

CHURCHILL PROPOSES DEAL WITH KREMLIN

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 27

287

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 5, 1954

PRICE: 10 CENTS

On United Fruit's Blacklist



Former President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman of Guatemala (right) and his foreign minister Guillermo Toriello. Both looked to U.S. Ambassador Peurifoy instead of the workers and peasants to save their regime from Colonel Armas' rebellion. Peurifoy suggested they resign. They resigned and fled the country.

Dulles Conspiracy Met By World-wide Protest

By Art Sharon

The State Department's use of force and violence to overthrow the legally elected government of Guatemala found few defenders anywhere. Throughout Latin America, masses of students and workers staged bitter protest demonstrations. As a result, the general opinion among press correspondents was that "No matter what happens in Guatemala, the United States is the loser."

The only voices to speak out in support of U.S. policies were landlords, peanut dictators and upper-class grafters who feed directly at the Washington trough. The oppressive regimes of Honduras, El Salvador, Columbia, Brazil, etc. in answer to the bidding of the State Department played their roles in the United Nations and elsewhere but they did not represent their peoples' sentiments.

Honduras, Guatemala's neighbor to the South, was the staging area for the invasion of the United Fruit army. Correspondents reported freely how rebel planes were guarded at Honduran airports by Honduran soldiers even while that government was disclaiming any knowledge of the invasion.

Nevertheless students of Honduras University staged an impressive mass march in the face

of police violence in the principal city in support of the Guatemalan government. This demonstration was duplicated in a number of leading cities of the Americas.

Students of the University of Panama went on a 24-hour strike to dramatize their indignation against "foreign intervention in Guatemala."

Students of Havana staged a public mass meeting which was broken up by the police. After many of the demonstrators were arrested, workers and students of Havana stoned the offices of the United Press and the North American Electric Company.

WORK STOPPAGE

The Chilean Central Labor Union of Santiago called a nation-wide one-hour work stoppage to protest United States intervention in Guatemala. Chilean newspapers supporting U.S. policy were stoned by the demonstrators and the Chilean Chamber of Deputies voted 34 to 15 to condemn the invasion as

(Continued on page 2)

Partition of Indo-China Reported Part of Deal

By Daniel Roberts

The only fair way to settle the war in Indo-China is for the French to withdraw all their troops and let the Indo-Chinese people determine their own fate. But the terms of the agreement reportedly reached between Chou En-Lai, Chinese premier, and Mendes-France, French premier, grant the Indo-Chinese people less than they are entitled to.

It is well known that the Vietnamese movement enjoys the support of the great majority of the Indo-Chinese population. "Elections in Vietnam, if held now, would in all probability result in a Communist victory," stated the N. Y. Times June 24. The military successes of the Vietnamese army over the far better equipped French forces is another proof that the Indo-Chinese people firmly support the movement for national independence led by Ho Chi-Minh. Clearly, the Vietnamese regime should be recognized as the legitimate government of all Indo-China, if the democratic right of national self-determination is to be upheld.

Instead, the agreement reached by Chou and Mendes-France partitions the country in the same way that Korea was divided. Laos and Cambodia, integral parts of Indo-China, are to be kept in French hands under the rule of the present French puppets.

Whether Vietnam is also to be divided, with the French keeping the southern part around Saigon where most of their investments are, is not yet definitely known. A coalition government between the Vietnamese and the hated French puppet, Bao-Dai, may take over Vietnam. But even in that case the full claims of the

Indo-Chinese to rule themselves will not have been met.

"The French were unmistakably jubilant about the meeting (between Chou and Mendes-France)," according to the June 27 N. Y. Times. On the other hand the Vietnamese is reported to be dissatisfied with the terms. Tillman Durbin, writes in the June 26 N. Y. Times that "Western sources (at Geneva)... believe that the Vietnamese are going along unwillingly with the program for settling the Indo-China war... It is believed that the program conforms more closely to... Peiping's interests than it does to the aims of the Vietnamese."

In negotiating this unfair settlement, French imperialism had the help of the Stalinists. This aid was given especially in France. The French Communist Party cast its vote for the Mendes-France government, even though he repudiated their support. By this vote the Stalinist leaders betrayed the interests of the Indo-Chinese masses and the French workers as did the Social-Democratic leaders who also voted for Mendes-France.

The Mendes-France cabinet is a government of the French capitalist class. Its members come from the most reactionary parties in France, including the Gaulists, who are the most determined upholders of French imperialism. This is the government to which the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders seek to tie the French working class.

State Dept. Plot in Guatemala Restores Rule of United Fruit

Polls Show McCarthy Has Big Fascist Base

How serious the danger of McCarthyite fascism is can be judged by first returns on polls of public opinion taken since the Army-McCarthy hearings. As reported in last week's Militant, a nation-wide spot check by the Christian Science Monitor revealed that a decline in pro-McCarthy sentiment "now has been halted at what may be a hard core of about one-third of American public opinion in his favor."

This figure was shown to be not far from the results of a poll announced June 24 by George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion. In response to the question, "Do you think that Stevens and Adams used improper means in trying to stop McCarthy from investigating the Army?" 38% said, "Yes," 32% said, "No," while 30% were undecided.

Asked which side they were inclined to agree with, 40% favored Army Secretary Stevens, 25% favored McCarthy, 8% were neutral, and 27% were undecided.

In response to the question, "Who do you feel has come out on top in this case?" 28% voted for Stevens, 24% for McCarthy, 18% for neither, while 30% had no opinion.

These figures, revealing McCarthy's strength, are all the more impressive in view of the fact that 62% of those questioned thought McCarthy and Cohn had used improper means in trying to get preferred treatment for Schine, while only 24% thought McCarthy and Cohn had a clean bill of health.

The Gallup poll reveals a hard core of at least 24% of the public favoring McCarthy.

CHICAGO RESULTS

In Chicago, three newspapers revealed a considerable variance in opinion. A poll conducted by the pro-McCarthy Tribune showed 91.2% believed that McCarthy had proved his charges against the Army. The Daily News result was 57%, while the Sun-Times was 33.2%, according to a June 24 AP dispatch.

The Daily News poll revealed that 56.3% of those participating in the survey like the fascist Senator more as a result of the hearings.

The Sun-Times poll showed the Wisconsin demagogue gained both in popularity and unpopularity as a consequence of the hearings as a consequence of the hearings lined up one way or the other. This is an indication of the growing polarization in American politics noted for some time by competent political observers.

In Detroit a poll conducted by

the Free Press revealed the following significant results by the fourth day (June 25): Out of 12,644 who voted, 7,208 said they liked McCarthy less as a result of the hearings, while 5,217 said they liked him more. This indicates that a little better than 40% favor the fascist.

The Gallup pollster's pinpointed two towns with completely different majority opinions about McCarthy to try to determine the

(Continued on page 2)

Racist Violence Flares at Chicago Housing Project

CHICAGO, June 29 — Racist violence flared again last week at Trumbull Park, scene of racial tension for the past 11 months, when Mr. and Mrs. Lucius Priest were sent by the Chicago Housing Authority to look at an apartment in the project.

Mr. Priest was severely beaten by a gang of thugs. A nearby squad car drove away without coming to his assistance. No arrests were made.

Clarence Young and his brother were similarly beaten at the recreation center of the project. Again policemen pretended not to see anything and no arrests were made.

UNION BACKING

A representative from 28 union locals told the meeting he was instructed to find out what action was planned by the NAACP to fight back against the white supremacists. Any action taken, he said, would be backed to the hilt by the locals.

He reported that it was his impression the NAACP felt it would not get support for a demonstration but that this feeling did not accord with the facts. He assured the NAACP meeting that the union rank and file were eager to find out how to put an end to the violence at Trumbull Park. "I'm close to the little fellow and I know how he feels," he said.



Texas Officials Protect 'Moonlight' Racist Gang

High state officials of Texas denied June 28 that a night-riding, cross-burning, anti-Negro terror gang calling itself the "Moonlighters" are breaking any state laws.

These same officials, who believe in the death penalty for Texas "communists," have told police officials of the Town of Orange to release arrested leaders of this racist mob and not "violate" their civil rights.

The police chief himself was warned to "lay off the Moonlighters or else" after earlier receiving a death threat. But that he was in any actual danger of being killed was doubted by one of the "Moonlighter" leaders who stated:

"Sure, I thought some n—s might get hurt but I never realized that some white people might too."

The police complied with the advice of the State Attorney General June 26. That night the "Moonlighters" met in a dense wooded section just north of Orange to celebrate their victory.

The gang went into action shortly after the Supreme Court School Segregation decision. At that time the Negro community of the neighboring town of Mauriceville was warned by the heads of Texla Lumber Co., the town's sole industry, that they would fire all their Negro workers before they would let Negro children attend the town's white school.

The town's Negro school has two rooms and two teachers for 12 grades. As one Negro parent declared "it is a poor and sorry joke to call it a school."

The secret meetings in the woods were made up of many teenagers who were agitated by adults. The principle theme of these meetings was that the "Negroes were becoming a menace to white supremacy and must be stopped."

Negro families were warned by the "Moonlighters" not to attempt to use white schools and other facilities "if you value your lives." Their protests to the police went unheeded.

