponsorship. The closest he comes to this is to designate himself as "labor's choice" in one of his leaflets.

### SHORTCOMINGS

Callaghan does not make the one campaign pledge that would count most with thousands of workers — namely, that if elected, he would act at all times as labor's representative on the Council. He could have made this pledge concrete by proposing, for instance, when he takes office, to sponsor a conference of all union locals and Negro organizations in Newark to shape the program that he would introduce and push for.

It was Callaghan's duty to act like a labor candidate — to speak boldly for labor and against capital. In this way he would have drawn a sharp line of difference between himself and his old-line machine opponents, and he would have rallied an enthusiastic body of campaigners who would be inspired to fight for the principle that labor should act in politics as an independent force.

Instead, Callaghan has tried to sound "respectable" — that is, like any run-of-the-mill candidate. As a result he has only a meager body of campaign workers, many of whom have been "loaned" to him by Democratic Mayor Carlin, who was elected in the primaries last month.

The second major failure of Callaghan's campaign is his silence on the issue of Negro representation. A few speeches for Hazelwood and a special leaflet distributed on his behalf in white working class areas would have won Callaghan respect among Negro workers and would have created a group eager to work for him in Central Ward, where he polled his lowest vote in the primaries. Callaghan also failed to support Turner, who likewise has the CIO's endorsement.

### CIO AT FAULT TOO

The CIO leaders on their side never really followed up on their own sponsorship of Callaghan. They did not mobilize their union forces behind Callaghan, but left him to shift mainly for himself. Thus, there is great danger that Callaghan will be defeated in the run-off elections for the same reason that Jerry Leopold, another CIO-sponsored candidate, was defeated in the primaries.

The reason is that CIO leaders lack confidence in labor's ability to push out on its own politically. They don't know how to rally to labor's independent banner all working men and women, the Negro community and big sections of the middle-class, and they don't think it can be done. Instead, the labor leaders cling to the Democratic Party, and are showing themselves incapable of following up their sponsorship of Callaghan with a vigorous campaign for his election.

Despite all these shortcomings, the Socialist Workers Party con-

## A History of Economic Theories

From the Physiocrats to Adam Smith

BY KARL MARX

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