Only when white citizens disapproving of the "Moonlighter" activities were threatened and intimidated did the local officers move to arrest the leaders.

The subsequent release of these leaders through the intervention of the State authorities has brought Orange and surrounding communities to a high state of tension.

Local hardware merchants report a big increase in the purchase of knives, firearms and ammunition by the Negro community. This report may be a fabrication, but it is understandable that endangered citizens who are denied the protection of the law may feel compelled to take defensive measures.

Meanwhile racist officials of Texas have made their position clear on what they intend to do about violations of Negro citizens. The NAACP convention now meeting in Dallas and celebrating the victory in the Supreme Court on segregated schools can hardly ignore this challenge.

Peurifoy Behind the Overthrow

By Joseph Hansen

JUNE 24 — The plot succeeded. Today Eisenhower could confess that "it would be deceitful if he tried to hide his pleasure over the ouster of the Communists and their supporters in Guatemala." And the U.S. State Department could point to the hero of the hour — Ambassador Peurifoy, whom the Associated Press, in the prize understatement of the year, credited with the "major part" in toppling the legally elected Arbenz government by force and violence. Wall Street cheered too as the stocks of the United Fruit Co. shot up two points in one day.

How was it possible for the miserable adventurer Castillo Armas to smash the Arbenz regime nine days after launching his rebellion?

It was not by prowess in the battlefield, for his major action seems to have been to promote himself from colonel to general.

It was not by support from the people, for behind Arbenz stood 100,000 militant union men and 200,000 peasants while Armas had nothing but a handful of retainers who bogged down in the mud after barely crossing the border from Honduras.

It was not by support from the people elsewhere in Latin America for throughout the area south of the Rio Grande, great demonstrations of students and workers indicated the readiness of the common people of the entire continent to come to the aid of the besieged Guatemalans.

The responsibility for Armas' success lies with the Stalinists who stood at the head of the workers and peasants and therefore were in position to launch a course that could have stopped Armas dead in his tracks. The story of their betrayal is told on page 3 of this issue.

MAIN GUILT

The main guilt for the United Fruit Co. invasion of Guatemala and the overthrow of the legally elected government by force and violence lies, of course, with the State Department. This is crystal clear from the account of Ambassador Peurifoy's role.

On June 26 the N. Y. Herald Tribune reported that Armas was due for recognition by "several Latin American governments," that this would require the State Department to make a "difficult decision," and that "recognition... by the United States... would give (Armas)... international standing immediately..."

The following day Guillermo Toriello, the Foreign Minister under Arbenz came to Peurifoy and told him "that he, the U.S. Ambassador," according to the Hearst press, "could stop the fighting in 15 minutes, if he would."

Toriello asked Peurifoy if a new government under a military junta would be agreeable to him. Now listen:

"Peurifoy, dressed in sports clothes for the golf course, dragged calmly on his cigarette holder and told Toriello that he really had no control over the situation. He did suggest modestly, however, that a clean sweep of the officers of the Arbenz Government, including Foreign Minister Toriello himself, would seem to be in order if peace were to be restored to this anguished little republic."

Col. Carlos Diaz then negotiated with Peurifoy, asking him if it would be sufficient to outlaw the Communist Party. But Peurifoy, according to the Associated Press, "insisted on even stronger measures."

The junta under Diaz then persuaded Arbenz to resign which he did instead of appealing to the masses for backing. Diaz

(Continued on page 2)

How the UN Went to Bat for Wall Street

By David L. Weiss

The Guatemalan events have turned a glaring light on the United Nations. Hailed by the imperialist governments and the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy as the "greatest instrument of peace," the United Nations stands again revealed as U.S. imperialism's world agency for war.

While the Guatemalan people were being bombed and invaded by cut-throat mercenaries of the giant United Fruit Co., their democratically elected regime appealed to the UN Security Council for aid against the foreign aggression. On June 20 the Security Council, without referring to the invaders, vaguely resolved in favor of an "immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed" asking "all members of the UN to abstain, in the spirit of the Charter, from giving any assistance to any such action."

These empty words, inspired by the diplomacy-wise French delegate, whose government is

itself engaged in the "dirty war" against the Indo-Chinese people, were unaccompanied by any specific measures to implement the fine pacific sentiment. This general preaching against "bloodshed" was made when the small army of Guatemala had not yet fired a single shot at the invader.

Ignoring these diplomatic niceties U.S. delegate Lodge spoke the language of an imperialist gangster. He turned to the Soviet delegate and declared, "Stay out of the Western Hemisphere!" Lodge's meaning was plain: (1) Every liberating movement of the people is to be branded as a Kremlin invasion. (2) Wall Street has a "Private Property — Keep Out!" sign over the Western Hemisphere.

On June 22 the Arbenz regime again called upon the Security Council and asked it to enforce its unheeded two-day-old "cease fire" resolution. This request was castigated by U.S. delegate Lodge as part "of the Soviet conspiracy to meddle in the Western Hemisphere" and he warned the beleaguered Guatemalans against

being a "cat's paw" of this "conspiracy." Lodge declared that there was no invasion of Guatemala but a "civil war" of "Guatemalan against Guatemalan" into which the Security Council should "not further intervene."

The case, he demanded, should be brought before the Organization of American States which should send an observation team to Guatemala to investigate the charges. The Guatemalan government opposed this, since it is well-known that the U.S. controls the OAS, having compelled it at its 10th Conference in Caracas to pass a resolution against "Communism" in Guatemala.

On June 25 when the Security Council reconvened, the U.S. Senate passed a resolution stating that the Guatemalan situation is the business only of the OAS. It demanded that the OAS take "appropriate action to prevent any interference by the international Communist movement in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere."

Meanwhile, sitting in the Security Council, U.S. delegate

Lodge cracked the whip and threatened "a catastrophe of such dimensions as to gravely impair" the usefulness of both the UN and the OAS if the OAS were not permitted to handle the Guatemalan dispute.

He even intimated that the U.S. would send the whole UN packing if it "abrogated" the inter-American system. The Security Council jumped through Lodge's hoop and by a vote of five to four, ruled the Guatemalan situation off its agenda.

France, whose delegate proposed the "cease fire" resolution only five days before, abstained. England abstained too. Since their votes were not absolutely required, Lodge permitted them the luxury of not flying in the face of mass sentiment in their respective countries.

The UN action on Guatemala stands in sharp contrast with the action it took on Korea four years ago. In the brazen Dulles-sponsored invasion of Guatemala, the UN stalled, dawdled and finally dumped the whole situation, claiming it was a civil war.

In the genuine civil war in Korea the UN couldn't move fast enough to approve the "police action" that Truman had instituted on his own sole authority against the Korean masses. UN delegates were awakened in the middle of the night. Truman's intervention in Korea was immediately approved as a peace-enforcing action of the United Nations.

The struggle of the Korean people against Syngman Rhee's terror regime of landlords and capitalists was called a foreign invasion. American forces, the only real invader, piled up over two million Korean civilian corpses "defending" Korea under sanction of the UN.

In Guatemala and in Korea, the needs of the situation dictated different tactics. In each case, however, the UN, at a command, leaped to the service of the State Department. In all situations, the UN remains true to its original purpose — an imposing international front and a servile tool in Wall Street's drive to conquer the world.

The American Way of Life

Poor Boy Makes Good

Harold G. Hoffman was one of the most eminent figures in New Jersey. Former governor of the state, president of a bank, mentioned as possible vice-presidential candidate of the U.S. in the past — he was mourned at his death on June 4 as a pillar of society well worthy of emulation, a poor boy who made good.

To be sure, even then he had been under suspension since March from his post of director of the State Division of Employment Security because of alleged irregularities in purchases of his division. But this left his standing unimpaired.

Two weeks later the lid blew off. In a note that Hoffman left his daughter, Mrs. Ada Leonard, he confessed having embezzled \$300,000 from his own bank. This was in 1938. He had managed to conceal the shortage ever since.

Then scandal was added to scandal. Disclosure followed disclosure. Auditors established that \$300,000 in State Disability funds were mysteriously missing and that another \$100,000 may be gone. These amounts were deposited by Hoffman in his bank.

There is suspicion of forgery levelled against the ex-governor. There is also a charge of collusion with certain concerns in the allocation of state contracts. He is accused of favoritism as director of the Division of Employment Security, because allegedly he exacted penalties from certain employers but granted generous rebates to others.

He confessed having paid \$115,000 in blackmail to another top state official to keep his financial irregularities from being disclosed. His aides are accused of attempted intimidation. There are bribery counts, payroll irregularities, misuse of labor and material for private use, and so the charges roll on and on.

But ex-Governor Hoffman was not only a successful embezzler, extortioner and all-around crook. (After all, he died a respectable man.) He was a philosopher as well. His commentaries on capitalist politics and morality and gambling — set forth in essays left for his daughter — though cynical and even bitter are as noteworthy as any other aspects of the Hoffman case.

Here is his indictment of capitalist politics: "Never let any of your sons . . . enter politics. At best it is a lousy game. . . . To be elected you must accept favors. If you attempt to repay them after being elected . . . it becomes wrong doing. If you do not you become an ingrate."

"It's the old story!" he wrote in another essay. "The guy who has it can go to Wall Street and gamble a million dollars a day. Little Mrs. Murphy, who goes to the parish bingo party and spends 50 cents, is conspiring to break the law. Morality in its ultimate determination is a funny thing."

— Robert Kennedy

Churchill Seeks Deal with Kremlin

By Joseph Hansen

At what is claimed to be the largest press conference ever held in the United States, Sir Winston Churchill on June 28 told more than 1,000 reporters in Washington that in his opinion "peaceful co-existence" must be sought with the Soviet bloc.

On the very same day that the head of the British Empire called for a deal with the Kremlin, Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Mao government, issued a joint statement with Indian Prime Minister Nehru in New Delhi likewise calling for "peaceful co-existence" and "noninterference in each other's internal affairs."

At the same time in two areas of the world, the opposing blocs gave each other tokens of good will. In Indo-China, the French began withdrawing forces from areas conceded to the Vietnamese; and the Stalinist-dominated movement began withdrawing its forces from Laos and Cambodia in what appeared to be a deal partitioning Indo-China. In Guatemala, the Stalinists permitted the U.S. State Department to smash the Arbenz government without lifting a finger to organize a militant defense.

Churchill did not speak as an emissary of the Kremlin, which has sought a deal with the Western powers at the expense of the working class and the colonial movement since the end of World War II. To the big audience, he presented impressive credentials as the elder statesman of capitalist counter-revolution.

As head of the imperialist forces that invaded the Soviet Union after World War I, he regretted his failure to destroy the young workers' state that was so ably defended by the Red Army under Leon Trotsky. "If I had been properly supported in 1919, I think we might have strangled Bolshevism in its cradle."

He reminded his audience of his speech at Fulton, Mo., in 1946 laying down the war-mongering line that was followed by the cold war and the Truman Doctrine which have repeatedly brought the world to the verge of another global slaughter since then.

But now he insisted on a deal with the Kremlin. "I am of the opinion that we ought to have a try at peaceful co-existence, a real good try for it. . . ."

CHURCHILL'S REASONS

What led this generally belligerent Tory war dog to this seemingly complete change of mind about the advisability of launching war on the Soviet bloc? Churchill himself offered two reasons. (1) " . . . I would like to make sure, to save the consciences of the democracies of the world, that no step or stage has been neglected in endeavoring to test the reality and imminence of our danger." (2) " . . . I'm quite sure that nothing is more likely to bring about a modification of the rigorous Russian system of communism than contacts between the Russian people and the peoples of the Western world, and cultural contacts, and trade contacts, and the magnification of the exchange of goods and services. . . ."

These mean that Churchill proposes two objectives: (1) make a better record of peaceful intentions before world public opinion, which has been terrified at Truman's and Eisenhower's brandishing of the atom and hydrogen bombs, (2) perhaps undermine the collective ownership of property in the Soviet Union through a flood of cheap goods.

Churchill's insistence on a deal with the Kremlin represents a major turn since his Fulton speech. The real reasons for it were, with one exception, absent from his press interview.

The exception was the fear the British capitalists have of the consequences to Great Britain of a war waged with the H-Bomb. Churchill spoke the truth when he said that although such a war "would leave us victorious" it would be "victorious on a heap of ruins." The British ruling class would prefer to defer that kind of victory as long as possible.

Churchill's main reasons for his shift in position derive from the demonstrated difficulty even the incomparably powerful rulers of America have experienced in carrying out their projected conquest of the world.

TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES

The first great obstacle raised in their path was the "Get Us Home" movement of the GIs at the end of World War II. This meant that the armed forces had to be completely reconstructed.

The next great obstacle was the titanic upsurge of the colonial revolution, primarily in China, but also throughout that whole vast area reaching from the Philippines to the tip of South Africa. What happened in Korea and in Indo-China was a taste of the fearful difficulties that could be expected.

Finally on the home fronts, the mass unwillingness to join in any war ventures stayed the plans of the ruling classes. This new force in world politics exists today not only throughout Europe but right here in the United States. The latest demonstration of its effectiveness was its ability to prevent the Eisenhower administration from sending American troops into the jungles of Indo-China.

Churchill, embodying the British experience of centuries of imperialist rule, has drawn the obvious conclusion: It is necessary to at least take a breather. And that means, no matter what its specific form, some kind of deal with the Kremlin.

It means above all utilizing the Kremlin itself for a time in containing the revolutionary forces throughout the world that threaten to burst the seams of the capitalist system.

EISENHOWER'S DILEMMA

Is the Eisenhower administration willing to go along with this proposed course? If it does not, then it must face the alternatives of retirement into isolation, or plunging into war under the most unfavorable relation of forces.

There are many indications that Eisenhower is seriously considering the course proposed by Churchill. The visit by the Prime Minister is itself a token. Churchill, without any direct pressure from the China lobby and the McCarthyites is free to present the case for a deal far more effectively than anyone in Washington where all are gripped by the paralyzing fear of being accused of "appeasing communism."

A short-term easing of world tension through some kind of understanding with the Kremlin would not interfere in the long run with Eisenhower's war plans.

Both Japan and Germany, the key springboards for attack on the Soviet bloc, have to be prepared. And even a pact such as Churchill envisions would not stand in the way of arming those two countries to the teeth, as is plainly indicated by Churchill's agreement with Eisenhower to confer "sovereignty" on West Germany.

One way or another, a decision on what course Eisenhower intends to take should not be too long in becoming clearly manifest.

Guatemala's Ten-Year Struggle Against the United Fruit Company

By Carl Goodman

The aim of the Dulles-inspired rebellion in Guatemala is to wipe out the gains made by the workers and peasants during the last ten years. It is not liberation but re-enslavement that the United Fruit army has in mind. It wants to restore the unchallenged rule of feudal landlords and Yankee corporations that was seriously shaken in the revolution of 1944.

Ever since 1944, the workers and peasants have been pressing forward, winning improvements and reforms from the government that came to power after the overturn.

Guatemala is about the size of Tennessee. It has a population of some three million. The majority of the people are descendants of the great Mayan culture that flourished in the first one thousand years A. D.

The Spanish defeated the Mayans in 1524, grabbed the land and enslaved the Indians. A class of large landlords was created. "The Indians have been and to a certain extent still are considered chattel." (New York Times, June 7, 1951.)

In 1904 American capital received its first concessions. Dictator Estrada Cabrera called on International Railways of Central America, owned by the United Fruit Company, to complete the railroad from the coast port of Puerto Barrios to Guatemala City, already largely constructed by Guatemalan capital and labor.

In return IRCA was given the whole railroad, its equipment and telegraph lines plus the port itself, plus 50,000 acres of land and other lands around the port and the railway. ("The Truth about Guatemala," by Helen Simon Travis and A.B. Magill.) United Fruit Company was then granted more land in its own name, until it acquired upward of 600,000 acres in the country.

WALL STREET COLONY

Since that time the country has become in effect a colony of Wall Street. The three main enterprises in Guatemala are U.S. owned. They are, besides the United Fruit Company and the railroad, the Morzan-dominated Empresa Elctrica, the country's only large electric power producer. In 1953, 77% of Guatemala's exports went to the U.S. and 65% of the imports came from the U.S. (New York Times, June 27, 1954)

The United Fruit Company has a strangle-hold on the country, even though coffee has displaced bananas as the leading export (it accounts for 82% of the total) and is grown on Guatemalan-owned land. But the United Fruit Company owns not only the railroad but has monopoly of the docks and the ships that connect the country with the rest of the world.

In 1951, the United Fruit Company realized a profit after taxes amounting to one-third of its investments in the country. The company enjoys great political power. "You have not had here an ambassador of the United States," former President Juan Jose Aravalo told the journalist Guy Inman, "but ambassadors of the United Fruit Company."

LIVE IN MISERY

Guatemala has a mixture of feudal-type landholding, huge factory-farms and a small amount of modern industry, confined to transportation and utilities.

The mass of the working people live in misery. Three-quarters of the population live on the land but only 10% of these own their farms; two percent of the people own 70% of the land. One family alone owns 100,000 acres.

Almost half of the population are farm laborers. Many live on as little as 40 cents a day. The average weekly food consumption for a farm laborer is one pound of beans, one-fifth of a quart of milk and half an egg. The highest paid laborers in the country today are the employees of the United Fruit Company, who waged bitter strike struggles to win increases that have brought them up to \$2 a day. These are the conditions against which the workers and peasant rebelled.

COALITION GOVERNMENT

The government of Guatemala until 1944 was a dictatorship serving the large landlords and foreign investors. In that year the dictatorship of Jorge Ubico was overthrown by a popular revolution. A loose coalition arose. It consisted of workers, students, farm laborers, rank and file soldiers and a section of the capitalist class. The coalition established a democratic republic in which the real direction passed into the hands of the colonial capitalist class. Its aim was to keep the revolution within the bounds of certain reform measures. Essentially the capitalist class seeks to keep Guatemala

THE MILITANT ARMY

The Seattle contingent of the Militant Army held their first Anti-Fascist Militant Mobilization at the close of the recent Un-American Activities Committee hearings there. Literature Agent Helen Baker writes, "I am very happy to report that, if anything, the readers on our routes were more friendly than ever. Our sales were good. Ann and Leon were given a donation and had an interesting discussion with one reader. George and I found our customers all more friendly than usual. One man who had only taken the paper once before asked us to come in and discuss with him. As our bundle is increasing we are expanding our routes."

Detroit Literature Agent Janet MacGregor reports, "Johnny and Rudy, A. Winters, John A. and Bea went out and got two six-months subs and the promise of two more next week. I am also enclosing a one-year sub to Fourth International. Sarah and Bea covered the Ford meeting and sold 22 copies of the Militant. Kev covered his route and sold seven copies. A. Winters sold two copies of the Militant in call backs and got a promise of a sub next week."

Newark reports that Joe and Dorothy went out in a housing project and sold one six-months sub and 11 single copies last Sunday.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "Ray, Bill C., Helen, Bob, Norman, Emil, Harold, and Donald sold 65 copies of the last week's Militant. These are individual sales made primarily to neighborhood contacts. In addition, here are five subs turned in by Ray, Charles, Helen and Julia."

Literature Agent Gordon Bailey reports a good sale in San Francisco last Sunday. "We met with an excellent response from the people we called on. 33 papers were sold in an hour and we intend to establish a regular route that will lead to the sale of subs. This first mobilization has convinced all of us that the Militant can be sold easily. We were invited to come back regularly by a number of people. Certainly we intend to."

Literature Agent John Tabor reports, "Friday the New York comrades went in squads to Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx visiting subscribers on our renewal list and going door to door in special areas. We plan to continue the renewal work and also to try out some new neighborhoods. Pete and Janet have already begun this work. They went out Sunday to a low income housing project in lower Manhattan where they received a very encouraging response. They sold six single copies and have the promise of two subs to the Militant."

"Tom and Ann sold several single copies and a new one-year sub. Last Saturday we organized a special street meeting in the Puerto Rican community in Harlem. The response to the meeting indicates good prospects for work in this neighborhood. In spite of interference from a noisy street which made it difficult for the speakers to be heard, our speeches on Guatemala and police brutality were listened to attentively. Though the audience was quite small, almost everyone bought the paper. We sold 19 copies and several people stayed to discuss informally after the meeting."

The "imaginary death toll" resulting from the June 14 atom bomb defense rehearsal reached 13,000,000 by June 15 with additional "casualty" reports expected according to a statement by Val Peterson, Federal Civilian Defense Administrator.

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1.60 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name _____

Street _____ Zone _____

City _____ State _____

☐ \$1.60 Six months ☐ \$3.00 Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal

The Moral of It All

By Harry Ring

When the United Fruit Company's army of mercenaries opened their drive to smash the legally constituted government of Guatemala, the liberal New York Post quickly took its stand in support of that counter-revolutionary movement. It did so in a June 21 editorial which said the situation in Guatemala is "far more complicated than a military engagement."

The editorial listed some of the problems: "Certainly there had been some notable domestic reforms under Arbenz. Certainly too, the record of United Fruit had provided rich soap-box material for Guatemalan nationalists as well as Communists. . . . What men everywhere will ask is whether the 'Army of Liberation' flies the flag of freedom or the tarnished emblem of United Fruit. . . . We may have comprised certain cherished moral positions in undertaking this counter-intervention."

The editors explain that they were able to cut through these "complications" largely on the basis of the information and analysis provided by their star columnist Max Lerner who took a fast plane trip to Guatemala about a month before the outbreak of hostilities.

Lerner has won a reputation as a "down-to-earth liberal" who despite his earthiness remains an eloquent spokesman for "morality" in politics. A review of his writings since the outbreak of the Guatemalan events illuminates the degree of his liberalism, his earthiness and his "morality."

A MAN INSPIRED

The day after the rebellion was reported here, Lerner wrote with the enthusiasm and candor of a man inspired. "This is no weakling rebellion but a well planned and subsidized invasion."

Spelling out the nature of the "subsidized invasion," he declared: "Castillo Armas could not have gathered and equipped his army without big subsidies, perhaps from the United Fruit Company and the big coffee plantation owners. He could not have hoped for success in his open conspiracy without the active support of the U.S."

Perhaps over-enthusiasm for the "anti-Communist" reaction blinded Lerner to the reactionary nature of the Armas movement? Not one bit. "Nor do I think the new regime will be a liberal one," explains this earthy liberal. He admits that "the price in blood that will have to be paid to rid Guatemala of the Communist power will be tragically high."

In any event, "We are a powerful nation and we felt our stake in the little country of Guatemala was very high."

Next day Lerner's mood was even more bellicose. Contemptuously dismissing the pro-Guatemalan anti-U.S. demonstrations in Mexico City and other Latin American capitals, he declared, "Its fate (the Arbenz government's) will be decided in Guatemala, not in Mexico."

It seems that the developments had "a far reaching moral." The moral? Pointing to the apparent lack of strength of the Arbenz government, he exclaimed: "If ever there was a country where the set-up was favorable for communism, it was Guatemala, with its generations of military dictatorships, its rich lands and its transport owned by absentee foreign corporations, its lack of democratic traditions, its fiercely awakened nationalism, its land hungry peasants."

MORALS COME LATER

Nevertheless there isn't going to be any communism in Guatemala, for "the answer direct is given them in a form that hurts" by the good old U.S.A. During this dissertation our expert in morals announced, "I want to leave for another article the question of what kind of regime Castillo Armas will establish if this revolt succeeds, and of the whole moral problem involved in American support." (Don't dash out for your copy of the issue containing that article. As of eight days later it hasn't yet appeared.)

Two days later, the United Fruit Army didn't appear to be doing too well in the field and a corresponding waning of enthusiasm for the cause is noted in Lerner's column. "In terms of wise policy, I think the Eisenhower Administration has blundered again. It should have used the slow clock of diplomacy and economic measures, rather than the fast clock of the Castillo Armas attack. . . . There is not a country in Latin-America where the Communists and other American-haters are not making political capital by our mistakes." (No further mention of the fact that the issue would be "decided in Guatemala, not Mexico.")

CODFISH AND COATS

However, there's still a moral to it all for the Eisenhower administration. The moral? The story of "the Connecticut storekeeper who spied a customer with a stolen codfish under his coat and told him that he should either have worn a longer coat or taken a shorter fish."

Two more days went by without news of "revolutionary" victories and Lerner's doubts turned to the righteous indignation of a moralist betrayed. "It looks finally as if the revolution of Castillo Armas in Guatemala has laid an egg. . . . How did the United States get caught giving its sympathetic support to so bedraggled a revolution? . . . How did the revolution fizzle out so badly?"

Pointing his finger at Armas, our political sage and liberal moralist observes, "The trouble with analyzing political events on the assumption that the leaders are not stupid is that they often fool you and turn out to be exactly that." Today's moral for the State Department? "When you strike at a King, be sure to kill him."

HERO RECOVERS

However by June 29 with the sordid betrayal by the heads of the Guatemalan army the fortunes of war turned once again and our hero at once regained his self-confidence and militancy. "The Arbenz regime, deeply soaked in communism, has been forced out, and Arbenz himself has fled the country. That much is all to the good."

A few problems still remain to be cleaned up before Lerner will feel free to put the cover on his typewriter and relax, his conscience at rest. General Diaz, who briefly replaced Arbenz, "has outlived the Communist party. . . . But the real test will be what he does about the Communists (some of them professing to be non-Communist parties) who dominate the peasant and labor movement." (Incidentally, I forgot to mention that Lerner considers himself an outstanding anti-McCarthyite. That of course is not for export.)

TROTSKY ON MORALS

After going through the battle of Guatemala with Max Lerner, I turned once again to Leon Trotsky's pamphlet, "Their Morals and Ours," for a breath of fresh air. One paragraph applies so perfectly to Lerner that it seems to have been written with him in mind: "Such a regime (capitalist) could not have endured for even a week through force alone. It needs the cement of morality. The production of this cement constitutes the profession of the petty bourgeois theoreticians and moralists. They radiate all the colors of the rainbow but in the final analysis remain apostles of slavery and submission."

I submit that Max Lerner has ably demonstrated his right to leadership in that profession.

... World Protest

(Continued from page 1)

"aggression." The government announced that Chile would defend international treaties protecting Guatemalan independence.

Uruguay students and workers demonstrated in the streets against Yankee imperialism as their Chamber of Deputies voted to condemn the invasion.

Mexico announced that it would control all Guatemalans interned there in line with its official policy of neutrality. Nevertheless some defense materials were permitted through the border to Guatemala City. In Mexico the memory of U.S. interference at the time of the oil nationalization arouses special sympathy for the Guatemalans. Ex-President Cardenas, speaking out for Guatemala, received the backing of many prominent Mexican leaders.

Public opinion in Europe, likewise, was generally in favor of Guatemala. The arrogant demand of the State Department that the U.S. Navy be permitted to search all ships bound for the Caribbean was rejected by all maritime powers as being completely without precedent during peacetime.

A Dutch ship that was stopped and searched without permission was found to have no arms. Holland protested vigorously to the State Department.

The British government rejected the demand of the State Department and virtually all newspapers in Britain joined in common indignation at the State Department. The Manchester Guardian advised Whitehall to tell Secretary of State Dulles "that neither the Atlantic nor the Caribbean (can be allowed) to become his private preserve."

The Paris Le Monde, a leading French journal ran a series from its correspondent in Guatemala. In his very first article, shortly before the beginning of the invasion, he said: "The first American warnings against the Communist danger took place at the same time as the first expropriations of land belonging to the United Fruit Company. That does not mean that there are no Communists in Guatemala; but in the interest of truth this coincidence of American disquiet with the beginning of a Guatemalan nationalist movement working for economic independence should be noted."

The German press took a dim view of U.S. claims that the events in Guatemala were purely an internal affair. Both the independent Frankfurter Rundschau and the right wing Allgemeine Zeitung ran editorials a day after Guatemala's appeal to the United Nations critical of the United States official story.

NEW BOUND VOLUMES

Now Available

The Militant, 1953 \$5.50
Fourth Int'l, 1952-53 \$6.50

Order from
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

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

THE MILITANT

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

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
 "Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVIII - No. 27

Monday, July 5, 1954

Can We Keep This Planet Intact?

If this planet is destroyed by an atomic chain reaction set off by those who rule America, would it make any difference?

That is not a question reported in a clinical study of a patient strapped in a straitjacket. It was suggested by that staunch champion of human values, the Boston Globe, in an editorial column June 26. Here is the exact quotation:

"Suppose we did blow this planet to atoms? There are others. Besides, the collective borse-sense of humanity may prove equal to keeping this planet intact. It is at least worth trying."

It may, in the weighty opinion of the Boston Globe, be "worth trying." But the editorial itself inspires no confidence in the seriousness of this capitalist paper's effort at keeping our planet from atomic annihilation, for it is a panegyric to the excitement of gambling with universal suicide: "Everything is being decided anew. We may be headed for self-extermination or for the surpassing of ourselves."

Some people, the Globe says, may look back longingly to the "comfortable time" before World War I when "people felt fairly sure of living out their normal life-spans, and dying decorously in their own beds."

The Globe, however, thinks that time was "too tame." It feels it was "stuffy, self-satisfied, self-righteous, cock sure, censorious, lacked imagination, thought the future was all sewn up in a sack. The air was heavy, dead."

In contrast to security, the Globe prefers these times of horror. "A generation denied its vitamins of grim experience can turn namby-pamby. . . . Rather than a namby-pamby generation, the Globe likes "our generation, with all its forebodings, all its perplexities, all its follies, and all its crimes. . . ."

The reason? This generation "is more intensely alive than any that has lived for centuries." Thus in the name of the human value of being "intensely alive," the Globe accepts

the perspective of possibly destroying mankind and even the planet itself.

Isn't that the rationalization of a mentally sick person contemplating suicide? He leaves a note explaining that to be "intensely alive" he blew his brains out.

The psychiatrists tell us that such "explanations" have nothing to do with the real reasons for the suicidal act. The deranged mind may not even be aware of the real reasons. And this appears to be the case with the editor of the Boston Globe.

What he is really expressing is the decay of the capitalist system. This system can no longer offer security. It can offer only depressions, fascism, and global wars of fearfully increasing destructiveness. It thus holds out for the future of humanity only misery, agony and mass slaughter; in brief, the perspective of — suicide.

The capitalist-minded editor of the Boston Globe, incapable of visualizing or accepting a different kind of society, tries to find something of value in wiping out the two billion inhabitants of our globe. All he succeeds in doing, however, is to display the insanity of continuing capitalism.

Isn't it high time that the American people put the capitalist system in the scales and weighed it against the rational alternative of socialism? On the basis of our modern technology, it is possible right now to inaugurate a scientifically planned economy that would at once mean the end of capitalist anarchy. By the same token it would draw the curtain once and for all on the future of suicide that capitalism offers.

Socialism would mean enduring peace and well being, abundance for all from cradle to grave, and along with that the era of universal harmony and peace that every person in his right mind knows humanity can achieve.

To fight for that goal is the only way to really live intensely in the era of the death agony of capitalism. And it is also the only "collective horse-sense" that can prove equal to keeping this planet intact.

"Subversive" Carpenter of Nazareth?

Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam scored a telling point June 25 when he declared that "self-appointed patriots" and "ignoramus on investigating committees" soon may be suggesting Jesus Christ "was subversive."

Referring to Rep. Jackson (R., Cal.) the bishop added: "Such a man will soon be telling us that Moses must have read Marx. Didn't Moses stand before a king and say, 'let my people go.'"

"Surely Amos must have read the Communist Manifesto. Did he not declare, 'ye have sold the needy for a pair of shoes.'"

Oxnam said that the mentality of the witch hunters is akin to "the Nazi gauleiter and Russian commissar."

America needs more men like Oxnam willing to stand up and boldly defend freedom of thought.

A Lesson About Timid Men

The reaction of labor officialdom to the Army-McCarthy hearings is now beginning to appear in the union press. The dominant note struck so far is fat-headed complacency. They actually believe that McCarthy's course in the hearings was self-destructive and that this somehow relieves them of the obligation of offering militant leadership in the struggle against the fascist danger.

A typical example is an article on the editorial page of the July 1 Advance, newspaper of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The title is misleading, "McCarthy: A Warning to Timid Men." From that you might think that the timid officials of the ACWA had drawn the correct conclusions from the warning signs of the hearings. But that, unfortunately, is far from the case.

It is true that the Advance makes some accurate observations. For instance, that McCarthy is "a man who under the guise of fighting communism has become the major domestic threat to America's peace and freedom."

The Advance also notes that the Wisconsin Senator put on a public demonstration of his sinister methods, although it over-estimates the harm this did to the fascist cause: "McCarthy's insistence that government workers set themselves up as a Fifth Column and violate basic statutes. . . by transmitting secret documents to him and to members of his staff; his use of a stolen letter from the FBI security files; his ugly attack on the young lawyer working in Welch's law firm. . . the threatened blackmail of anyone who disagrees with him,

extending even to Democratic members of the Committee. . . ."

And the Advance goes so far as to indicate that McCarthy was on his "best behavior" and that he goes much farther in ordinary hearings conducted by his inquisition.

The Advance is even convinced that it is "folly" to surrender to McCarthy and that he will not be beaten by his "appeasers."

Then, precisely when you would expect the Advance to call for war on McCarthyism, and to outline a militant program of action, the editors end up in the camp of the appeasers.

The Advance calls for no more action than removing McCarthy as a committee chairman. It asks no more of "the American people" than to back up such Democrats and Republicans as Senators Lehman, Flanders and Margaret Chase Smith who have decried McCarthy's methods while agreeing with his witch-hunting objectives and even praising him for the "good work" he has done.

The heads of the ACWA have a special responsibility in the struggle against McCarthyism. First, they are entrusted with the welfare of a union that is part and parcel of McCarthy's main target — the American labor movement. Second, they have the power to set in motion the only force that can meet the threat of McCarthyite fascism head on and crush it the political force of organized labor.

To carry out this responsibility requires nothing super-human. All that is needed is to take the road of independent political action and carry through to the end.

That, however, demands a decisive political break with both Republicans and Democrats. Up to now the timid men who head the ACWA have proved incapable of such boldness.

This does not mean that the struggle against the American form of fascism is hopeless. As the Advance says, without thinking the thought through, "McCarthy and the disease that is named after him will be beaten, but not by his appeasers."

A new force will surely arise in the American labor movement capable of preventing fascism from taking power. To accomplish that historic task, it will brush aside all McCarthy's appeasers, including the present timid men at the head of the ACWA.

By Daniel Roberts

The Stalinists led the mass movement in Guatemala. They headed the unions and the peasant organizations. This is a fact which must not be hidden from view. That did not justify the attack on the country by the agents of Wall Street. But it does raise the question: How did the Stalinists acquit themselves in the struggle against the United Fruit Company rebellion? What kind of leadership did they give the masses in the fight against semi-colonial bondage?

The record shows that the Stalinists bear the responsibility for defeat in Guatemala. Stalinism has again betrayed a revolutionary struggle. It has again made possible a victory for imperialism. Militant workers and peasants will suffer death, torture and imprisonment at the hands of the Armas regime because of the treacherous leadership provided by the Kremlin's agents.

In what did the betrayal consist? In this: that the Stalinists tied the workers and peasants to the capitalist government of President Arbenz instead of organizing them to struggle independently. The Stalinists told the masses to trust this government and its cowardly chieftain. The imperialist charge that Arbenz was a captive of the "Communists" stands everything on its head. It was the Stalinists that held the masses captive to Arbenz. Hence the defeat.

KNOW IT WAS COMING

The rebellion of Colonel Armas, backed by the United Fruit Company was organized at least six months ago. The Stalinists knew it was coming, according to their own reports. Why didn't they demand that the Arbenz regime arm the workers and peasants so as to prepare for all-out struggle? Instead they left everything to Arbenz, who left everything to the Army.

The Army heads ousted Arbenz and surrendered the government to the agents of American imperialism. Reaction triumphed without even a struggle, in a situation the workers could have coped with had they been prepared in time.

The Stalinist treachery in Guatemala is nothing new. It was in accordance with the Stalinist program for all colonial countries. This program has produced nothing but defeats.

The program goes by stages. At stage one, the workers and peasants support the capitalist class in creating a democratic republic on capitalist lines. Con-

trol is handed to the capitalists. They are supposed to grant concessions to the workers, defeat the feudal landlords, give the peasants land and industrialize the country, transforming it into a modern, independent nation. Then at stage two, in the indefinite future, the workers are supposed to go forward to socialism.

NEVER REACH STAGE TWO
 Such is the Stalinist pattern. Only stage two is never reached if the masses are bound to the schema. Reaction triumphs instead. The imperialists and the feudal elements regain complete control. The workers and peasants movement is defeated and the country is hurled back into bondage.

Why is this? Because the capitalists in the colonial countries are utterly incapable of carrying through the tasks set for them by the Stalinists. They may ally themselves at the beginning of the struggle with the workers and peasants against imperialism and the feudal landlords. The capitalists spokesmen then talk about national independence. But the class does not have the strength to buck the great economic power of imperialism and bring a modern industrial nation into being. The colonial capitalists therefore restrict their aims to modest changes within the imperialist structure.

When President Arbenz said in his inaugural address in March, 1951 that "Our government proposes . . . to transform the country from a dependent nation with a semi-colonial economy into an economically independent country . . . (and) from a backward semi-feudal economy into a modern capitalist country," he was just bragging. The Stalinists misled the workers there and then when they passed on this empty boast as good coin.

All that the Guatemalan capitalist class could achieve was more elbow room, a greater home market for themselves, a lessening of the stranglehold of foreign capital.

For the real industrial development of the country to take place what is required is (1) expropriation of all foreign capital (not just certain idle land, as the Arbenz regime has done); (2) establishment of a planned economy; (3) nationalization of all the land, its distribution to the peasants, and the beginning of collective agriculture; (4) the spread of the revolution to the rest of Latin America in order through a Socialist Federation of Latin America to establish a

big enough arena for the development of the productive forces.

NEED WORKERS GOVT.

Capitalism can't bring this about. Another class, other methods of rule, other property forms than those that go with profit-making are required to achieve industrialization. The democratic rule of the working class, supported by the peasantry, is needed.

Under capitalist leadership, the colonial revolution runs into a blind alley. The workers must take over if the country is to pull out of economic backwardness and colonial enslavement. Thus the anti-imperialist revolution is continuous; not broken up in stages. It is permanent, as Leon Trotsky taught, setting forth the lessons of the successful Russian Revolution of 1917.

From the first days of the revolution in Guatemala, when the workers, middle-class sections and capitalists united to overthrow the dictatorship of Jorge Ubico, the working class confronted the capitalists as a potential rival for power. This feature, too, is in accord with the law of development of revolution in backward countries.

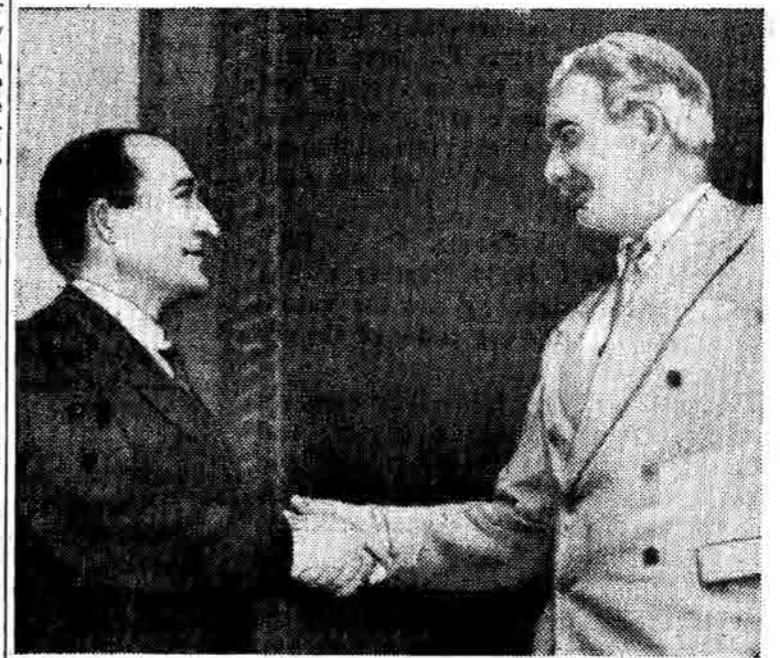
The all-important role that the workers play in the struggle, their own wage demands, their demands in behalf of the peasants, their socialist ideology — all these present a new challenge to the capitalist class. The alliance is unstable from the very beginning and readily breaks apart.

CRUCIAL MOMENT

Then comes the crucial moment, for which it is the duty of the working class leadership to prepare. The capitalist class abandons the anti-imperialist struggle. Faced with an attack to restore naked imperialist rule, the capitalists must choose: either arm the workers and peasants, defeat the imperialists, but risk making the workers masters in the country. Or surrender to the imperialists. Time after time, in the history of the colonial struggle, the capitalists have capitulated to imperialism rather than let the workers get the upper hand.

But this isn't fatal to the revolution, if the working class is prepared by its program, its record of struggle and its leadership to take the helm. But where the program of the leadership disorients the workers, as it did in Guatemala, the desertion of the capitalists is the prelude to a brutal crushing of the working class. That is what the Stalinists brought about in Guatemala.

Seek Favorable Agreement



British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden shakes hands with new French Premier Pierre Mendes-France. Both Eden and Mendes-France conferred at Geneva with Chou En-Lai, Chinese Premier, to negotiate the most favorable settlement possible for colonial imperialism in Indo-China.

World Events

By Fred Hart

A SHOW TRIAL along typical Stalinist frame-up lines has been planned for East Germany according to the June 15 Christian Science Monitor. The purpose of the trial is to smear last year's East German workers revolt of June 17 and make it appear as a putsch instigated by organizations in West Germany directed by American secret-service agents. The uprising involved 2,000,000 workers and aimed at improved working and living conditions. The revolutionaries also demanded a united Germany under working-class rule and the end of Soviet domination. Their rising was an independent action against the Stalinist dictatorship and had no ties to the West German government or American imperialism. It was anti-capitalist as well as anti-Stalinist in its aims.

THE STALINIST PARTY IN EAST GERMANY has been completely purged since last year, the Monitor continues. "That party is now made up largely — as far as its controlling elements, even at low levels, are concerned — of functionaries, state employees, etc. In other words, of people who are directly dependent upon the Communist regime for their economic livelihood. And they are not likely to be anything but submissive."

A FARM STRIKE involving 100,000 workers in the Ferrara province of Italy was in full force last week. The strikers are demanding sweeping wage increases and improved working conditions. A June 23 AP dispatch reports that "To angry complaints of farm owners . . . urging that workers at least take care of hungry, thirsty cattle and cows which must be milked, the workers replied bitterly: 'You can hear the painful lowing of cattle, can you not also hear the whimpering of hungry children?'" The present monthly pay of farm workers amounts to \$30. Time workers get the equivalent of 20 cents an hour.

A GENERAL STRIKE has been threatened by eight labor federations in Brazil. The Supreme Court, acting on behalf of the employers voided a bill to double the minimum wage. This bill, approved by President Vargas, would set minimum pay at \$45 a month. The labor federations insist that the increase is necessary to meet the "unbridled and abusive rise in the cost of living." They have urged all labor organizations in the state of Sao Paulo to convoke general assemblies to remain in permanent session until the issue is settled.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS in South Africa is mobilizing 50,000 volunteers for a new campaign against Prime Minister Malan's segregation policy. The campaign will be directed against the government's plan to move 58,000 Negroes from western Johannesburg to a new location further out of the city. The African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and other non-white organizations are also making plans for holding a congress of the people to draw up a freedom charter. Meanwhile the Cape Province section of the African National Congress decided to boycott the November election of three white candidates to "represent" Negroes in parliament.

THE NEW CHINESE GOVERNMENT is winning the status of a world power in international affairs despite all moves by the Eisenhower administration to block it. The American policy at Geneva was to treat the Chinese government as a party that had been invited by one of the "Big Four." Dulles maintained a complete boycott of the Chinese representatives. But, says the June 23 Christian Science Monitor, "The American boycott of the Chinese, instead of isolating the Chinese at the conference, ended in isolation of the Americans."

IN SUMATRA the government of Ali Sastroamidjodjo has served an ultimatum on the Stalinists to withdraw "squatters" off the foreign estate land in East Sumatra. The Stalinists accepted the ultimatum on April 21 to avoid a break with the government which they support in parliament. The "squatters" are landless peasants who took over idle land held by big foreign tobacco corporations.

LA VERITE, newspaper of the French Trotskyists, reports a May 25 meeting in Paris sponsored by the Permanent Committee for a National Congress of United Labor Action to further the cause of working-class unity. Union leaders from key industrial areas of the country and belonging to the different labor federations spoke. In addition, Frischmann, a member of the Executive Board of the CGT (Stalinist led General Confederation of Labor, France's largest union organization) participated.

Lambert presented the position of the Committee. He held that the most important lesson of the great strike movement of last August is the need for a united "general staff of the working class." Such a general staff must include all federations and be prepared to lead the struggle to final victory over the employing class. He insisted that united action committees be set up on the principle of parity; that is, equal representation from each federation. Frischmann stated that the CGT favors unity but he evaded a stand on the parity principle. In rebuttal, Lambert showed that only through parity can the participation of all federations — a vital condition for victory — be guaranteed.

INTER-RACIAL RESORT

For Adults and Children

70 Miles from New York

Acommodations in private cabins or modern lodge. Swimming in our private pond. All summer activities. Delicious food.

Special Rates for Groups

Send for Free Circular

Mountain Spring Camp

RD No. 1

Washington, N. J.

Telephone: Washington 1352

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists — from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" — are answered in this classic work.

64 pages 25 cents

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

A thorough scientific analysis of the social bases of fascism — fascist strategy on the march to power — and fascism in power.

Long out-of-print — but a very few copies still available at \$4 per copy

PIONEER PUBLISHERS.

116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

The Defeat of John O. Holly

There's an interesting story and a very important lesson in the recent defeat of John O. Holly in the Democratic primary race for Congress from Cleveland's 21st District.

John Holly is the founder and president of the Future Outlook League. For more than a decade this organization was the example and pace-setter in the struggle of Negro workers from New York to San Diego to break through the Jim Crow hiring policies of American business and industry.

The Future Outlook League, like the CIO, was depression-born. Holly, together with a few others in the community, saw the possibilities of mobilizing the one power of the oppressed — numbers.

Utilizing the militant methods of mass organization, boycott, picketing, protest, and advertising his aims, he first led campaigns to compel businessmen who depended entirely on the patronage of the Negro ghetto-dwellers to hire colored clerks.

All the methods used to break strikes were employed against the young militants of the FOL. Injunctions, police violence, arrests, condemnation by the "respectable" Uncle Toms of the Negro community itself.

But despite these difficulties, the movement grew. The community-rank and file flocked to support the FOL, and the weak and wavering "leaders" of the community were forced to join in the struggles or lose their following. Businesses, utilities, and industrial plants were compelled to accede to the demands of the aroused Negro community.

Colored workers and leaders from communities all over America followed the activities of the FOL. Some came to "the best location in

the nation" to learn how the organization was set up and the methods it used. "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" picket signs appeared in the ghettos of every major industrial center in the north, and many of the smaller towns as well.

As Holly's influence grew, the Democratic politicians began to embrace him. Eventually he became the state's outstanding Negro Democrat. Finally, in the 1954 primary, expressing the strong desire of the community for representation and its recognition of the limitations of struggles for economic gains alone, he attempted to run for Congress.

But he had forgotten the lessons of the struggles he led 20 years ago. He depended on the promises of Democratic Party leaders instead of on the independent strength of the Negro community. He begged his campaign workers and labor groups that offered support not to appeal to the voters in the white suburbs. "They will be taken care of; I have been promised," he said.

The result: John Holly received only the support he had in the Negro community despite the Democratic Party. He got none of the support he could have won by an appeal to labor in the white communities. And he lost the race.

The lesson in politics that many Negro communities are learning the hard way: Militant, independent, — working class action is the only means of winning political, as well as economic gains for the colored masses. Playing capitalist-politics — Democratic or Republican — is as bankrupt a method for winning equal rights as meekly and respectfully waiting for favors from the white boss in winning equal job opportunities.

Is Pope "Subversive"?

By Dorothy Johnson

Should the Catholic Church be put on the "subversive" list? Strange as it may seem this question was implied at a hearing June 9 of the Special House Committee to Investigate Tax Free Foundations.

Thomas M. McNiece, associate research director of the committee, was asked as a witness to identify several quotations. He did. He said they sounded like "subversive" literature.

The quotations were from three papal encyclicals, one of them written over 50 years ago by Pope Leo XIII.

McNiece considered them "subversive" because they seemed critical of present society. And as any witch hunter knows, if you don't think like McCarthy you must be subversive.

Here is one of the excerpts from Pope Leo XIII: "But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment (1891) on the large majority of the very poor.

"The ancient workmen's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been given over, isolated and defenseless to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition.

"And to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a

few individuals, so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

Do you think some remedy should be found for the misery of the poor? Then watch out. You might get fired from your job. Do you think that there has been a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few? This happens to be a fact. But facts are "subversive."

Another of the excerpts was written by Pope Pius in 1931. It said in part, "Every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately, ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult working man such a wage."

This statement, which any union would endorse, made the man who said it a "subversive" in witch-hunter McNiece's opinion. Could there be any clearer indication that McCarthyism in the final analysis is directed against unionism?

There is little likelihood, however, that McNiece, on the basis of these quotations, will try to get Brownell to put the Catholic Church on his subversive list. And the Pope is pretty safe from being fired for "subversive" views.

But people are jailed, hounded and persecuted for ideas such as those voiced above that do not conform to the views of the party in office. Today officials like McNiece can be put in an embarrassing light. Tomorrow their word could be law.

Notes from the News

LUCKY CLASS OF '54. Sylvia Porter will have no unemployment in her family this summer. In the N. Y. Post of June 28 the columnist says that "the youngster came home from college, made one telephone call, talked a few minutes, turned around and said, 'I have the job. Start tomorrow digging septic tanks. \$14 a day. Wow, I'll work six days and make \$84 a week.'" If it takes you a few days to find a job, don't let it get you down. Miss Porter says that while "Employers aren't hiring with the panic haste of a few years ago . . . they are absorbing our crop of 1954 graduates with impressive speed — and paying them peak starting salaries." If you are one of the five to six million unemployed, you can blame it on the fact that your mother didn't bring you up the way Sylvia Porter brought up her son.

FARMERS GET LESS — CONSUMERS PAY MORE. Farmers are now getting about 17% less for their products than they did during the Korean war, but consumers are paying more. Figures given by Labor's Daily of June 18 show that in 1945 farmers got 54 cents out of every dollar the consumer spent. Today farmers get only 44 cents.

NOT EVEN A SERVANT OF GOD can cross the color line in Macon, Ga., without repenting "in the county jail for about an hour." Clifford York, 21-year-old ministerial student, was arrested together with his guest, Richard Scott, a Negro medical college graduate, because they were violating "segregation laws." The City Court solicitor admitted, according to a June 24 UP dispatch, that he knew of no state law prohibiting a white person from entertaining a Negro in his home.

BY COURT ORDER, the Detroit Housing Commission's present practice of assigning only white families to homes in city housing projects is banned. Chief Federal Judge Arthur F. Lederle is quoted in the June 23 Detroit Free Press as

saying: "This final order will be enforced. I hope I am right and I hope no difficulties will arise." James H. Quello, president of the Detroit Housing Commission, indicated that the "final order" might not be enforced. He is going to call a special meeting of the Commission to "study" the judge's decision, because it "certainly will require judicious handling to put it into effect harmoniously. It opens all housing projects to biracial occupancy and we certainly want to discuss it thoroughly."

MUSIC TEACHER SUSPENDED IN JIG TIME. Harold Rosen, father of three children and a teacher in one of Detroit's public schools for 17 years, found it necessary to file suit "to enjoin the Detroit Board of Education from dismissing him" because he stood on his legal rights in refusing to testify before the House Un-American Activities Subcommittee. Rosen was called before the House investigators on May 3, according to the Detroit Free Press of May 24. Two days later he was called before Arthur Dondineau, superintendent of schools, at which time a hearing was held. Rosen wasn't fired forthwith; he was just "suspended without pay, pending final disposition of his case."

169-YEAR RECORD BROKEN in May when the purchasing value of the dollar fell to 54.1 cents — its lowest point since 1785, four years before George Washington was elected president. The cost of living, as announced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, rose three-tenths of 1% last month, due mainly to a hike in the price of fresh fruits and vegetables, meats and coffee.

NEW EVIDENCE of how unemployment is undermining living standards of the American people was revealed in a report that insurance policies are being cashed in this year at a higher rate than last year. In the first four months of 1954, according to Labor's Daily of June 18, a total of \$279.9 million in life insurance was cashed in, or 24% more than in 1953.

VOLUME XVIII

MONDAY, JULY 5, 1954

NUMBER 27

THE MILITANT

Bare Whitewash of NY Cops



Report Held up One Year On Collusion of FBI-Police In Complaints about Brutality

By Bruce Jaffe

NEW YORK, June 25 — Exposure of an attempted whitewash in a report on a secret agreement between the FBI and New York police on police brutality cases was made yesterday by representative Sidney A. Fine (D., N. Y.). The report, drawn up by the House Judiciary Subcommittee, has been kept under wraps for a year. It was supposed to reveal the truth about a deal with the FBI to pay no attention to complaints of police brutality in New York.

Today's N. Y. Times, however, reports that Rep. Fine denounced the unpublished report for failing to "summarize the evidence" and for failing to re-write the report "in accord with the facts."

The scandalous secret agreement came to light a year and a half ago during a federal grand jury investigation of the case of 32-year-old Negro truckdriver, Jacob Jackson, who was picked up by police in front of his residence and so cruelly beaten that he had to undergo two brain operations.

On Feb. 19, 1953, a memorandum from the Justice Dept. files was submitted to the House Judiciary subcommittee clearly establishing the existence of the secret agreement. The memorandum was written by FBI man James M. McInerney to the Chief of the Civil Rights division on July 30, 1952, just 19 days after McInerney made the agreement with the N. Y. Police Dept.

In the memorandum McInerney says that it is "requested" that the Chief of the Civil Rights division let him know "before any investigation is authorized" of "alleged violations of civil rights" in "large metropolitan areas."

DAMAGING ADMISSION
Representative Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem told the House subcommittee that this memorandum confirmed the existence of an agreement to "circumvent the law" and was designed to "prevent the FBI from interfering in any civil rights cases in New York." McInerney, after denying making such an agreement finally admitted that he had consented to an "experiment" along these lines.

George P. Monaghan, N. Y. police Commissioner at the time and now State Harness-Racing Commissioner also denied making a secret deal with the Justice Dept., but was forced under oath to admit that he "may have" told FBI agents that the Federal Civil Rights Law was intended only "for south of the Mason-Dixon line."

Finally, Leland V. Boardman, FBI agent-in-charge in N. Y. swore under oath that Monaghan denied him permission to question cops charged with brutality because "we made an agreement with the Department of Justice."

RECORD OF BRUTALITY
But the greatest proof of collusion between the FBI and New York's police brass lies in the outrageous record of police killings and savage assaults on innocent workers and poor people, particularly Negroes and Puerto Ricans that have gone unpunished.

No less than ten people have been murdered by N. Y. police thugs in the past four years. The Legal Aid Society reported that of 8,300 defendants it represented in Felony court in a single year, over 2,700 showed signs of injuries ranging from scratches to broken jaws.

Bruce Smith, Acting Director

GEORGE P. MONAGHAN, former N. Y. Police Commissioner and now State Harness-Racing Commissioner, shown when he denied making secret deal to keep FBI from investigating police brutality cases in New York. Evidence punctured his denial.

Postpone Baltimore Grand Jury Probe of Killer Cop "Indefinitely"

BALTIMORE, June 18 — The grand jury investigation of the fatal slaying of James D. Broadus, Jr., by Police Sgt. Louis M. Rehak has been postponed indefinitely. With this action every trigger-happy killer cop on the force can breathe easier. Baltimore justice has once again given a striking demonstration of its capacity to take care of its own.

Rehak killed the 23-year-old Korean war veteran and steel worker during a manhunt last May 18. Rehak was one of 200 cops combing a Negro district for a suspect alleged to have wounded a policeman with the policeman's own gun after being arrested on a larceny warrant.

So far as is known, young Broadus did not even know a manhunt was underway in the neighborhood. He had taken some magazines out to read in the back yard of the family home. Lying on a glider, he pulled a tarpaulin over himself and fell asleep.

POLICE VERSION

The police stories vary as to what happened after that:

Story No. 1 — "Sergeant Rehak and Patrolman Hirsch were coming from the back, Inspector Forrest reported, when they passed a tarpaulin in a back yard. Suddenly, they reported, a man leaped out from hiding under the covering and attacked them with the chisel. There was no provocation for the attack, police reported. . . Sergeant Rehak fired several shots from close range, striking the man in the abdomen." (Baltimore Sun, May 18.)

Story No. 2 — "The two officers believed they had found the man who wounded the detective. When Broadus saw the officers he crawled out from under the tarpaulin and charged at them, swinging at their heads with a chisel. Sergeant Rehak, hit by Broadus on the shoulder and hand, pulled free and fired at the Negro. . . Patrolman Hirsch was hit across the nose during the struggle. Both he and Sergeant Rehak were treated for their injuries at Mercy Hospital."

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Unfortunately for the two policemen, various eyewitnesses saw it differently.

Mr. and Mrs. Leonard MacDonald were on their back porch. They could see Broadus across the fence, peacefully sleeping, his head toward the alley.

Rehak came past, noticed the sleeping youth and shouted to another cop: "Here he is." "Then, they said, the officer lifted up the edge of the tarpaulin with one hand and, with the other hand, fired his gun four or five times in rapid succession at the man in the glider. . .

"Broadus rolled off the glider onto the ground. . . They claimed he was hit on the head several times with the butt of a pistol as he fell."

The cop then apparently decided the time had come to ask the suspect a question or two. "What are you doing here?"

The fatally wounded youth replied, "I'm in my mother's yard."

Another witness, Mrs. Theresa Timmons, heard the shots and rushed to her rear window. She said she saw Broadus on the ground beside the glider and heard him say: "Why did you shoot me? I didn't do anything." Then, according to Mrs. Timmons, an officer answered, "Shut up."

SHOT THROUGH TARPULIN
Broadus's father claimed there were bullet holes in the tarpaulin, indicating his son was under it when shot and that the powder burns around the holes showed that the gun was held close.

Mrs. Gladys Smith confirmed the existence of the bullet holes in the tarpaulin. She also reported that after the shooting, the police ordered everyone back in their homes.

When she went in, she locked the back door. She had barely reached the front room when she heard ripping and tearing. She ran back to the kitchen and found that a cop had ripped the back door off the hinges.

She shouted, "What are you doing?" The officer replied, "None of your business."

SHOT IN THE BACK

Dr. Russell S. Fisher, chief medical examiner of Maryland, reported May 21 that Broadus's death had been caused by four bullet wounds all of them in the back. Three of them were just left of the spine, a few inches below the left shoulder blade. The fourth wound was a little lower than the others. The bullets all ranged downward, causing multiple perforation of the intestines. He noted that Broadus also had suffered three severe lacerations of the scalp.

NEW POLICE VERSION

On June 15, Rehak was held for the grand jury. He told Chief Magistrate William F. Laukaitis in Central Police Court, "I believed him to be armed, and I believed he was the man we were looking for."

As reported by the Baltimore Sun, Rehak gave the court the following version of the killing: "He said he reached over the fence and lifted the tarpaulin. 'I saw a colored man and he looked right at me.' The sergeant said he dropped the tarpaulin and vaulted the fence, pulling his gun. He said he shouted: 'Come out with your hands up.' 'He said the figure under the tarpaulin in the glider sprang to his feet and hit him on the left hand with something that looked like the barrel of a gun. It turned out, later, to be a chisel, he testified."

"He said he thought he saw a nickel-plated revolver in the other hand. A nickel-plated cap pistol is one of the defense items of evidence."

"He said that he was hit in the left shoulder during the struggle and it was not until then he fired. He said he emptied his six-shot revolver. 'We were in close and I didn't know if I'd hit him or not,'

"He said after he fired Broadus fell to the ground but half raised when Patrolman Hirsch came charging into the yard and hit Hirsch between the eyes with the chisel."

Patrolman Hirsch backed up the statements of Rehak. After hearing Rehak shout on finding Broadus, Hirsch "said he had two fences to vault and was going over them when he heard shots."

"When he landed in the Broadus yard he looked and saw Rehak struggling with a Negro and went to Rehak's assistance. He said when he was hit between the eyes Rehak hit Broadus three times with the butt of his revolver, knocking him to the ground."

DEADLY EVIDENCE

The tarpaulin, which turned out to be an eloquent bit of evidence, was seized by the police. The crime laboratory report said there were "approximately" three bullet holes in the canvas, surrounded with powder burns.

Sworn affidavits were submitted by eyewitnesses Mr. and Mrs. MacDonald, flatly contradicting the various versions of the killing offered by the cops, but neither witness was present at the hearing. Mrs. MacDonald was sick, it was reported, and Mr. MacDonald, a merchant seaman, was on a voyage.

Magistrate Laukaitis, in sending the case to the grand jury, said that he was more impressed by Rehak's version of the killing than that given by the eyewitnesses.

The final action came yesterday when State's Attorney Anselm Sodaro announced that the investigation had been postponed indefinitely. The reason he gave was the illness of Mrs. MacDonald and the absence of her husband.

TELL FAMILY TO PAY

James Broadus, Jr., never regained consciousness after being taken to the hospital. He died seven hours later.

As is usual in such cases in Baltimore, the hospital sent a bill to the father for the treatment of his son. The total was \$1,085.10, itemized as follows: \$121 for hospital service, \$750 for blood, \$145 for blood services, \$41.60 for laboratory work, \$4 for the use of the accident room, \$20 for X-rays and \$3.50 for solutions.

According to hospital officials, the \$750 for blood represents 15 pints which can be paid off by contributions from blood donors.

Labor's Weight

Wesley Robert Wells, Negro prisoner in California who won commutation of his death sentence to life imprisonment last March, has now been moved to the "comparative freedom" of a "minimum security prison," according to the Los Angeles Tribune of June 25. Numerous labor bodies protested Wells' death sentence for throwing a cuspidor at a guard. This protest won him the commutation and easier imprisonment.

Stop McCarthyism! Your Stake in the Fight

Contents

The Issue of McCarthyism in a Nutshell

by James P. Cannon

Pegler Spells It Out — "Smash the Unions"

The Stake of America's Artists

by Duncan Ferguson

Negro People's Stake in the Anti-McCarthy Fight

by Jean Blake

Liberals Pave the Road for McCarthy

by the Political Committee of the SWP

16 pages

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

10 cents